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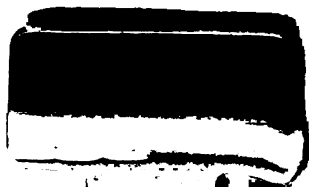
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AN
EXPOSITION OF THE CREED.

BY
JOHN PEARSON, D.D.
LORD BISHOP OF CHESTER.

REVISED AND CORRECTED
BY THE REV. TEMPLE CHEVALLIER, B.D.
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CAMBRIDGE.

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PREFACE OF THE EDITOR.

IT seems to be well ascertained that the latest edition of the Exposition of the Creed, to which Bishop Pearson made any additions or alterations, is the third, in folio, 1669. That edition has consequently been here taken as the principal model for the text. I have availed myself, however, of the valuable labours of Dr Burton, in his revision of the text, stating in a note the reading of the third edition, when any deviation from it is made.

The pages of the third edition are printed in the margin ; and all the references in the indexes are made to those pages.

To the theological student one of the most valuable parts of the Exposition of the Creed is the rich mine of patristical and general learning contained in the notes. If the passages to which reference is thus made were collected, with the context in which they occur, they would form a complete *Catena* of the best authorities upon doctrinal points. Even the briefest allusions derived from reading so extensive, and a memory so tenacious as Bishop Pearson's, deserve to be treasured as suggestive of patient investigation and deep thought, and directing the inquirer to the original sources whence information

may be obtained. This consideration will, I trust, be a sufficient excuse for a minuteness of reference in the notes, which, under other circumstances, might be regarded as superfluous.

As regards the quotations from the Fathers and other sources, it may be stated that all have been faithfully verified throughout, and the errors of former editions of this work have been carefully corrected.

In those quotations which differ verbally from the original passages, I have followed Dr Burton's example in adopting the reading of the best editions to which I have had access : and I have noted the very few instances in which the general sense of a passage, and not the exact words, are given. I have, also, supplied several additional Notes, and have given a list of the editions of the several works which have been consulted.

It is to be regretted that Dr Burton has not given a list of the editions, to the volumes and pages of which he has referred. In some instances, and especially in the quotations from St Augustine, I have, however, reprinted those references, together with the references to the editions which I have consulted. Some references have also been taken from Mr Dobson's edition.

I am indebted to the Rev. Henry John Rose, late Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge, for a careful collation of the passages from the Rabbinic writings and from the Chaldee paraphrases. All the quotations from the Chaldee and from Jarchi have been compared with Buxtorf's *Biblia Rabbinica* of Basle,

1618, and with Breithaupt's edition ; some passages have been compared with a MS. in the Library of St John's College, Cambridge : and some also with Bomberg's *Biblia Rabbinica*.

All the Syriac passages, and some of those from the Chaldee Paraphrases, have been compared with Walton's *Polyglot*.

Some additional notes¹ on these subjects are marked with the initials H. J. R.

My thanks are due also to the Rev. Churchill Babington, Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge, for collating many passages in authors not contained in libraries which I could consult.

TEMPLE CHEVALLIER.

ESH PARSONAGE, DURHAM,
July 6, 1849.

¹ See especially the marginal pages 87, 136.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

IN this edition a few errors in the first edition have been corrected, and some additional references have been introduced. There are also inserted a few short but valuable notes, distinguished by the name, M. J. Routh. These notes were written by the late learned President of Magdalen College, Oxford, in a copy of the 11th edition of Pearson on the Creed, now in the Routh Library, the munificent donation of Dr Routh to the University of Durham.

DURHAM, *June*, 1859.

TO THE

RIGHT WORSHIPEUL AND WELL-BELOVED

THE PARISHIONERS OF ST CLEMENT'S,
EASTCHEAP.

MERCY unto you, and peace, and love be multiplied.

If I should be at any time unmindful of your commands, you might well esteem me unworthy of your continued favours; and there is some reason to suspect I have incurred the interpretation of forgetfulness, having been so backward in the performance of my promises. Some years have passed since I preached unto you upon such texts of Scripture as were on purpose selected in relation to the CREED, and was moved by you to make those meditations public. But you were pleased then to grant what my inclinations rather led me to, that they might be turned into an Exposition of the Creed itself; which, partly by the difficulty of the work undertaken, partly by the intervention of some other employments, hath taken me up thus long, for which I desire your pardon. And yet an happy excuse may be pleaded for my delay, meeting with a very great felicity, that as faith triumpheth in good works, so my Exposition of the Creed should be contemporary with the reedifying of your Church. For though I can have little temptation to believe that my book should last so long as that fabric; yet I am exceedingly pleased that they should begin together; that the publishing of the one should so agree with the opening of the other. This, I hope, may persuade you to forget my slackness, considering ye were not ready to your own

expectation; your experience tells you the excuse of church-work will be accepted in building, I beseech you let it not be denied in printing.

That blessed Saint, by whose name your Parish is known, was a fellow-labourer with St Paul, and a successor of St Peter; he had the honour to be numbered in the Scripture with them *whose names are written in the book of life*; and when he had sealed the Gospel with his blood, he was one of the first whose memory was perpetuated by the building a Church to bear his name. Thus was St Clement's Church famous in Rome, when Rome was famous for the *faith spoken of throughout the whole world*. He wrote an Epistle to the Corinthians infested with a schism, in imitation of St Paul, which obtained so great authority in the primitive times, that it was frequently read in their public congregations; and yet had for many hundred years been lost, till it was at last set forth out of the library of the late King.

Now as, by the providence of God, the memory of that primitive Saint hath been restored in our age, so my design aimeth at nothing else but that the primitive Faith may be revived. And therefore in this edition of the Creed I shall speak to you but what St Jude hath already spoken to the whole Church, *Beloved, when I gave all diligence to write unto you of the common salvation, it was needful for me to write unto you, that ye should earnestly contend for the faith which was once delivered to the saints*. If it were so needful for him then to write, and for them to whom he wrote to contend for the first faith, it will appear as needful for me now to follow his writing, and for you to imitate their earnestness, because the reason which he renders, as the cause of that necessity, is now more prevalent than it was at that time, or ever since. *For, saith he, there are certain men crept in unawares, who were before of old ordained to this condemnation; ungodly men, turning the grace of God into lasciviousness, denying the only Lord God, and our Lord Jesus Christ*. The principles

of Christianity are now as freely questioned as the most doubtful and controverted points; the grounds of faith are as safely denied, as the most unnecessary superstructions; that religion hath the greatest advantage which appeareth in the newest dress, as if we looked for another *faith to be delivered to the saints*: whereas in Christianity there can be no concerning truth which is not ancient; and whatsoever is truly new, is certainly false. Look then for purity in the fountain, and strive to embrace the first faith, to which you cannot have a more probable guide than the Creed, received in all ages of the Church; and to this I refer you, as it leads you to the Scriptures, from whence it was at first deduced, that while *those which are unskilful and unstable, wrest the words of God himself unto their own damnation*, ye may receive so much instruction as may set you beyond the imputation of unskilfulness, and so much of confirmation as may place you out of the danger of instability; which as it hath been the constant endeavour, so shall it ever be the prayer of him, who after so many encouragements of his labours amongst you, doth still desire to be known as

Your most faithful Servant in the Lord,

JOHN PEARSON.

TO THE READER.

I HAVE in this book undertaken an Exposition of the Creed, and think it necessary in this Preface to give a brief account of the work, lest any should either expect to find that here which was never intended, or conceive that which they meet with such as they expected not.

The Creed, without controversy, is a brief comprehension of the objects of our Christian faith, and is generally taken to contain all things necessary to be believed. Now whether all things necessary be contained there, concerneth not an Expositor to dispute, who is obliged to take notice of what is in it, but not to inquire into what is not: whether all truths comprehended in the same be of equal and absolute necessity, we are no way forced to declare; it being sufficient, as to the design of an Exposition, to interpret the words, and so deliver the sense, to demonstrate the truth of the sense delivered, and to manifest the proper necessity of each truth, how far, and in what degree, and to what purposes, it is necessary.

This therefore is the method which I proposed to myself, and have prosecuted in every Article. First, to settle the words of each Article according to their antiquity, and generality of reception in the Creed. Secondly, to explicate and unfold the terms, and to endeavour a right notion and conception of them as they are to be understood in the same. Thirdly, to shew what are those truths which are naturally contained in those terms so explicated, and to make it appear that they are truths indeed, by

such arguments and reasons as are respectively proper to evidence the verity of them. Fourthly, to declare what is the necessity of believing those truths, what efficacy and influence they have in the soul, and upon the life of a believer. Lastly, by a re-collection of all, briefly to deliver the sum of every particular truth, so that every one, when he pronounceth the Creed, may know what he ought to intend, and what he is understood to profess, when he so pronounceth it.

In the prosecution of the whole, according to this method, I have considered, that a work of so general a concernment must be exposed to two kinds of readers, which though they may agree in judgment, yet must differ much in their capacities. Some there are who understand the original languages of the holy Scripture, the discourses and tractates of the ancient Fathers, the determinations of the Councils, and history of the Church of God, the constant profession of settled truths, the rise and increase of schisms and heresies. Others there are unacquainted with such conceptions, and incapable of such instructions ; who understand the Scriptures as they are translated ; who are capable of the knowledge of the truths themselves, and of the proofs drawn from thence ; who can apprehend the nature of the Christian faith, with the power and efficacy of the same, when it is delivered unto them out of the Word of God, and in the language which they know. When I make this difference, and distinction of readers, I do not intend thereby, that because one of these is learned, the other is ignorant ; for he which hath no skill of the learned languages, may notwithstanding be very knowing in the principles of Christian religion, and the reason and efficacy of them.

According to this distinction I have contrived my Exposition, so that the body of it containeth fully what can be delivered and made intelligible in the English tongue, without inserting the least sentence or phrase of any learned language ; by which he which is not acquainted with it might be disturbed in his reading, or interrupted

in his understanding. Not that I have selected only such notions as are common, easy, and familiar of themselves, but have endeavoured to deliver the most material conceptions in the most plain and perspicuous manner ; as desirous to comprise the whole strength of the work, as far as it is possible, in the body of it. The other part I have placed in the margin, (but so as oftentimes it taketh up more room, and yet is never mingled or confounded with the rest,) in which is contained whatever is necessary for the illustration of any part of the Creed, as to them which have any knowledge of the Latin, Greek, and Oriental languages, of the writings of the ancient Fathers, the doctrines of the Jews, and the history of the Church ; those great advantages toward a right perception of the Christian Religion.

Now being the Creed comprehendeth the principles of our religion, it must contain those truths which belong unto it as it is a religion, and those which concern it as it is ours. As it is a religion, it delivereth such principles as are to be acknowledged in natural theology, such as no man which worshippeth a God can deny ; and therefore in the proof of these, I have made use of such arguments and reasons as are most proper to oppose the Atheists, who deny there is a God to be worshipped, a religion to be professed. As it is our religion, it is Christian and Catholic. As Christian, it containeth such truths as were delivered by Christ and his Apostles, and those especially concerning Christ himself, which I have prosecuted constantly with an eye to the Jews, who obstinately deny them, expecting still another Messias to come ; wherefore I shew out of the Law and Prophets which they acknowledge, what was foretold in every particular concerning the Messias, and prove all those to be completed by that Christ in whom we believe. As our religion is Catholic, it holdeth fast that *faith which was once delivered to the saints*, and since preserved in the Church ; and therefore I expound such verities, in opposition to the heretics arising in all ages, especially against the Photinians, who

of all the rest have most perverted the articles of our Creed, and found out followers in these latter ages, who have erected a new body of divinity in opposition to the Catholic theology. Against these I proceed upon such principles as they themselves allow, that is, upon the Word of God delivered in the Old and New Testament, alleged according to the true sense, and applied by right reason ; not urging the authority of the Church which they reject, but only giving in the margin the sense of the primitive Fathers, for the satisfaction of such as have any respect left for antiquity, and are persuaded that Christ had a true Church on the earth before these times.

In that part, which, after the demonstration of each truth, teacheth the necessity of the believing it, and the peculiar efficacy which it hath upon the life of a Christian, I have not thought fit to expatiate or enlarge myself, but only to mention such effects as flow naturally and immediately from the doctrine ; especially such as are delivered in the Scriptures ; which I have endeavoured to set forth with all possible plainness and perspicuity. And indeed in the whole work, as I have laid the foundation upon the written Word of God, so I have with much diligence collected such places of Scripture as are pertinent to each doctrine, and with great faithfulness delivered them as they lie in the writings of those holy penmen ; not referring the reader to places named in the margin (which too often I find in many books multiplied to little purpose), but producing and interweaving the sentences of Scripture into the body of my Exposition, so that the reader may understand the strength of all my reason, without any further inquiry or consultation. For if those words which I have produced, prove not what I have intended, I desire not any to think there is more in the places named to maintain it.

At the conclusion of every distinct and several notion, I have re-collected briefly and plainly the sum of what hath been delivered in the explication of it, and put it,

as it were, into the mouth of every Christian, thereby to express more fully his faith, and to declare his profession. So that if the reader please to put these collections together, he may at once see and perceive what he is in the whole obliged to believe, and what he is by the Church of God understood to profess, when he maketh this public, ancient, and orthodox Confession of Faith.

I have nothing more to add ; but only to pray, that the Lord would give you and me a good understanding in all things.

THE CREED.

I BELIEVE in God the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth: And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord: Which was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary: Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried: He descended into Hell, the third day he rose again from the dead: He ascended into Heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty: From thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead. I believe in the Holy Ghost: The Holy Catholic Church: The Communion of Saints: The Forgiveness of Sins: The Resurrection of the Body: And the Life everlasting.

AN
EXPOSITION OF THE CREED.

ARTICLE I.

I BELIEVE IN GOD THE FATHER ALMIGHTY
MAKER OF HEAVEN AND EARTH.

I AS the first word CREDO, *I believe*, giveth a denomination to the whole confession of faith, from thence commonly called the CREED; so is the same word to be imagined not to stand only where it is expressed, but to be carried through the whole body of the confession. For although it be but twice actually rehearsed, yet must we conceive it virtually prefixed to the head of every article: that as we say, *I believe in God the Father Almighty*, so we are also understood to say, *I believe in Jesus Christ his only Son, our Lord*; as *I believe in the Holy Ghost*, so also *I believe the Catholic Church*. Neither is it to be joined with every complete article only; but where any article is not a single verity, but comprehensive, there it is to be looked upon as affixed to every part, or single truth, contained in that article: as, for example, in the first, *I believe in God*, *I believe that God* to be the *Father*, *I believe that Father* to be *Almighty*, *I believe that Father Almighty* to be the *Maker of heaven and earth*. So that this *Credo, I believe*, rightly considered, multiplieth itself to no less than a double number of the articles, and will be found at least twenty-four times contained in the CREED. Wherefore, being a word so pregnant and diffusive, so necessary and essential to every part of our confession of faith, that without it we can neither have CREED nor Confession, it will require a more exact consideration, and more ample explication, and that in such a notion as is properly applicable to so many and so various truths.

Now by this previous expression, *I believe*, thus considered, every particular Christian is first taught, and then imagined, to make confession of his faith; and, consequently,

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this word, so used, admits a threefold consideration: first, as it supposeth belief, or faith, which is confessed. Secondly, as it is a confession, or external expression of that faith so supposed. Thirdly, as both the faith and confession are of necessary and particular obligation. When, therefore, we shall have clearly delivered, first, What is the true nature and notion of belief; secondly, What the duty of confessing of our faith; thirdly, What obligation lies upon every particular person to believe and confess; then may we be conceived to have sufficiently explicated the first word of the CREED, then may every one understand what it is he says, and upon what ground he proceeds, when he professeth, *I believe*.

For the right understanding of the true nature of christian faith, it will be no less than necessary to begin with the general notion of belief; which being first truly stated and defined, then by degrees deduced into its several kinds, will at last make the nature of christian faith intelligible: a design, if I mistake not, not so ordinary and usual, as useful and necessary.

Belief in general I define to be *an assent to that which is credible, as credible*. By the word *assent*¹ is expressed that act or habit of the understanding, by which it receiveth, acknowledgeth, and embraceth any thing as a truth; it being

¹ Πίστις δὲ—πρόληψις ἐκούσιός ἐστι, θεοσεβείας συγκατάθεσις. *Clem. Alex. Strom.* l. ii. p. 156. lin. 17. ed. Commelin. 1592. (p. 432.) [35.] Πίστις μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ συγκατάθεσις ἀδιακρίτος τῶν ἀκονισθέντων ἐν πληροφωρίᾳ τῆς ἀληθείας τῶν κηρυχθέντων Θεοῦ χάριτι. *S. Basil. Ascet. de Fide*, c. 1. (Tom. II. p. 224 o.) The Basilidians, Ὁρίζονται γοῦν οἱ ἀπὸ Βασιλείδου τὴν πίστιν ψυχῆς συγκατάθεσιν πρὸς τι τῶν μὴ κινούντων αἰσθησιν διὰ τὸ μὴ παρῆναι. *Clem. Alex. Strom.* l. ii. p. 160. 11. (p. 443.) [30.] Κατὰ δὲ τὸν ἡμέτερον λόγον, πίστις ἐστὶν ἐκούσιος τῆς ψυχῆς συγκατάθεσις. *Theodoret. Therap. Serm.* 1. (Tom. IV. p. 479 A.) And yet he also afterward acknowledgeth they had that definition from the Greeks: Τὴν μὲν γὰρ πίστιν καὶ οἱ ἡμέτεροι φιλόσοφοι ὥρισαντο εἶναι ἐθελοσύνην τῆς ψυχῆς συγκατάθεσιν. 'Credere—est cum assensione cogi-

tare.' *S. August. (de Prædestin. Sanct.* § 5. Tom. x. p. 479.) [523 E.] *Et de Spir. et Littér. ad Marcellin. lib.* (§ 54. Tom. x. p. 116.) [78 E.] 'Quid est credere, nisi consentire verum esse quod dicitur?' So I take the συγκατάθεσις used by the Greek fathers to signify *assensum* or *assensionem*, as A. Gellius translatheth the Stoic, συγκατατίθεται, *sua assensione approbat*, l. xix. 1. [p. 1055. 10.] and before him Cicero, 'Nunc de assensione atque approbatione, quam Græci συγκατάθεσιν vocant, pauca dicamus.' *In Lucullo*, § 37. Acad. Quæst. iv. 12. So ἀπιστία and συγκατάθεσις, are opposed by the Greeks. As Sextus Empiricus, speaking of Admetus seeing Alcestis brought back by Hercules from Hades: Ἐπει μὲντοι ᾔδει ὅτι τέθηκε, περισπᾶτο αὐτοῦ ἢ δίδουα ἀπὸ τῆς συγκαταθέσεως, καὶ πρὸς ἀπιστίαν ἐκλινε. *Pyrrh. Hypot.* l. i. 33.

the nature¹ of the soul so to embrace whatsoever appeareth true unto it, and so far as it so appeareth. Now this *assent*, or judgment of any thing to be true, being a general act of the understanding, and so applicable to other habits² thereof as well as to faith, must be specified by its proper object, and so limited and determined to its proper act, which is the other part left to complete the definition.

This object of faith is expressed by *that which is credible*; for every one who believeth any thing, doth thereby without question assent unto it as to that which is credible: and therefore all belief whatsoever is such a kind of assent. But though all belief be an assent to that *which is credible*, yet every such assent may not be properly faith; and therefore those words make not the definition complete. For he which sees an action done, knows it to be done, and therefore assents unto the truth of the performance of it because he sees it: but another person to whom he relates it, may assent unto the performance of the same action, not because himself sees it, but because the other relates it; in which case *that which is credible* is the object of faith in one, of evident knowledge in the other. To make the definition therefore full, besides the material object or thing believed, we have added the formal object, or that whereby it is properly believed, expressed in the last term, *as credible*, which being taken in, it then appears, that, first, Whosoever believeth any thing, assenteth to something which is to him credible, and that as it is credible; and again, Whosoever assenteth to any thing which is credible, as it is credible, believeth something by so assenting: which is sufficient to shew the definition complete.

¹ Φιλαλήθης ἡ ψυχὴ οὐδέποτε κατὰ τὸ ψεύδος ἀνεχομένη διατίθεσθαι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ φανερὸν ἀληθὲς πάντως καὶ εὐθὺς. *Simplific. in 3. Arist. de Anima.* Κἄν τις τάληθές σκοπῇ, εὐρήσει τὸν ἀνθρώπου φύσει διαβεβλημένον μὲν πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ψεύδους συγκατάθεσιν, ἔχοντα δὲ ἀφορμὰς πρὸς πίστιν τάληθους. *Clem. Alex. Strom.* l. ii. (p. 458.) [c. 12. l. 16.]

² As *συγκατάθεσις*, the Greek word used for this assent, is applied to other acts of the understanding as well as that of belief, so Clemens Alexandrinus speaking of the defi-

nition of faith: "Ἄλλοι δ' ἀφανοὺς πράγματος ἐνωτικὴν συγκατάθεσιν ἀπέδωκαν εἶναι τὴν πίστιν, ὥσπερ ἀμελεῖ τὴν ἀπόδειξιν ἀγνοουμένου πράγματος φανεράν συγκατάθεσιν. *Strom.* l. ii. (p. 433.) [c. 2. l. 3.] And again: Πᾶσα οὖν δόξα, καὶ κρίσις, καὶ ὑπόληψις, καὶ μάθησις, οἷς ζῶμεν καὶ σύνεμεν αἰεὶ, τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων συγκατάθεσις ἐστίν· ἡ δ' οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ πίστις εἶναι ἂν ἢ τε ἀπιστία, ἀποσύστασις οὕσα τῆς πίστεως, δυνατὴν δεικνύει τὴν συγκατάθεσιν τε καὶ πίστιν. (p. 458.) [*Strom.* ii. c. 12. l. 10.]

But for the explication of the same, further observations 3 will be necessary. For if that which we believe be something which is credible, and the notion under which we believe be the credibility of it, then must we first declare what it is to be *credible*, and in what *credibility* doth consist, before we can understand what is the nature of *belief*.

Now that is properly *credible* which is not apparent of itself, nor certainly to be collected, either antecedently by its cause, or reversely by its effect; and yet, though by none of these ways, hath the attestation of a truth. For those things which are apparent of themselves, are either so in respect of our sense, as, that snow is white, and fire is hot: or in respect of our understanding, as, that the whole of any thing is greater than any one part of the whole, that every thing imaginable either is or is not. The first kind of which being propounded to our sense, one to the sight, the other to the touch, appear of themselves immediately true, and therefore are not termed *credible*, but *evident* to sense; as the latter kind, propounded to the understanding, are immediately embraced and acknowledged as truths apparent in themselves, and therefore are not called *credible*, but *evident* to the understanding. And so those things which are apparent¹, are not said properly to be believed, but to be known.

Again, other things, though not immediately apparent in themselves, may yet appear most certain and evidently true, by an immediate and necessary connexion with something formerly known: for, being every natural cause actually applied doth necessarily produce its own natural effect, and every natural effect wholly dependeth upon, and absolutely presupposeth its own proper cause; therefore there must be an immediate connexion between the cause and its effect. From whence it follows, that if the connexion be once clearly perceived, the effect will be known in the cause, and the cause by the effect. And by these ways, proceeding from principles evidently known by consequences certainly concluding, we come to the knowledge of propositions in mathematics, and conclusions in other sciences; which propositions

¹ 'Apparentia non habent fidem, sed agnitionem.' *Greg.* 4. *Dial.* cap. 5. 'Habent Fides oculos suos, quibus quodammodo videt, verum esse

quod nondum videt, et quibus certissime videt, nondum se videre quod credit.' *S. August.* Ep. 222. 120. § 8. Tom. II. (p. 349.) [p. 265 B.]

and conclusions are not said to be *credible*, but *scientific*; and the comprehension of them is not *faith*, but *science*.

Besides, some things there are, which, though not evident of themselves, nor seen by any necessary connexion to their causes or effects, notwithstanding appear to most as true by some external relations to other truths; but yet so, as the appearing truth still leaves a possibility of falsehood with it, and therefore doth but incline to an *assent*. In which case, whatsoever is thus apprehended, if it depend upon real arguments, is not yet called *credible*, but *probable*; and an assent to such a truth is not properly *faith*, but *opinion*.

But when any thing propounded to us is neither apparent to our sense, nor evident to our understanding, in and of itself, neither certainly to be collected from any clear and necessary connexion with the cause from which it proceedeth, or the effects which it naturally produceth, nor is taken up upon any real arguments, or reference to other acknowledged truths, and yet notwithstanding appeareth to us true, not by a manifestation, but attestation of the truth, and so moveth us to assent not of itself, but by virtue of the testimony given to it; this is said¹ properly to be *credible*; and an *assent* unto this, upon such *credibility*, is in the proper notion *faith* or *belief*.

Having thus defined and illustrated the nature of *faith* in general, so far as it agreeth to all kinds of belief whatsoever, our method will lead us on to descend by way of division, to the several kinds thereof, till at last we come to the proper notion of *faith* in the Christian's *confession*, the design of our present disquisition. And being we have placed
4 the formality of the object of all belief in *credibility*, it will clearly follow, that diversity of *credibility* in the object will proportionably cause a distinction of *assent* in the understanding, and consequently a several kind of *faith*, which we have supposed to be nothing else but such an *assent*.

Now the *credibility* of objects, by which they appear fit to be believed, is distinguishable according to the diversities of its foundation, that is, according to the different *authority* of the *testimony* on which it depends: for we having no other certain means of assuring ourselves of the truth, and consequently no other motives of our *assent* in matters of

¹ Αἱ διὰ τῶν μαρτύρων ῥᾶδιαι πίστεις. *Aristot. Probl.* § 18. 3.

mere belief, than the *testimony* upon which we believe; if there be any fundamental distinction in the *authority* of the *testimony*, it will cause the like difference in the *assent*, which must needs bear a proportion to the *authority* of the *testimony*, as being originally and essentially founded upon it. It is therefore necessary next to consider, in what the *authority* of a *testimony* consisteth, and so to descend to the several kinds of *testimonies* founded upon several *authorities*.

The strength and validity of every *testimony* must bear proportion with the *authority*¹ of the *testifier*; and the *authority* of the *testifier* is founded upon his *ability* and *integrity*: his *ability* in the knowledge of that which he delivereth and asserteth; his *integrity* in delivering and asserting according to his knowledge. For two several ways he which relateth or testifieth any thing may deceive us: one, by being ignorant of the truth, and so upon that ignorance mistaking, he may think that to be true which is not so, and consequently deliver that for truth which in itself is false, and so deceive himself and us; or if he be not ignorant, yet if he be dishonest or unfaithful, that which he knows to be false he may propound and assert to be a truth, and so, though himself be not deceived, he may deceive us. And by each of these ways, for want either of *ability* or *integrity* in the *testifier*, whoso grounds his *assent* unto any thing as a truth, upon the testimony of another, may equally be deceived.

But whosoever is so *able* as certainly to know the truth of that which he delivereth, and so *faithful* as to deliver nothing but what and as he knoweth, he, as he is not deceived, so deceiveth no man. So far, therefore, as any person testifying appeareth to be knowing of the thing he testifies, and to be faithful in the relation of what he knows, so far his testimony is acceptable, so far that which he testifieth is properly *credible*. And thus the *authority* of every *testifier* or relater is grounded upon these two foundations, his *ability* and *integrity*.

Now there is in this case, so far as it concerns our present design², a double *testimony*: the *testimony* of man to

¹ Τῷ γὰρ ποῦν τινα φαίσεσθαι τὸν λέγοντα, πιστεύομεν τοῦτο δ' ἐστίν, ὡς ἀγαθὸς φαίηται, ἢ εὖνους, ἢ ἀμφοῖ. *Aristot. Rhet. l. i. c. 8. § 6.*

² 'Testimoniorum quæ sunt genera? Divinum, et humanum. Divinum, ut oracula, ut auspicia, ut vaticinationes, ut responsa sacerdo-

man, relying upon human authority, and the *testimony* of God to man, founded upon divine authority: which two kinds of *testimony* are respective grounds of two kinds of *credibility*, *human* and *divine*; and, consequently, there is a twofold *faith* distinguished by this double object, a *human* and a *divine faith*.

Human faith is an assent unto any thing credible merely upon the *testimony of man*. Such is the belief we have of the words and affections one of another. And upon this kind of faith we proceed in the ordinary affairs of our life; according to the opinion we have of the ability and fidelity of him which relates or asserts any thing we believe or disbelieve. By this a friend assureth himself of the affection of his friend; by this the¹ son acknowledgeth his father, and upon this is his obedience wrought. By virtue of this *human faith* it is that we doubt not at all of those things which we never saw, by reason of their distance from us, either by time or place. Who doubts whether there be such a country as Italy, or such a city as Constantinople, though he never
5 passed any of our four seas? Who questions now whether there was such a man as Alexander in the east, or Cæsar in the west? And yet the latest of these hath been beyond the possibility of the knowledge of man these sixteen hundred years. There is no² science taught without original belief, there are no letters³ learnt without preceding faith. There is no justice executed, no commerce maintained, no business prosecuted, without this⁴; all secular affairs are transacted, all great achievements are attempted, all hopes, desires, and inclinations, are preserved, by this human faith grounded upon the testimony of man.

tum, aruspicum, conjectorum: humanum, quod spectatur ex auctoritate, et ex voluntate, et ex oratione aut libera aut expressa; in quo insunt scripta, pacta, promissa, jurata, quæ sita.' *Cic. Orat. Partit.* c. 2. [Tom. i. p. 593. edit. Ernesti.]

¹ 'Nec dicant, non credimus, quia non vidimus; quoniam, si hoc dicant, coguntur fateri incertos sibi esse Parentes suos.' *De fide rerum invisib.* (§ 4. p. 143. Vol. vi.) [Tom. vi. p. 105, c.] amongst the works of St Augustin.

Ἀδὲρ γὰρ οὐδεὶς οἶδε, τοῦ πατρὸς ἐγένετο
'Ἄλλ' ὑπονοούμεν πάντες, ἢ πιστεύομεν.

Menander apud Stob. ap. Eustath. in Hom. p. 1412, 14.

² 'Προβάδρα μέντοι καὶ κρηπὶς τῆς ἐπιστήμης ἡ πίστις. *Theodor. Therap. Serm.* 1. [Tom. iv. p. 481 o.]

³ Οὐδὲ γὰρ τὰ πρῶτα στοιχεῖα μαθεῖν οὐκ ἐστὶν μὴ τῇ γραμματικῇ πεπιστευκότα. *Ibid.* [p. 479 B.]

⁴ Πάντα τὰ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τελοόμενα, καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλλοτρῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῇ πίστει τελείνται. *S. Cyril. Hier. Catech.* 5. [p. 105.] *Orig. cont. Celsum*, l. i. § 11. p. 328. *Eus. de Præp. Evang.* l. i. c. 5. *Arnob. adver. Gen.* l. ii.

In which case we all by easy experience may observe the nature, generation, and progress, of *belief*. For in any thing which belongeth to more than ordinary knowledge, we believe not him whom we think to be ignorant, nor do we assent the more for his assertion, though never so confidently delivered: but if we have a strong opinion of the knowledge and skill of any person, what he affirmeth within the compass of his knowledge, that we readily assent unto; and while we have no other ground but his affirmation, this *assent* is properly *belief*. Whereas, if it be any matter of concernment in which the interest of him that relateth or affirmeth any thing to us is considerable, there it is not the skill or knowledge of the relater which will satisfy us, except we have as strong an opinion of his fidelity and integrity: but if we think him so just and honest, that he hath no design upon us, nor will affirm any thing contrary to his knowledge for any gain or advantage, then we readily assent unto his affirmations; and this *assent* is our *belief*. Seeing then our *belief* relies upon the ability and integrity of the relater, and being the knowledge of all men is imperfect, and the hearts of all men are deceitful, and so their integrity to be suspected, there can be no infallible universal ground of *human faith*.

But what satisfaction we cannot find in the testimony of
 1 John v. 9. man, we may receive in the testimony of God; *If we receive the witness of men, the witness of God is greater*¹. Yea,
 Rom. iii. 4. let God be true, the ground of our *divine*, and every man a liar, the ground of our *human faith*.

As for the other member of the division, we may now plainly perceive that it is thus to be defined: *Divine faith is an assent unto something as credible upon the testimony of God*. This *assent* is the highest kind of *faith*, because the object hath the highest *credibility*, because grounded upon the *testimony of God*, which is *infallible*. Balaam could tell
 Num. xxiii. 19. Balak thus much, *God is not a man, that he should lie*; and a better prophet confirmed the same truth to Saul; *The Strength of Israel will not lie*; and because he will not,

¹ 'Quam indignum, ut humanis testimoniis de alio credamus: Dei oraculis de se non credamus!' S. Ambros. lib. i. de Abraham, c. 3. Tom. I. p. 215. Paris, 1614. Πῶς δ' οὐκ ἐν-

λογώτερον, πάντων τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πιστεως ἡρτημένων, ἐκεῖνων μᾶλλον πιστεύειν τῷ Θεῷ; Orig. cont. Cels. l. i. § 11. (Tom. I. p. 329 c.)

because he cannot, he is the Strength of Israel, even *my* Psal. xviii. 2.
God, my strength, in whom I will trust.

For, first, God is of infinite knowledge and wisdom, as Hannah hath taught us, *The Lord is a God of knowledge*¹, 1 Sam. ii. 2. or rather, if our language will bear it, of *knowledges*, which are so plural, or rather infinite in their plurality, that the Psalmist hath said, *Of his understanding there is no number*². Psal. cxlvii. 5. He knoweth therefore all things, neither can any truth be hid from his knowledge, who is essentially truth, and essentially knowledge, and, as so, the cause of all other truth and knowledge. Thus the understanding of God is infinite in respect of comprehension³, and not so only, but of certainty also and evidence. Some things we are said to know which are but obscurely known, we see them but as in a glass or through a cloud: but *God is light, and in him is* 1 John i. 5. *no darkness at all*: he seeth without any obscurity, and whatsoever is propounded to his understanding is most clear
 6 and evident; *neither is there any creature that is not manifest in his sight; but all things are naked and open unto the eyes of him with whom we have to do.* Wherefore, being all things are within the compass of his knowledge; being all things which are so, are most clear and evident unto him; being the knowledge he hath of them is most certain and infallible; it inevitably followeth that he cannot be deceived in any thing. Heb. iv. 13.

Secondly, The justice of God is equal to his knowledge, nor is his holiness inferior to his wisdom: *A God of truth* Deut. xxxii. 4. *(saith Moses) and without iniquity, just and right is he.* From which internal, essential, and infinite rectitude, goodness, and holiness, followeth an impossibility to declare or deliver that for truth which he knoweth not to be true. For if it be against that finite purity and integrity which is required of man, to lie, and therefore sinful, then must we conceive it absolutely inconsistent with that transcendent purity and infinite integrity which is essential unto God. Although therefore the power of God be infinite, though he *can do all* Job xlii. 2. *things*; yet we may safely say, without any prejudice to his

¹ לֵךְ אֵל דַּעַת לXX. Θεὸς γινώσκων Κύριος.

² In the Heb. לְרַבּוּת אֵין מִסְפָּר

³ 'Cujus sapientia simpliciter multiplex, et uniformiter multiformis,

tam incomprehensibili comprehensione omnia incomprehensibilia comprehendit.' *S. August. de Civit. Dei*, l. xii. c. 18. (p. 317. Vol. VII.) [Tom. VII. p. 241 D.]

omnipotency¹, that he cannot speak that for truth which he knoweth to be otherwise². For the perfections of his will are as necessarily infinite as those of his understanding; neither can he be unholy or unjust, more than he can be ignorant or unwise. *If we believe not, yet he abideth faithful, he cannot deny himself.* Which words of the apostle, though properly belonging to the promises of God, yet are as true in respect of his assertions; neither should he more *deny himself* in violating his fidelity, than in contradicting his veracity. It is true, that *God willing more abundantly to shew unto the heirs of promise the immutability of his counsel, confirmed it by an oath; that by two immutable things, in which it was impossible for God to lie, we might have a strong consolation:* but it is as true, that all this confirmation is only for our consolation; otherwise it is as *impossible for God to lie*, without an *oath*, as with one: for being he can *swear by no greater, he sweareth only by himself*, and so the strength even of the oath of God relieth upon the veracity of God. Wherefore being God, as God, is of infinite rectitude, goodness, and holiness; being it is manifestly repugnant to his purity, and inconsistent with his integrity, to deliver any thing contrary to his knowledge; it clearly followeth, that he cannot deceive any man.

It is therefore most infallibly certain, that God being infinitely wise, cannot be deceived³: being infinitely good, cannot deceive⁴: and upon these two immovable pillars standeth the authority of the *testimony* of God. For since we cannot doubt of the witness of any one, but by questioning his ability, as one who may be ignorant of that which he affirmeth, and so deceived; or by excepting against his integrity, as one who may affirm that which he knoweth to be false, and so have a purpose to deceive us: where there is no place for either of these exceptions, there can be no doubt of the truth

¹ Δύναται δὲ καθ' ἑμᾶς πάντα ὁ Θεός, ἀπὲρ δυνάμενος, τοῦ Θεοῦ εἶναι, καὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ εἶναι, καὶ σοφοῦ εἶναι, οὐκ ἐξίσταται. *Orig. contra Celsum*, l. iii. (§ 70. p. 493.) [Tom. I. p. 493 F.]

² 'Si volunt invenire quod omnipotens non potest; habent prorsus, ego dicam, mentiri non potest.' *S. August. de Civ. Dei*, l. xxii. c. 25.

(p. 693. Vol. VII.) [Tom. VII. p. 522 E.]

³ 'Cum sit omnipotens, mori non potest, falli non potest, mentiri non potest.' *S. August. de Symb. ad Catechum.* l. i. c. 2. (p. 547. Vol. VI.) [Tom. VI. p. 399 E.]

⁴ 'Deus facere fraudem nescit, pati non potest.' *Chrysost. Serm.* 62. [p. 707 B.]

of the testimony. But where there is an intrinsic¹ repugnancy of being deceived in the understanding, and of deceiving in the will, as there certainly is in the understanding and will of God, there can be no place for either of those exceptions, and consequently there can be no doubt of the truth of that which God testifieth. And whosoever thinketh any thing comes from him, and assenteth not unto it, must necessarily deny him to be wise or holy: *He that believeth not God* (saith the apostle), *hath made him a liar*. That truth then which is testified by God, hath a *divine credibility*: and an *assent* unto it, as so *credible*, is *divine faith*. In which the material object is the doctrine which God delivereth, the formal object is that credibility founded on the authority² of the deliverer. And this I conceive the true nature of *divine faith* in general.

- 7 Now being the *credibility* of all which we *believe* is founded upon the *testimony* of God, we can never be sufficiently instructed in the notion of *faith*, till we first understand how this testimony is given to those truths which we now believe. To which end it will be necessary to give notice that the *testimony* of God is not given unto truths before questioned or debated; nor are they such things as are at first propounded and doubted of by man, and then resolved and confirmed by interposing the authority of God: but he is then said to witness when he doth propound, and his *testimony* is given by way of *Revelation*, which is nothing else but the delivery or speech of God unto his creatures. And therefore upon a diversity of delivery must follow a difference, though not of *faith* itself, yet of the means and manner of *assent*.

Wherefore it will be further necessary to observe, that divine *Revelation* is of two kinds, either immediate, or mediate. An immediate *Revelation* is that by which God delivereth himself to man by himself, without the intervention of man. A mediate *Revelation* is the conveyance of the counsel of God

¹ 'Auctoritas Dei consistit in intrinseca repugnantia deceptionis seu falsitatis, quam habet divinum iudicium, et in intrinseca repugnantia actus voluntatis imperantis testimonium extrinsecum non consentiens iudicio interno; quæ per terminos positivos actus intellectus infallibiliter

veri, et actus voluntatis intrinsece et necessario recti, poterit explicari.' *Francisc. de Ovid. Tract. de Fide, Contr. ii. punc. 2.*

² 'Divina est auctoritas, cui credimus: divina est doctrina, quam sequimur.' *Leo, Sermon. 7. in Nativ.* [p. 807 a.]

unto man by man. By the first he spake unto the prophets; by the second in the prophets, and by them unto us. Being then there is this difference between the revealing of God unto the prophets and to others, being the faith both of prophets and others relieth wholly upon divine *Revelation*, the difference¹ of the manner of *assent* in these several kinds of believers will be very observable for the explanation of the nature of our *faith*.

Those then to whom God did immediately speak himself, or by an angel representing God, and so being in his stead, and bearing his name (of which I shall need here to make no distinction), those persons, I say, to whom God did so reveal himself, did, by virtue of the same *Revelation*, perceive, know, and assure themselves, that he which spake to them was God; so that at the same time they clearly understood both what was delivered, and by whom: otherwise we cannot imagine that Abraham would have slain his son, or have been commended for such a resolution, had he not been most assured that it was God who by an immediate *Revelation* of his will clearly commanded it. Thus *by faith* Noah, being warned of God of things not seen as yet, moved with fear, prepared an ark, to the saving of his house: which warning² of God was a clear *Revelation* of God's determination to drown the world, of his will to save him and his family, and of his command for that end to build an ark. And this Noah so received from God, as that he knew it to be an oracle of God, and was as well assured of the author as informed of the command. Thus the judgments hanging over Judah were revealed in the ears of Isaiah by the Lord of hosts. Thus the Lord revealed himself to Samuel in Shiloh: at first indeed he knew him not; that is, when the Lord spake, he knew it not to be the

Heb. xl. 7.

Isai. xlii. 14.
1 Sam. iii. xi.

¹ 'Sicut duplex est auditus et locutio, scilicet exterior sive corporalis, et interior ac spiritualis; ita duplex est fides, una quæ oritur in cordibus fidelium per auditum exteriorem, cum scilicet Deus per aliquos homines aliis credenda proponit; et ista est fides, quæ nobis sive communi statui fidelium convenit, ex eo quod adheremus revelationibus Prophetis et Apostolis factis: alia est quæ oritur in aliquibus per spirituales locutionem, quæ Deus aliquibus per

internam inspirationem credenda revelat, nullo hominis ministerio utens; sicut est fides Apostolorum et Prophetarum, qui ab ipso Deo per intrinsecam illuminationem sunt de credendis instructi.' *Francisc. Ferrariensis in Thom. cont. Gent.* [lib. iii.] c. 40.

² *Πλάττει χρηματισθεις*, which word comes from the original *χρᾶω*, appropriated by the Greeks to an oracle, or answer given by God: *ὁ μὲν Θεὸς χρᾶι, ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπος μαρτυρεται. Moschopolus, 'Ovoμ. 'Αττικ. v. χρᾶω.*

voice of God: *Now Samuel did not yet know the Lord*; ^{1 Sam. iii. 7.} *neither was the word of the Lord yet revealed unto him*; but after that he knew him and was assured that it was he which spake unto him, the scripture teaching us that the ears¹ of Samuel were *revealed*, and the word² of God *revealed*, and God³ himself *revealed* to him. By all which we can understand no less, than that Samuel was so illuminated in his prophecies, that he fully understood the words or things themselves which were delivered, and as certainly knew that the deliverer was God: so Samuel the seer, so the rest of the prophets believed those truths revealed to them by such a faith as was a firm assent unto an object credible upon the immediate testimony of God.

- 8 But those faithful people to whom the prophets spake believed the same truth, and upon the testimony of the same God, delivered unto them not by God, but by those prophets, whose words they therefore assented unto as certain truths, because they were assured that what the prophets spake was immediately revealed to them by God himself, without which assurance no faith could be expected from them. When God appeared unto Moses *in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush*, and there immediately revealed to him first himself, saying, *I am the God of thy father, the God of Abraham*, ^{Exod. iii. 2.} *the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob*, ^{Exod. iii. 6.} and then his will to bring the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt, Moses clearly believed God both in the revelation of himself and of his will, and was fully satisfied that the Israelites should be delivered, because he was assured it was God who promised their deliverance: yet notwithstanding still he doubted whether the Israelites would believe the same truth, when it should be delivered to them, not immediately by God, but by Moses; *And Moses answered and said, But* ^{Exod. iv. 1.} *behold, they will not believe me, nor hearken unto my voice; for they will say, The Lord hath not appeared unto thee.* Which words of his first suppose, that if they had heard the voice of God, as he had, they would have assented to the truth upon a testimony divine; and then as rationally affirm

¹ ידוע נלה את און שמואל Κύριος
ἀπεκαλύψε τὸ ὄριον Σαμουήλ, 1 Sam.
ix. 15.

ἀποκαλυφθῆναι αὐτῷ ῥῆμα Κυρίου,
1 Sam. iii. 7.

² כנלה ידוע אל שמואל ἀπεκαλύφθη
Κύριος πρὸς Σαμουήλ, 1 Sam. iii. 21.

that it was improbable that they should believe, except they were assured it was God who promised, or think that God had promised by Moses, only because Moses said so. Which rational objection was clearly taken away, when God endued Moses with power of evident and undoubted miracles; for then the rod which he carried in his hand was as infallible a sign to the Israelites, that God had appeared unto him, as the flaming bush was to himself; and therefore they who saw in his hand God's omnipotency, could not suspect in his tongue God's veracity; insomuch as when Aaron became to Moses *instead of a mouth*, and Moses to Aaron *instead of God*, *Aaron spake all the words which the Lord had spoken unto Moses, and did the signs in the sight of the people, and the people believed.* For being persuaded by a lively and active presence of omnipotency that God had appeared unto Moses, and what was delivered to them by him came to him from God, and being sufficiently assured out of the very sense and notion of a Deity, that whatsoever God should speak, must of necessity be true, they presently assented, *and believed the Lord and his servant Moses*; Moses, as the immediate propounder; God, as the original revealer: they believed Moses that God had revealed it, and they believed the promise, because God had revealed it. So that the *faith* both of Moses and the Israelites was grounded upon the same testimony or revelation of God, and differed only in the proposition or application of the testimony; Moses receiving it immediately from God himself, the Israelites mediately by the ministry of Moses.

In the like manner the succeeding prophets were the instruments of Divine Revelation, which they first believed as revealed to them, and then the people as revealed by them: for what they delivered was not the testimony of man, but the testimony of God delivered by man. It was *he* who *spake by the mouth of his holy prophets which have been since the world began*; the *mouth*, the instrument, the articulation was theirs; but the words were God's. *The Spirit of the Lord spake by me*, (saith David), *and his word was in my tongue.* It was the word of the Lord, which he spake *by the hand of Moses*, and *by the hand of his servant Ahijah the prophet.* The hand the general instrument of man, the mouth the particular instrument of speech, both attributed to the

Exod. iv. 16.

Exod. iv. 30.
31.

Exod. xiv. 31.

Luke i. 70.

2 Sam. xxiii.
2.1 Kings viii.
53.1 Kings xiv.
18.

prophets as merely instrumental in their prophecies. The words which Balaam's ass spake were as much the ass's words, as those which Balaam spake were his; for *the Lord opened* Num. xxii. 28. *the mouth of the ass*, and *the Lord put a word into Balaam's* Num. xxiii. 5. *mouth*; and not only so, but a bridle with that word, *only* Num. xxii. 35. *the word that I shall speak unto thee, that thou shalt speak.* The prophets, as they did not frame the notions or conceptions themselves of those truths which they delivered from God, so did they not loosen their own tongues of their own instinct, or upon their own motion, but as moved, impelled, and acted by God. So we may, in correspondence to the antecedent and subsequent words, interpret those words of St Peter, that *no prophecy of the scripture is of any*¹ *private inter-* 2 Pet. i. 20. *pretation*: that is, that no prophecy which is written did so proceed from the prophet which spake or wrote it, that he of himself, or by his own instinct, did open his mouth to prophesy; but that all prophetic revelations came from God alone, and that whosoever first delivered them was antecedently inspired by him, as it followeth, *for the prophecy came* 2 Pet. i. 21. *not in old time by the will of man, but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.* That therefore which they delivered was the Word, the Revelation of God; which they assented unto, as to a certain and infallible truth, credible upon the immediate testimony of God, and to which the rest of the believers assented upon the same testimony of God mediately delivered by the hands of the prophets.

Thus, *God, who at sundry times, and in divers manners*, Heb. i. 1. *spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets*, and by so speaking propounded the object of faith both to the prophets and the fathers, *hath in these last days spoken unto us by his* Heb. i. 2. *Son*, and by so speaking hath enlarged the object of faith to us by him, by which means it comes to be *the faith of Jesus*. Rev. xiv. 12. Thus the *only-begotten Son, who was in the bosom of the Father*, John i. 18. *the express image of his person, he in whom it pleased the* Heb. i. 3. *Father that all fulness should dwell, he in whom dwelleth all* Col. i. 19. *the fulness of the Godhead bodily*, revealed the will of God to the apostles; who being *assured that he knew all things*, and John xvi. 30. *convinced that he came forth from God*, gave a full and clear assent unto those things which he delivered, and grounded their faith upon his words, as upon the immediate testimony

¹ Ἰδιὰς ἐπιλύσεως.

- John xvii. 8. of God. *I have given unto them* (saith Christ unto his Father) *the words which thou gavest me, and they have received them, and have known surely that I came out from thee, and they have believed that thou didst send me.* Besides this delivery of these words by Christ to the apostles, they
- John xvi. 13. received the promise of the *Spirit of truth*, which should guide
- John xiv. 26. *them into all truth, and teach them all things, and bring all things into their remembrance whatsoever Christ had said unto them.* So clearly, so fully, so constantly, were they furnished with divine Illuminations, and Revelations from God, upon which they grounded their own faith; that each of them
- 2 Tim. i. 13. might well make that profession of St Paul, *I know whom I have believed.* Thus the faith of the apostles, as of Moses and the prophets, was grounded upon the immediate Revelations of God.

But those believers to whom the apostles preached, and whom they converted to the faith, believed the same truths which were revealed to the apostles, though they were not so revealed to them as they were unto the apostles, that is, immediately from God. But as the Israelites believed those truths which Moses spake to come from God, being convinced by the constant supply of miracles wrought by the rod which he carried in his hand: so the blessed apostles, being so plentifully endued from above with the power of miracles, gave sufficient testimony that it was God which spake by their mouths, who so evidently wrought by their hands. They which heard St Peter call a lame man unto his legs, speak a dead man alive, and strike a living man to death with his tongue, as he did Ananias and Sapphira, might easily be persuaded that it was God who spake by his mouth, and conclude that where they found him in his omnipotency, they might well expect him in his veracity. These were the persons for whom our Saviour next to the apostles prayed, because by a way next to that of the apostles they believed. 10

- John xvii. 20. *Neither pray I for these alone, (saith Christ), but for them also who shall believe on me through their word.* Thus the apostles believed on Christ through his own word, and the primitive Christians believed on the same Christ through the apostles' word: and this distinction our Saviour himself hath clearly made; not that the word of the apostles was really distinct from the word of Christ, but only it was called theirs, because

delivered by their ministry, otherwise it was the same word which they had heard from him, and upon which they themselves believed: *That which was from the beginning*, saith St ^{1 John i. 1, 2.} John, *which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled, of the word of life, that which we have seen and heard declare we unto you.* And this was the true foundation of faith in all them which believed, that they took not the words which they heard from the apostles to be the words of the men which spake them, no more than they did the power of healing the sick, or raising the dead, and the rest of the miracles, to be the power of them that wrought them; but as they attributed those miraculous works to God working by them, so did they also that saving word to the same God speaking by them. When St Paul preached at Antioch, *almost the whole city* ^{Acts xiii. 44.} *came together to hear the word of God;* so they esteemed it, though they knew him a man whom they came to hear speak it. This the apostle commendeth in the Thessalonians, that, *when they received the word of God, which they heard of him,* ^{1 Thess. ii. 13.} *they received it not as the word of man, but (as it is in truth) the word of God;* and receiving it so, they embraced it as coming from him who could neither deceive nor be deceived, and consequently as infallibly true; and by so embracing it, they assented unto it, and by so assenting to it, they believed it, ultimately upon the testimony of God, immediately upon the testimony of St Paul, as he speaks himself, *because our* ^{2 Thess. i. 10.} *testimony among you was believed.* Thus the faith of those which were converted by the apostles was *an assent unto the word as credible upon the testimony of God delivered to them by a testimony apostolical.* Which being thus clearly stated, we may at last descend into our own condition, and so describe the nature of our own faith, that every one may know what it is to *believe.*

Although Moses was endued with the power of miracles, and conversed with God in the mount, and spake with him face to face at the door of the Tabernacle: although upon these grounds the Israelites believed what he delivered to them as the word of God: yet neither the miracles nor Moses did for ever continue with them; and notwithstanding his death, they and their posterity to all generations were obliged to believe the same truths. Wherefore it is observable

Acts vii. 33. which St Stephen saith, he *received the lively oracles to give unto them*; the Decalogue he received from the hand of
 Exod. xxxi. 18. God, *written with the finger of God*; the rest of the divine patefactions he wrote himself, and so delivered them not a mortal word to die with him, but *living oracles*¹, to be in force when he was dead, and oblige the people to a belief, when his rod had ceased to broach the rocks and divide the seas. Neither did he only tie them to a belief of what he wrote himself, but by foretelling and describing the prophets which should be raised in future ages, he put a farther obligation upon them to believe their prophecies as the revelation of the same God. Thus all the Israelites, in all ages, believed Moses: while he lived, by believing his word; after his
 John v. 46, 47. death, by believing his writings. *Had ye believed Moses, saith our Saviour, ye would have believed me; for he wrote of me. But if ye believe not his writings, how shall ye believe my words?* Wherefore the *faith* of the Israelites in the land of Canaan was an assent unto the truths of the law as credible I I upon the testimony of God delivered unto them in the writings of Moses and the prophets.

In the like manner is it now with us. For although Christ first published the Gospel to those *who beheld his glory, the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father*; although the apostles first converted those unto the faith who heard them speak with tongues they never learned, they never heard before, and discover the thoughts of men they never saw before; who saw the lame to walk, the blind to see, the dead to revive, and the living to expire at their command: yet did not these apostles prolong their lives by virtue of that power which gave such testimony to their doctrine, but rather shortened them by their constant attestation to the truth of that doctrine farther confirmed by their death. Nor did that power of frequent and ordinary miraculous operations long survive them; and yet they left as great an obligation upon the Church in all succeeding ages to believe all the truths which they delivered, as they had put upon those persons who heard their words and saw their works; because they wrote the same truths which they spake, assisted in writing by the same Spirit by which they spake, and therefore require the same readiness of assent so long as the same truths shall

¹ Λόγια ζῶντα.

be preserved by those writings. While Moses lived and spake as a mediator between God and the Israelites, they believed his words, and so the prophets while they preached. When Moses was gone up to Mount Nebo, and there died, when the rest of the prophets were gathered to their fathers, they believed their writings, and the whole object of their faith was contained in them. When the Son of God came into the world to reveal the will of his Father, when he *made* John xv. 15. *known unto the apostles, as his friends, all things that he had heard of the Father*, then did the apostles believe the writings of Moses and the prophets, and the words of Christ, and in these taken together was contained the entire object of their faith, *and they believed the Scripture and the word which Jesus* John ii. 22. *had said.* When Christ was ascended up into heaven, and the Holy Ghost come down, when the words which Christ had taught the apostles were preached by them, and many thousand souls converted to the faith, they believed the writings of the prophets and the words of the apostles; and in these two was comprised the complete object of their faith. When the apostles themselves departed out of this life, and confirmed the truth of the Gospel preached by the last of sufferings, their death, they left the sum of what they had received in writing, for the continuation of the faith in the churches which they had planted, and the propagation thereof in other places, by those which succeeded them in their ordinary functions, but were not to come near them in their extraordinary gifts. *These things were written, saith St John,* John xx. 31. *the longest liver, and the latest writer, that ye might believe, that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing ye might have life through his name.*

Those Christians then which have lived since the apostles' death, and never obtained the wish of St Augustin to see either Christ upon earth, or St Paul in the pulpit, have believed the writings of Moses and the prophets, of the apostles and evangelists, in which together is fully comprehended whatsoever may properly be termed matter of divine faith; and so *the household of God is built upon the* Eph. ii. 20. *foundation of the apostles and prophets*¹, who are continued

¹ 'Prophetæ atque Apostoli, super quos omnium Ecclesiarum fundamenta locantur.' *S. Hieron. in Psal.*

xvii. [Tom. vii. Appendix, p. 42.]
[This Breviarium in Psalterium is improperly ascribed to St Jerome.]

unto us only in their writings, and by them alone convey unto us the truths which they received from God, upon whose testimony we believe. And therefore he which put their writings into the definition of faith, considering faith as now it stands with us, is none of the smallest of the Schoolmen¹. From whence we may at last conclude, that the true nature of the *faith* of a Christian, as the state of Christ's Church now 12 stands, and shall continue to the end of the world, consists in this, that it is *an assent unto truths credible upon the testimony of God delivered unto us in the writings of the apostles and prophets*.

To *believe* therefore as the word stands in the front of the CREED, and not only so, but is diffused through every article and proposition of it, is to assent to the whole and every part of it, as to a certain and infallible truth revealed by God (who by reason of his infinite knowledge cannot be deceived, and by reason of his transcendent holiness cannot deceive), and delivered unto us in the writings of the blessed apostles and prophets, immediately inspired, moved, and acted by God, out of whose writings this brief sum of necessary points of faith was first collected². And as this is properly to *believe*, which was our first consideration; so to say *I believe*, is to make a confession or external expression of the faith, which is the second consideration propounded.

1 Cor. ii. 11.

Faith is an habit of the intellectual part of man, and therefore of itself invisible; and to believe is a spiritual act, and consequently immanent and internal, and known to no man but him who believeth: *For what man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of a man which is in him?* Wherefore Christ being not only the great Apostle, sent to deliver these revealed truths, and so the author of our faith, but also the head of the Church, whose body consisteth of faithful members, and so the author of union and communion, which principally hath relation to the unity of faith, he must needs be imagined to have appointed some external expression

'Super Prophetas edificatur orbis terrarum, credens in Domino.' *Ruffin. ibid.*

¹ 'Fides est habitus, quo assentimus dictis Scripturæ propter auctoritatem Dei revelantis.' *Durand. l. iii. Dist. 24. q. 1. § 9.*

² Οὕχ, ὡς ἔδοξεν ἀνθρώποις, συνετέθη τὰ τῆς πίστεως, ἀλλ' ἐκ πάσης γραφῆς τὰ καιριώτατα συλλεχθέντα

μὴν ἀναπληροῦ τὴν τῆς πίστεως διδασκαλίαν. *S. Cyril. Catech. 5. fin. p. 78.* 'Ecclesiarum Patres, de populorum salute solliciti, ex diversis voluminibus Scripturarum collegerunt testimonia divinis gravida sacramentis.' *Euseb. Gall. in Sym. Hom. i. in Biblioth. Patr. Lat. Tom. v. par. i. p. 352 E.*

and communication of it: especially considering that the sound of the apostles was to go forth unto the ends of the world, and all nations to be called to the profession of the Gospel, and gathered into the Church of Christ; which cannot be performed without an acknowledgment of the truth, and a profession of faith, without which no entrance into the Church, no admittance to baptism. *What doth hinder me to be baptized?* Acts viii. 36. 37. saith the eunuch. *And Philip said, If thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest. And he answered and said, I believe that Jesus Christ is the son of God.* So believing with all his heart, as Philip required, and making profession of that faith, he was admitted. *For with the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation*¹. The *belief* of the heart is the internal habit residing in the soul, and act of faith proceeding from it, but terminated in the same. The *confession* of the mouth is an external signification of the inward habit or act of faith, by words expressing an acknowledgment of those truths which we believe or assent to in our souls². The ear receiveth the word, *faith cometh by hearing*; the ear conveyeth it to the heart, which being opened receiveth it, receiving believeth it; and then *out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh*. Rom. x. 17. Matt. xii. 34. In the heart faith is seated; with the tongue confession is made; between these two salvation is completed³. *If thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved.* Rom. x. 9. This *faith* of the heart every one ought, and is presumed to have; this *confession* of the mouth every one is known to make, when he pronounceth these words of the CREED, *I believe*; and if true, he may with comfort say, *the word of faith is nigh me, even in my mouth and in my heart*⁴: first in my heart really assenting, then in my mouth clearly and sincerely professing with the prophet David, *I have* Rom. x. 8. Psal. cxvi. 10.

¹ 'Habes, homo, unde credere debeas, corde creditur ad justitiam; habes unde debeas confiteri, ore confessio fit ad salutem.' *Chrysost. Serm.* 56. [p. 702 F.]

² 'Sermo creat auditum, auditus concipit fidem, credulitatem parurit fides, confessionem credulitas nutrit, confessio perpetuam dat salutem.' *Chrysost. Serm.* 60. [p. 705 C.]

³ 'Magnum, filioli, per hoc fidei

nostræ videmus esse compendium, quando inter cor et linguam totum salutis humanæ versatur et geritur Sacramentum.' *Chrysost. Serm.* 56. [p. 702 F.] 'Quod a te et pro te reposcitur, intra te est, id est, oris famulatus et cordis affectus.' *Euseb. Gall. de Symb.* Hom. ii. p. 554 C.

⁴ 'De hoc sine dubio legimus per Prophetam, Prope est (inquit) in ore tuo, et in corde tuo.' *Euseb. Gall. ibid.*

believed, therefore have I spoken. Thus briefly from the second 13
consideration concerning confession implied in the first words
I believe, we shall pass unto the third consideration, of the
necessity and particular obligation to such a confession.

If there were no other argument, yet being the object of
faith is supposed infallibly true, and acknowledged to be so by
every one that believeth, being it is the nature of truth not to
hide itself, but rather to desire the light that it might appear;
this were sufficient to move us to a *confession* of our *faith*.
But beside the nature of the thing, we shall find many argu-
ments obliging, pressing, urging us to such a profession. For,
first, from the same God, and by the same means by which
we have received the object of our faith, by which we
came under a possibility of faith, we have also received an
express command to make a *confession* of the same: *Be ready*
1 Pet. III. 15. (saith St Peter) *always to give an answer to every man that*
asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you; and there
can be no *reason of hope* but what is grounded on faith, nor
can there be answer given unto that without an acknowledg-
ment of this. Secondly, it is true indeed that the great pro-
mises of the Gospel are made unto faith, and glorious things
are spoken of it; but the same promises are made to the *con-*
Rom. x. 10. *fession of faith*, together with it; and we know who it is hath
Mat. x. 32. said, *Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I con-*
fess also before my Father which is in heaven. Besides, the
profession of the faith of one Christian confirmeth and edifieth
another in his, and the mutual benefit of all layeth an obliga-
tion upon every particular. Again, the matters of faith con-
tain so much purity of doctrine, persuade such holiness of life,
describe God so infinitely glorious, so transcendently gracious,
so loving in himself, so merciful in his Son, so wonderful in
all his works, that the sole confession of it glorifieth God; and
how can we expect to enter into that glory which is none of
ours, if we deny God that glory which is his? Lastly, the
concealing those truths which he hath revealed, the not ac-
knowledging that faith which we are thought to believe, is so
far from giving God that glory which is due unto him, that it
dishonoureth the faith which it refuseth or neglecteth to pro-
fess, and casteth a kind of contumely upon the author of it, as
if God had revealed that which man should be ashamed to
acknowledge. Wherefore he that came to save us hath also
Luke ix. 26. said unto us, *Whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my*

words, of him shall the Son of man be ashamed, when he shall come in his own glory, and in his Father's, and of the holy angels. Such a necessity there is of confession of faith, in respect of God, who commanded it, and is glorified in it; in respect of ourselves, who shall be rewarded for it; and in respect of our brethren, who are edified and confirmed by it. Which necessity the wisdom of the Church in former ages hath thought a sufficient ground to command the recitation of the CREED at the first initiation into the Church by baptism¹

¹ Ὁ τὸν κἀνὼν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀκλῶς ἐν αὐτῷ κατέχων, ὃν διὰ τοῦ βαπτισματος ἐληφε. *Iren.* l. i. c. i. 'Quum autem sub tribus et testatio fidei et sponsio salutis pignerentur, necessario adjicitur ecclesie mentio, quoniam ubi tres, id est, Pater, et Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus, ibi ecclesia, quæ trium corpus est.' *Tertull. de Baptis.* c. 6. [p. 258 c.] 'In quem enim tingeretur? in poenitentiam? quo ergo illi præcursorem? in peccatorum remissionem? quam verbo dabat? in semetipsum, quem humilitate celabat? in Spiritum Sanctum, qui nondum a Patre descenderat? in Ecclesiam, quam nondum Apostoli struxerant?' *Ibid.* c. 11. [p. 260 d.] 'Dehinc ter mergitatur, amplius aliquid respondentes quam Dominus in Evangelio determinavit.' *Id. de Cor. Militis,* c. 3. [p. 121.] 'Sed et ipsa interrogatio, quæ fit in Baptismo, testis est veritatis, nam cum dicimus, *Credis in vitam æternam, et remissionem peccatorum per sanctam Ecclesiam?* intelligimus remissionem peccatorum non nisi in Ecclesia dari.' *S. Cyprianus, ep. ad Januarium,* &c. § 2. *Ep.* 70, (p. 125.) [p. 190.] 'Quod si aliquis illud opponit, ut dicat, eandem Novatianum Legem tenere quam Catholica Ecclesia teneat, eodem Symbolo quo et nos baptizare, eundem nosse Deum Patrem, eundem Filium Christum, eundem Spiritum Sanctum, ac propter hoc usurpare eum potestatem baptizandi posse, quod videatur in interrogatione Baptismi a nobis non discrepare: sciat quisquis hoc opponendum putat primum, non esse unam nobis et schismaticis Symboli Legem, neque eandem interrogationem. Nam cum

dicunt, *Credis remissionem peccatorum, et vitam æternam per Sanctam Ecclesiam?* mentiuntur in interrogatione, quando non habeant Ecclesiam.' *Idem, Epist. ad Magnum,* § 6. [*Ep.* 69. p. 183.] 'Mos ibi (id est, Romæ) servatur antiquus, eos, qui gratiam Baptismi suscepturi sunt, publice, id est, fidelium populo audiente, Symbolum reddere.' *Ruffin. in Symb.* § 3. [p. 16.] 'Quum solenne sit in lavacro, post Trinitatis confessionem interrogare, *Credis Sanctam Ecclesiam? Credis remissionem peccatorum?*' *S. Hieron. contra Lucifer.* col. 618, ed. *M. Victor.* 1609. [Tom. II. p. 184 d.] 'Mens Hæretica reliquit Doctorem a quo fidem Ecclesiæ didicerat, oblita est pacti Dei sui, hoc est, fidei ipsius Dominicæ quæ in Symbolo continetur, quam se die baptismatis servataram esse promiserat.' *Id. Com. in Prov.* c. ii. v. 17. 'Interrogatus es, *Credis in Deum Patrem omnipotentem?* dixisti, *Credo;* et mersisti, hoc est, sepultus es. Iterum interrogatus es, *Credis in Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, et in crucem (ejus?)* dixisti, *Credo,* et mersisti: ideo et Christo es sepultus, [qui enim Christo consepelitur cum Christo resurget]. Tercio interrogatus es, *Credis in Spiritum Sanctum?* dixisti, *Credo;* tertio mersisti: ut multiplicem lapsum superioris ætatis absolveret trina confessio.' *Ambros. de Sacram.* l. ii. c. 7. [Tom. IV. p. 360 k.] Leo speaks thus of Eutyches in his epistle to Flavianus: 'Quam enim eruditionem de sacris Novi et Veteris Testamenti paginis acquisivit, qui nec ipsius quidem Symboli initia comprehendit? et quod per totum mundum omnium

(for which purpose it was taught and expounded to those which were to be baptized immediately¹ before the great

regeneratorum voce depromitur, istius adhuc senis corde non capitur.' *Ep. x. c. 1.* [p. 878 B.] And in the 12th Book of *Trinitate*, p. 304, ed. Chifflet. 1664, (formerly attributed to Athanasius, but more probably now thought to belong to Vigilius Tapsensis): 'Nec non et illa magna et beata Confessio Fidei, imo ipsa Fides Sanctorum, et Testamentum quod disposuimus ad Patrem, Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum, ad sacrum lavacrum regenerationis venientes, *Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, et in Jesum Christum Filium ejus unigenitum, et in Spiritum Sanctum.*' Καθὼς παρελάβομεν παρὰ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν ἐπισκόπων ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ κατηχήσει, καὶ οὕτως τὸ λουτρὸν ἐλαμβάνομεν. *Eusebius* of the Confession of Faith which he exhibited to the council of Nice, *Socr. l. i. c. 8.* [Tom. II. p. 20 c.] *Theodor. l. i. c. 12.* 'Abrenuncio, inquis, Diabolo, pompis, spectaculis, et operibus ejus, et quid postea? *Credo, inquis, in Deum Patrem omnipotentem.*' *Salvianus de Gubern. Dei*, lib. vi. [c. vi. p. 35 c.] p. 208, ed. Altorf. 1611, al. p. 182. And when this Creed was enlarged by the council of Nice, and after that by others, *Epiphanius* commends it to the catechumeni, to be repeated at their baptism: οὕτως ἕκαστος τῶν κατηχομένων τῶν μελλόντων τῷ ἁγίῳ λουτρῷ προσίεναι, οὐ μόνον ἀπαγγέλλειν ὀφείλετε τὸ πιστεῦν τοῖς ἐαυτῶν υἱοῖς ἐν κυρίῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ διδάσκειν ῥητῶς, ὡς πάντων ἡ αὐτῇ μήτηρ ὑμῶν τε καὶ ἡμῶν τὸ λέγειν, Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἓνα Θεόν, &c. *Epiphani. in Ancorato*, (§ 119. Tom. II. p. 122 c.) And when he had yet farther enlarged it by reason of some new emergent heresies, he commends it: μέλιστα τοῖς τῷ ἁγίῳ λουτρῷ προσιούσιν, ἕνα ἀπαγγέλλωσι καὶ λέγωσιν οὕτως. *Ibid.* (§ 121. p. 123 c.) The first council of Constantinople confirms the Nicene confession, as: πρεσβυτέρη τε οὖσαν καὶ ἀκόλουθον τῷ βαπτισματι. *Theodor. lib. v. cap. 9.* [p. 210 c.] And the council of Chalcedon of the same: ἦν,

ὡς κοινὸν ἐξ ἁγίων σύνθημα, τοῖς μνουμένοις πρὸς τὴν τῆς υιοθεσίας παρεγγυῶμεν ἀσφάλεια. *Parte tertia.* [Labbe, Tom. IV. p. 820 D.] The Synod at Jerusalem: τὸ ἁγιον σύμβολον εἰς ὃ ἐβαπτίσθημεν καὶ βαπτίζομεν. The Synod at Tyre: ἐν αὐτῷ βαπτισθέντες καὶ βαπτίζοντες. And the Council of Constantinople under Menna, to which the former sent their synodical letters: τὸ ἁγιον σύμβολον ἐν ᾧ πάντες ἐβαπτίσθημεν. *Concil. Constantinop. sub Agap. et Menna*, Act. 5. *Basiliscus* and *Marcus* in two several edicts, confirmed the same Nicene Creed with these words: εἰς ὃ ἡμεῖς τε καὶ πάντες οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν πιστεύσαντες ἐβαπτίσθημεν. *Evagr. l. iii. cap. 4* et 7. [p. 335 D. 340 c.] And the edict of the emperor *Justinian*: 'Anathematizaverunt eos, qui aliam definitionem fidei, sive Symbolum, sive Mathema, tradunt accedentibus ad sanctum baptismum.' [Dr Burton refers to Bishop Bull, *Jud. Eccles. Cath.* vi. 4, to shew that the Nicene Creed was not intended to be recited at Baptism: and to Bingham's *Antiquities*, x. 4. 17. and quotes Heb. x. 22, 23; 1 Pet. iii. 21, as containing apparently some allusion to the recitation of a Creed at Baptism.]

¹ Ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς φωτιζομένους τὴν πίστιν ἐκμανθάνειν, καὶ τῇ πέμπτῃ τῆς ἐβδομάδος ἀπαγγέλλειν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ἢ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις. *Concil. Laodic.* Can. 46. [Labbe, Tom. I. p. 1505.] Where it is to be observed that Πίστις is taken for the Creed or Symbolum Fidei, and was so translated anciently, as appeareth by the Canon preserved in the Canon-law, and rendered thus: 'Baptizandos oportet Fidei Symbolum discere, et quinta feria ultimæ septimæ vel Episcopo vel Presbyteris reddere.' *De Conc. dist. 4*, cap. 58. 'Symbolum etiam placuit ab omnibus Ecclesiis una die, id est, ante octo dies Dominicæ resurrectionis, publice in Ecclesia competentibus tradi.' *Concil. Agathens.* cap. 13. [Can. 13.

solemnity of Easter), and to require a particular¹ repetition of it publicly, as often as the sacrament of the Eucharist was administered, and a constant and perpetual inculcation of the same by the clergy to the people².

And as this necessity is great, as the practice useful and advantageous; so is the obligation of believing and confessing particular, binding every single Christian, observable in the number and person expressed, *I believe*. As if Christ did question every one in particular, as he did him who was born blind, after he had restored him his sight (and we are all in his condition), *Dost thou believe on the Son of God?* Every single Christian is taught to make the same answer which he made, *Lord, I believe*. As if the Son of God did promise to every one of them which are gathered together in his name,

Labbé, Tom. iv. p. 1386.] 'Sicut antiqui Canones jubent, ante viginti dies Baptismi ad purgationem exorcismi Catechumeni currant: in quibus viginti diebus omnino Catechumeni Symbolum, quod est, *Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem*, specialiter doceantur.' *Concil. Bracaren.* 3. [Can. 1. Labbé, Tom. v. p. 897.] The Canon of the Laodicean Council, already mentioned, is verbatim rehearsed in the sixth council in Trulla, Can. 78. It appeareth therefore a general command of the Church, that those who were to be baptized, should have a certain time allotted for the learning and rehearsing of the CREED. And in case of necessity, if any were baptized, they were to learn the CREED immediately after their baptism: *ὅτι θεὸς* (not as it is in the edition of Binius, both in this canon and in the former most absurdly, *Ὅτι οὐ θεὸς*) *τοὺς ἐν νόσῳ παραλαμβάνοντας τὸ φάτισμα, καὶ εἰτα ἀναστάντας, ἐκμαρθάνειν τὴν πίστιν, καὶ γινώσκειν ὅτι θεὸς ὡρεῖται κατηγιώθησαν.* *Conc. Laod.* Can. 47. [Labbé, Tom. i. p. 1506.]

¹ As appears in the ancient Greek Liturgies, and the Decree of the third council of Toledo: 'Ut omni sacrificii tempore ante communionem corporis Christi et sanguinis, juxta Orientalium partium morem, unanimiter clara voce sacratissimum fidei recenseant Symbolum.' Tom. II. par. 2. p. 278.

Concil. Gen. ed. Bin. [The words of this Decree, both in Binius and Labbé, are, "Ut omni sacrificii tempore communionem corporis Christi vel sanguinis...." Binius, Tom. II. Par. 2, p. 278, col. 2 D. Labbé, Tom. v. p. 1009, col. 2 B.] Which custom as they call it of the Oriental parts, is said first to be introduced by Petrus Mongus at Alexandria, and after by Timotheus at Constantinople, as appears out of the fragments of Theodorus Lector. ['Theodosius, ab amicis rogatus, Symbolum fidei trecentorum decem et octo patrum per singulas synaxes dici curavit, ad reprehensionem videlicet Macedonii, quasi ille Symbolum hoc non receperit; cum antea semel tantum in anno, in parasceue scilicet dominicæ passionis tempore, quo Episcopus catechizabat, recitatum est.' Theodorus Lector, *Bibliotheca Patr.* Col. Agrip. 1618. Tom. VI. Par. 1. p. 508.] [Bingham, x. 4. 17, here quoted by Dr Burton, shews that the Creed was not repeated in the daily service in the Greek Church, till about the middle of the fifth century; and not till a later period in the Latin Church.]

² 'Symbolum, quod est signaculum fidei, et Orationem Dominicam discere, semper admoveant sacerdotes populum Christianum.' *Concil. Mogunt.* cap. 45. [Labbé, Tom. VI. p. 1251.]

Mark ix. 17,
23, 24.

what he promised to *one of the multitude, whose son had a dumb spirit, If thou canst believe, all things are possible to him that believeth*; each one for himself returneth his answer, *Lord, I believe; Lord, help my unbelief*. Not that it is unlawful or unfit to use another number, and instead of *I*, to say *We believe*: for taking in of others, we exclude not ourselves; and addition of charity can be no disparagement to

John vi. 69.

confession of faith. St Peter answered for the twelve, *We believe, and are sure that thou art that Christ, the Son of the living God*. For though Christ immediately replied that *one of them had a devil*, yet is not St Peter blamed, who knew it not. But every one is taught to express his own

James v. 16.

faith, because by that he is to stand or fall. *The effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much* for the benefit of his brother, but his faith availeth nothing for the justification of another. And it is otherwise very fit that our faith should be manifested by a particular confession, because it is effectual by particular application; therefore must it needs be 15 proper for me to say, *I believe*, and to make profession of my faith in the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me.

Gal. ii. 20.

Being then I have described¹ the true nature and notion of *belief*, the duty of *confessing* our faith, and the obligation of every particular Christian to *believe* and to *confess*; being in these three explications all, which can be imaginably contained in the first word of the CREED, must necessarily be included; it will now be easy for me to deliver, and for every particular person to understand what it is he says, and upon what ground he proceeds, when he begins his *confession* with these words, *I believe*, which I conceive may in this manner be fitly expressed.

Although those things which I am ready to affirm be not apparent to my sense, so that I cannot say I see them; although they be not evident to my understanding of themselves, nor appear unto me true by the virtue of any natural and necessary cause, so that I cannot say I have any proper knowledge or science of them; yet, being they are certainly contained in the Scriptures, the writings of the blessed apostles and prophets; being those apostles and prophets were endued with miraculous power from above, and immediately inspired with the Holy Ghost, and consequently what they delivered was not the word of man, but of God himself; being God is

¹ [Having then described, 3rd Edition.]

of that universal knowledge and infinite wisdom, that it is impossible he should be deceived, of that indefectible holiness and transcendent rectitude, that it is not imaginable he should intend to deceive any man, and consequently whatsoever he hath delivered for a truth must be necessarily and infallibly true; I readily and steadfastly assent unto them as most certain truths, and am as fully and absolutely, and more concerningly persuaded of them, than of anything I see or know. And because that God who hath revealed them hath done it, not for my benefit only, but for the advantage of others, nor for that alone, but also for the manifestation of his own glory; being for those ends he hath commanded me to profess them, and hath promised an eternal reward upon my profession of them; being every particular person is to expect the justification of himself, and the salvation of his soul, upon the condition of his own faith; as with a certain and full persuasion I assent unto them, so with a fixed and undaunted resolution I will profess them; and with this faith in my heart, and confession in my mouth, in respect of the whole body of the CREED, and every article and particle in it, I sincerely, readily, resolutely say, I BELIEVE.

I BELIEVE IN GOD.

HAVING delivered the nature of *faith*, and the act of *belief* common to all the articles of the CREED, that we may understand what it is to *believe*; we shall proceed to the explication of the articles themselves, as the most necessary objects of our *faith*, that we may know what is chiefly to be believed. Where immediately we meet with another word as general as the former, and as universally concerned in every article, which is *God*: for if to *believe* be to assent upon the testimony of God, as we have before declared, then wheresoever belief is expressed, or implied, there is also the name of *God* understood, upon whose testimony we *believe*. He therefore whose authority is the ground and foundation of the whole, his existence begins the CREED, as the foundation of that authority. For if there can be no divine faith without the attestation of *God*, by which alone it becomes divine, and there can be no
 16 such attestation, except there were an existence of the testifier, then must it needs be proper to begin the *confession* of our

faith with the agnition of our *God*. If his name¹ were thought fit to be expressed in the front of every action, even by the heathen, because they thought no action prospered but by his approbation; much more ought we to fix it before our *confession*, because without him to believe as we profess, is no less than a contradiction.

Now these words, *I believe in God*, will require a double consideration; one, of the phrase or manner of speech; another, of the thing or nature of the truth in that manner expressed. For to *believe* with an addition of the preposition *in*, is a phrase or expression ordinarily conceived fit to be given to none but to God himself, as always implying, beside a bare act of faith, an addition of hope, love, and affiance. An observation, as I conceive, prevailing especially in the Latin church, grounded principally upon the authority of St Augustin².

¹ Θεός, θεός Ἐθός ἦν, ὅταν καταρχωτό τις, θεός λέγειν, ἐπευφημοῦμεν. *Heych. Lex.*

² For *Ser.* 181, which is upon the CREED, we find these words: 'Non dicit, Credo Deum, vel Credo Deo, quamvis et hæc saluti necessaria sint. Aliud enim est credere illi, aliud credere illum, aliud credere in illum. Credere illi, est credere vera esse quæ loquitur; Credere illum, credere quia ipse est Deus; Credere in illum, diligere illum.' (Vol. VI. p. 279, Append.) [Tom. VI. p. 759 A.] And though that collection of Sermons *de tempore* under the name of St Augustin be not all his (divers of them being translations of the Greek Homilies), yet this distinction may be collected out of other parts of his works. For, first, he distinguisheth very clearly and seriously between *credere Deo*, and *credere in Deum*. 'Nunquam aliquis Apostolorum dicere auderet, *Qui credit in me*, [non credit in me, sed in eum qui misit me: omnino enim non diceret, *Qui credit in me*]. Credimus enim Apostolo, sed non credimus in Apostolum.' *Tract.* 54, in *Psalms*. [Joh. § 3. Tom. III. p. 472 E.] And again: 'Credimus Paulo, sed non credimus in Paulum; credimus Petro, sed non credimus in Petrum.' *Tract.* 29 [§ 6. Tom. III. p. 374 B] in *Joh.* Second-

ly, he distinguisheth between *credere Deum*, and *credere in Deum*. 'Multum interest, utrum quis credat ipsum esse Christum, et utrum credat in Christum.—Ille enim credit in Christum, qui et sperat in Christum, et diligit Christum.' *De verbis Dom. Serm.* 61. [144. c. 2, § 2. Tom. V. p. 483 D.] And, which is the sum of all, he puts a high value upon the preposition, as if, by virtue of the addition of *in*, the phrase did properly signify so great an accession unto faith: 'Quid est credere in Deum? Credendo amare, credendo diligere, credendo in eum ire, et ejus membris incorporari.' *Tract.* 29 [§ 6. Tom. III. p. 374 C.] in *Joh.* Which doctrine of St Augustin's being taken notice of by Peter Lombard, hath since been continued by the school-men; and Aquinas, *Sum.* ii. qu. 2, art. 1, § 2. *ad prim.* bringing all three under one act of faith, hath been contradicted by Durand. in 3 *Sent. dis.* 23, q. 7, § 6. 'Credere in Deum non est precise actus fidei, sed fidei et caritatis simul; et sunt etiam plures, et non unus actus tantum.' By whose subtle, but yet clear, determination (as many of his are beyond the rest of the schools), whatsoever is added by the preposition to *believe*, appears not to be a part of belief, but an act superadded to the act of faith.

Whereas among the Greeks, in whose language the New Testament was penned, I perceive no such constant distinction in their deliveries of the CREED; and in the Hebrew language¹ of the Old, from which the Jewish and Christian Greeks received

¹ For אמן is sometimes joined with ל, sometimes with ב: when with ל, it answers properly to πιστεύειν τῷ Θεῷ, *credere Deo*, (ל being nothing else but a signifier of the case); when with ב it corresponds to πιστεύειν εἰς τὸν Θεόν, *credere in Deum*, (ב being a preposition of the same nature with εἰς or in). But yet there is so little, or rather no difference in the Hebrew, that in the first place where it is used, and that of the Father of the Faithful, even for the act of justifying faith, וראינו ביהוה Gen. xv. 6, it is translated by the LXX. καὶ ἐπίστευσεν Ἀβραμ τῷ Θεῷ, not εἰς Θεόν, and that translation warranted by St Paul, Rom. iv. 3, Gal. iii. 6, and St James ii. 23. In the same manner, וראינו ביהוה אלוהינו is translated by the LXX. (as that translation is preserved in the Alexandrian and Complutensian copies), οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν κυρίῳ Θεῷ αὐτῶν. Besides, the same phrase is used in the same place both to God and to man, as Exod. xiv. 31, וראינו ביהוה ובמשה עבדו and *they believed in God, and in his servant Moses*; which the Chaldee paraphrase explaineth thus, וראינו במימראדיו, and *they believed in the word of God, and in the prophecy of Moses his servant*. And 2 Chron. xx. 20, וראינו ביהוה אלוהינו Believe in the Lord your God, so shall ye be established; believe in his prophets, so shall ye prosper. For although the Vulgar Latin, which our translation followeth, hath made that distinction which the Hebrew maketh not: 'Credite in Domino Deo vestro, et securi eritis; credite prophetis ejus, et cuncta evenient prospera:' yet the Septuagint acknowledgeth no necessity of receding from the original phrase: ἐπιστεύσατε ἐν κυρίῳ τῷ Θεῷ ὑμῶν, καὶ ἐπιστευσήσεσθε: ἐπιστεύσατε ἐν προ-

φήταις αὐτοῦ, καὶ εὐδοθήσεσθε. Nor is it only attributed to Moses as joined with God, and so taken as it were into the same phrase, but separately by himself, as Exod. xix. 9, "The Lord said unto Moses, Lo, I come unto thee in a thick cloud, that the people may hear when I speak with thee, ואת כל ימינו לעד and *believe in thee for ever*." And therefore when it was objected to St Basil, that they did believe in Moses, as well as that they were baptized into Moses, and generally: ἡ πίστις ὁμολογῆται ἡδὴ καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους γεγενησθαι: the Father doth not deny the language, but interprets it: ἡ εἰς αὐτὸν πίστις ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον ἀναφέρεται. *De Sp. S.* c. 14. [§ 31. 33. Tom. i. p. 25 D, 27 C.] Neither is this only spoken of Moses and the prophets, that the Israelites believed in them, but of David, not as a prophet, but as a bare relater of his own actions, 1 Sam. xxvii. 12, וראינו אכיש ואלוהינו אכיש ברדד LXX. 'Et credidit Achis in David,' *Vulg.* 'Est ergo fides nostra primo quidem omnium in Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, consequenter vero etiam in omnes sanctos Patriarchas, vel Prophetas, vel Apostolos Christi.' *Orig. in Apol. Pamphil.* [Inter Opera Origenis, Tom. iv. Appendix, p. 38 B, col. 2.] To conclude, this general phrase of *believing in*, is originally attributed sometimes to the supreme author of our Faith, as to God; sometimes to the intervenient messengers, as the prophets; sometimes to the motives of our Faith, Psal. lxxviii. 32, וראינו במלאכיו LXX. καὶ οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν ἐν τοῖς θαυμασίοις αὐτοῦ, and *they believed not in his wondrous works*; sometimes to the object of it, or that which is believed, as Psalm cxix. 66, בנצותיך האמנתי, I have believed in thy commandments, as Mark i. 15, πιστεύετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ.

that phrase of *believing in*, it hath no such peculiar and accumulative signification. For it is sometimes attributed to God, the author and original cause; sometimes to the prophets, the immediate revealers of the faith; sometimes it is spoken of miracles, the motives to believe; sometimes of the Law of God, the material object of our faith. Among all which varieties of that phrase of speech, it is sufficiently apparent that in this confession of faith it is most proper to admit it in the last acception, by which it is attributed to the material object ¹⁷ of belief. For the CREED being nothing else but a brief comprehension of the most necessary matters of faith, whatsoever is contained in it beside the first word *I believe*, by which we make confession of our faith, can be nothing else but part of those verities to be believed, and the act of belief in respect to them nothing but an assent unto them as divinely credible and infallible truths. Neither can we conceive that the ancient Greek Fathers of the Church could have any farther meaning in it, who make the whole body of the CREED to be of the same nature, as so many truths to be believed, acknowledged, and confessed; insomuch as sometimes they use not *believing in*¹, neither for the Father, Son, nor Holy Ghost; sometimes using it as to them, they continue the same to the following articles of, *the Catholic Church, the Communion of Saints*², &c. and generally speak of the CREED³ as of nothing but

¹ Πιστεύομεν τοῖνυν καὶ ὁμολογοῦμεν ἓνα μόνον ἀληθινὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν Θεόν,—καὶ ἓνα τὸν μονογενῆ αὐτοῦ υἱόν,—καὶ ἐν μόνον πνεύμα ἁγίον. *S. Basil. de Fide*, c. 4. [Tom. II. p. 227 B.]

² Arius and Euzoios in their confession delivered to Constantine: Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἓνα Θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα, καὶ εἰς κύριον Ἰησοῦν,—καὶ εἰς τὸ ἁγίον πνεῦμα, καὶ εἰς σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν, καὶ εἰς ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος, καὶ εἰς βασιλείαν οὐρανῶν, καὶ εἰς μίαν καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ. *Socrat. Hist. Eccl.* l. i. c. 26. *Sozomen.* l. ii. c. 27. Κατήχησις τῶν φωτιζομένων σχεδιασθεῖσα εἰς τὸ, καὶ εἰς ἐν πνεῦμα ἁγίον,—καὶ εἰς μίαν ἁγίαν καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ εἰς σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν, καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον. *S. Cyril. Hierosol. Catech.* 16 et 18, init. Εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἁγίον,—εἰς μίαν ἁγίαν καθο-

λικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν. *S. Eriphan. in Anc.* § 120. [Tom. II. p. 123 A.] And in a larger confession: Πιστεύομεν εἰς μίαν καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ εἰς ἐν βάπτισμα μετανόας, καὶ εἰς ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν,—καὶ εἰς βασιλείαν οὐρανῶν, καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον. § 121. [p. 124 C.]

³ Gregorius Nyssenus calls them εὐσεβεῖς περὶ Θεοῦ ὑπολήψεις. And Eusebius in his Confession exhibited to the council of Nice, concludes: Πιστεύομεν καὶ εἰς ἐν πνεῦμα ἁγίον, τούτων ἕκαστον εἶναι καὶ ὑπάρχειν πιστεύοντες: (*Socrat. Hist. Eccl.* i. 8.) [Tom. II. p. 21 A.] ["That each of these persons has a distinct and separate existence." Dr Burton.] signifying that every particular which he had rehearsed he believed to be. And that was all in the confession intended. Alexander, bishop of Alexandria,

mere matter of faith, without any intimation of hope, love, or any such notion included in it¹. So that *believing in*, by virtue of the phrase or manner of speech, whether we look upon the original use of it in the Hebrew, or the derivative in the Greek, or the sense of it in the first Christians in the Latin Church, can be of no farther real importance in the CREED in respect of God, who immediately follows, than to acknowledge and assert his being or existence. Nor ought this to be imagined a slender notion or small part of the first Article of our faith, when it really is the foundation of this and all the rest; that as the CREED is fundamental in respect of other truths, this is the foundation² even of the fundamentals: *for he that cometh to God must believe that he is.* And this I take for a sufficient explication of the phrase, *I believe in God*, that is, *I believe that God is.* Heb. xi. 6.

As for the matter or truth contained in these words so explained, it admits a threefold consideration, first, of the notion of *God*, what is here understood by that name; secondly, of the existence of *God*, how we know or believe that he is; thirdly, the unity of *God*, in that though *there be gods many* 1 Cor. viii. 5. *and lords many*, yet in our CREED we mention him as but one. When, therefore, we shall have clearly delivered what is the true notion of *God* in whom we believe, how and by what means we come to assure ourselves of the existence of such a Deity, and upon what grounds we apprehend him of such a transcendent nature that he can admit no competitor; then may we be conceived to have sufficiently explicated the former part of the first Article; then may every one under-

after a long declaration of the former articles concerning the Father and the Son, draws to a conclusion on the latter article thus: Πρὸς δὲ τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ (I. εὐσεβεῖ) ταύτῃ περὶ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ δόξῃ—ἐν πνεύμα ἁγίῳ ὁμολογοῦμεν—μὴν καὶ μόνον καθολικὴν τὴν ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν—μετὰ τοῦτον (vel τοῦτο) τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν οἴδαμεν. Theodor. Hist. Eccl. l. i. c. 4. [p. 18 D.] So Tertull. de Præscript. adv. Hæret. c. 13. [p. 235 C.] 'Regula est autem fidei—illa scilicet qua creditur, Unum omnino Deum esse:' and adv. Præscam. c. 2, [p. 635 A.,] where he makes another rehearsal of his Creed, he begins with: 'Unicum quidem Deum credimus.'

¹ 'Non est amor Dei Articulus, neque etiam amor proximi;.....quia etiamsi sint præcepta generalia activa, tamen cum actio contineatur, non oportet eum constituere articulum: sed ista sunt fidei dogmata, quæ sunt columnæ et fundamenta legis divinæ.' Is. Abravanel de cap. fidei, c. 11. 'Primus est deorum cultus, deos credere.' Sen. Epist. xc. p. 470. [p. 354. Elzevir, 1658.]

² יסוד היסודות ועמוד החכמות לידע שיש שם מצוי ראשון והוא ממצא כל־ימצא the foundation of foundations and pillar of wisdoms is to know, that the first Being is, and that it giveth existence to every thing which is. Maimonides de Fundamen. Legis, c. 1. § 1.

stand what he says, and upon what ground he proceeds, when he professeth, *I believe in God*.

The name of *God* is attributed unto many, but here is to be understood of him who by way of eminency and excellency bears that name, and therefore is styled *God of gods*; *the Lord our God is God of gods, and Lord of lords*: and in the same respect is called *the most high God*, (others being but inferior, or under him), and *God over* or *above all*¹. This eminency and excellency, by which these titles become proper unto him, and incommunicable to any other, is grounded upon the Divine nature or essence, which all other who are called gods have not, and therefore are not by nature gods. *Then when ye knew not God* (saith St Paul) *ye did service unto them which by nature are not gods*. There is then a God by nature, and others which are called gods, but by nature are not so: for either they have no power at all, because no being, but only in the false opinions of deceived men, as the gods of the heathen; or if they have any real power or authority, from whence some are called *gods*² in the Scripture, yet have they it not from themselves or of their own nature, but from him who *only hath immortality*, and consequently only Divinity, and therefore is *the only true God*. So that the notion of a Deity doth at last expressly signify a Being or nature of infinite perfection³; and the infinite perfection of a nature or being consisteth in this, that it be absolutely and essentially necessary, an actual being of itself; and potential or causative of all beings beside itself, independent from any other, upon which all things else depend, and by which all things else are governed. It is true, indeed, that to give a perfect definition of *God* is impossible, neither can our finite reason hold any proportion with infinity; but yet a sense of this Divinity we have, and the first and common notion of it consists in these three particulars; that it is a Being of itself, and independent from any other; that it is that upon which all things which are made depend; that it

Deut. x. 17.
Paul. cxxxvi.
2.
Dan. ii. 47;
xi. 36.
Gen. xiv. 18
— 20, 22.
Rom. ix. 5.
Eph. iv. 6.

Gal. iv. 8.

1 Tim. vi. 16.

John xvii. 8.

¹ 'Imprimis quidem necesse est concedatis esse aliquem sublimiorem Deum et mancipem quendam divinitatis, qui ex hominibus Deos fecerit.' *Tertull. adv. Gentes*, c. 11. [p. 12 D.]

² 'Ego dixi, Dii estis; sed in eo indulti nominis significatio est: et ubi refertur, ego dixi, loquentis est potius

sermo quam rei nomen.' *S. Hilar. de Trin.* l. vii. c. 10.

³ 'Deus plenæ ac perfectæ divinitatis est nomen.' *S. Hilar. de Trin.* l. xi. c. 48. 'Deus substantiæ ipsius nomen, id est, divinitatis.' *Tertull. adv. Herm.* c. 3. [p. 266 C.]

governs all things. And this I conceive sufficient as to the first consideration, in reference to the notion of a *God*.

As for the existence of such a Being, how it comes to be known unto us, or by what means we are assured of it, is not so unanimously agreed upon, as that it is. For although some have imagined that the knowledge of a Deity is connatural to the soul of man, so that every man hath a connate inbred notion of a *God*; yet I rather conceive the soul of man to have no connatural knowledge at all, no particular notion of any thing in it, from the beginning; but being we can have no assurance of its pre-existence, we may more rationally judge it to receive the first apprehensions of things by sense, and by them to make all rational collections. If then the soul of man be at the first like a fair smooth table, without any actual characters of knowledge imprinted in it; if all the knowledge which we have comes successively by sensation, instruction, and rational collection; then must we not refer the apprehension of a Deity to any connate notion or inbred opinion; at least we are assured God never chargeth us with the knowledge of him upon that account.

Again, although others do affirm, that the existence of God is a truth evident of itself, so as whosoever hears but these terms once named, that *God is*, cannot choose but acknowledge it for a certain and infallible truth upon the first apprehension: that as no man can deny that the whole is greater than any part, who knoweth only what is meant by *whole*, and what by *part*: so no man can possibly deny or doubt of the existence of *God*, who knows but what is meant by *God*, and what it is *to be*; yet can we not ground our knowledge of God's existence upon any such clear and immediate evidence: nor were it safe to lay it upon such a ground, because whosoever should deny it, could not by this means be convinced; it being a very irrational way of instruction to tell a man that doubts of this truth, that he must believe it because it is evident unto him, when he knows that he therefore only doubts of it, because it is not evident unto him.

19 Although therefore that, *God is*, be of itself an immediate, certain, necessary truth, yet must it be¹ evidenced and made

¹ 'Hæc propositio, Deus est, quantum in se est, per se nota est, quia prædicatum est idem cum subjecto.

Deus enim est suum esse.—Sed quia nos non scimus de Deo quid est, non est nobis per se nota, sed indiget

apparent unto us by its connexion unto other truths; so that the being of the Creator may appear unto us by his creature, and the dependency of inferior entities lead us to a clear acknowledgment of the supreme and independent Being.

Wisd. xiii. 5. The wisdom of the Jews thought this method proper, *for by the greatness and beauty of the creatures, proportionably the Maker of them is seen:* and not only they, but St Paul hath taught us, that *the invisible things of God, from the creation of the world, are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead*¹. For if

demonstrari per ea quæ sunt magis nota quoad nos, et minus nota quoad naturam, scilicet per effectus.' *Aquin.* Par. i. qu. 2. art. 1.

¹ This place must be vindicated from the false gloss of Socinus, who contends, that it cannot be proved from the creature that there is a God, and therefore to this place of St Paul answers thus: 'Sciendum est verba, *a creatione mundi*, debere conjungi cum verbo *invisibilia*—Ait igitur eo in loco Apostolus, *æternam divinitatem Dei*, id est, id quod nos Deus perpetuo facere vult (*Divinitas enim hoc sensu alibi quoque apud ipsum enunciat, ut Col. ii. 9), æternamque potentiam*, id est, promissiones quæ nunquam intercedunt (quo sensu paulo superius dixerat *Evangelium esse potentiam Dei*), hæc, inquam, quæ nunquam postquam mundus creatus fuerat, ab hominibus visa fuerant, id est, non fuerant eis cognita, *per opera*, hoc est, per mirabiles ipsius Dei et divinorum hominum, præsertim vero Christi et Apostolorum ejus, operationes, conspecta fuisse.' (*Prælectiones Theologicae*, Lib. i. c. ii. Tom. 1. p. 538. Ed. 1656. col. 2.) In which explication there is nothing which is not forced and distorted; for though his first observation seems plausible, yet there is no validity in it. He bringeth only for proof, Matt. xiii. 35, *κεκρυμμένα ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου*, which proves not at all that *ἀπὸ κτίσεως* has the same sense: and it is more probable that it hath not, because that is usually expressed by *ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κτίσεως*, Mark x. 6, and xiii. 19, 2 Pet. iii. 4, never by *ἀπὸ*

κτίσεως. Besides, the *κεκρυμμένα* in St Matthew bears not that analogy with *ἀόρατα* which Socinus pretends, signifying not things unseen or unknown till then, but only obscure sayings or parables; for which purpose those words were produced out of the Psalms by the Evangelist, to prove that the Messiah was to speak in parables, in the original וְדִבְרֵי מְרִמָּה LXX. *προβλήματα ἀπ' ἀρχῆς*, id est, wise ancient sayings, which were not unseen and unknown, for it immediately followeth, *which we have heard and known, and our fathers have told us*, Psal. lxxviii. 3. And though he would make out this interpretation, by accusing other interpreters of unfaithfulness: 'Plerique interpretes, ex præpositione *α*, ex fecerunt, contra ipsorum Græcorum Codicum fidem, qui non *ἐκ κτίσεως*, sed *ἀπὸ κτίσεως* habent:' yet there is no ground for such a calumny, because *ἀπὸ* may be, and is often rendered *ε* or *ἐκ* as well as *ἐκ*, as Matt. iii. 4, *ἀπὸ τριχῶν καμήλου, ε* *πίλις camelinis*, vii. 4, *ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σου, ex oculo tuo*, 16, *ἀπὸ ἀκαθάρτων, ex spinis*; and even in the sense which Socinus contends for, Matt. xvii. 18, *ἀπὸ τῆς ὥρας ἐκείνης*, V. T. *ex illa hora*, as Tully, 1 *de Fin.* 51, 'Ex ea die,' and Virgil, 'Ex illo Corydon, Corydon est tempore nobis,' *Ecl.* vii. 70, and, 'Tempore jam ex illo casus mihi cognitus urbis Trojanæ,' *Æn.* i. 623. So the Greek *ἀπὸ μέρους* the Latins render *ex parte*, *ἀπὸ τοῦ τοῦ, ex æquo*: of which examples are innumerable. [Dr Burton refers to Matt. vii. 20, xi. 19, xvi. 21; Luke xvii. 25;

Phidias could so contrive a piece of his own work¹, as in it to preserve the memory of himself, never to be obliterated without the destruction of the work, well may we read the great Artificer of the world in the works of his own hands, and by the existence of any thing demonstrate the first cause of all things.

We find by the experience of ourselves, that some things in this world have a beginning, before which they were not; the account of the years of our age sufficiently infer our nativities, and they our conceptions, before which we had no being. Now if there be any thing which had a beginning, there must necessarily be something which had no beginning, because nothing can be a beginning to itself. Whatsoever is, must of necessity either have been made, or not made; and something there must needs be which was never made, because all things cannot be made. For whatsoever is made, is made by another, neither can any thing produce itself; otherwise it would follow, that the same thing is and is not at the same instant in the same respect: it is, because a producer; it is not, because to be produced: it is therefore in being, and is not in being; which is a manifest contradiction. If then all things which

Acts ii. 22; Apoc. xii. 6.] There is no unfaithfulness then imputable to the interpreters: nor can such pitiful criticisms give any advantage to the first part of Socinus's exposition. However the Catholic interpretation depends not on those words *ἀπὸ κτίσεως*, but on the consideration of the persons, that is the Gentiles, and the other words, *ποιήμασι νοούμενα*, which he farther perverts, rendering them the *miraculous operations* of Christ and his apostles, or, as one of our learned men, their *doings*, mistaking *ποίημα*, which is from the passive *ποιῆσθαι*, for *ποίησις*, from the active *ἐποίησα*: for *ποίημα* is properly the *thing made or created*, not the *operation or doing* of it; as *κτίσις* is sometimes taken for the *creature*, sometimes for the *creation*, but *κτίσμα* is the *creature* only. As therefore we read, 1 Tim. iv. 4, *πάν κτίσμα Θεοῦ καλόν*, so Eph. ii. 10, *αὐτοῦ γὰρ ἔσμεν ποίημα*. In this sense spake Thales properly: *Προεβύτατον τῶν ὄντων Θεός, ἀγέννητον γὰρ κάλλιστον κόσμος*,

ποίημα γὰρ Θεοῦ. Laert. Thal. [§ 35, p. 21.] The other interpretations, which he was forced to, are yet more extravagant: as when he renders the *eternal Godhead*, 'that which God would always have us do,' or 'his everlasting will,' and proves that rendition by another place of St Paul, Col. ii. 9, "For in him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily;" that is, says he, 'all the will of God' (whereas it is most certain, that where the *Godhead* is, especially where the *fulness*, even *all the fulness* of the *Godhead* is, there must be all the attributes as well as the *will* of God): and when he interprets the *eternal power* to be 'the promises which shall never fail;' and thinks he has sufficiently proved it, because the same apostle calls the Gospel the *power* of God. For by this way of interpretation no sentence of Scripture can have any certain sense.

¹ In the shield of Pallas, *Arist. de Mundo*, c. vi. *post. med.*

are made were made by some other, that other which produced 20 them either was itself produced, or was not: and if not, then have we already an independent being; if it were, we must at last come to something which was never made, or else admit either a circle of productions, in which the effect shall make its own cause, or an infinite¹ succession in causalities, by which nothing will be made: both which are equally impossible. Something then we must confess was never made, something which never had beginning. And although these effects or dependent beings, singly considered by themselves, do not infer one supreme cause and maker of them all, yet the admirable order and connexion² of things shew as much; and this one supreme Cause is *God*. For all things which we see or know have their existence for some end, which no man who considereth the uses and utilities of every species can deny. Now whatsoever is and hath its being for some end, of that the end for which it is must be thought the cause; and a final cause is no otherwise the cause of any thing than as it moves the efficient cause to work: from whence we cannot but collect a prime efficient Cause of all things, indued with infinite wisdom, who having a full comprehension of the ends of all, designed, produced, and disposed all things to those ends.

Again, as all things have their existence, so have they also their operations for some end³; and whatsoever worketh so, must needs be directed to it. Although then those creatures which are indued with reason can thereby apprehend the goodness of the end for which they work, and make choice of such means as are proportionable and proper for the obtaining of it, and so by their own counsel direct themselves unto it: yet can we not conceive that other natural agents, whose operations flow from a bare instinct, can be directed in their actions by any counsel of their own. The stone doth not deliberate whether it shall descend, nor doth the wheat take

¹ Ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐτι γ' ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ τις, καὶ οὐκ ἀπειρα τὰ αἰτία τῶν ὄντων, οὐτ' εἰς εὐθυμῶν, οὐτε κατ' εἶδος, δῆλον. *Aristot. Μετaph.* l. ii. c. 2; and again: εἴπερ μηδὲν ἐστὶ τὸ πρῶτον, ὅλως αἰτιῶν οὐδὲν ἐστὶ.

² Πόθεν δῆλον, εἰ ὅλως ἐστὶ Θεός; Ἐκ τῆς τῶν ὄντων συστάσεώς τε καὶ διαμορφῆς. *Justin. Quæst. et Resp. ad Græcos*, quæst. iii. 6. p. 204 c. ed.

Colon. 1686. (This is certainly not a work of Justin Martyr. Dr Burton.)

³ Ἐν ὅσοις τέλος τι ἐστὶ, τούτου ἕνεκα πράττεται τὸ πρότερον καὶ τὸ ἐφεξῆς. οὐκοῦν ὡς πράττεται, οὕτως πέφυκε· καὶ ὡς πέφυκεν, ἀν μὴ τι ἐμποδίσῃ, οὕτως πράττεται ἕκαστον· πράττεται δὲ ἕνεκά του, καὶ πέφυκεν ἄρα τούτου ἕνεκα. *Aristot. Phys.* l. ii. c. 8, § 7.

counsel whether it shall grow or no. Even men in natural actions use no act of deliberation: we do not advise how our heart shall beat, though without that pulse we cannot live; when we have provided nutriment for our stomach, we take no counsel how it shall be digested there, or how the chyle distributed to every part for the reparation of the whole; the mother which conceives takes no care how that *conceptus* shall be framed, how all the parts shall be distinguished, and by what means or ways the child shall grow within her womb: and yet all these operations are directed to their proper ends, and that with a greater reason, and therefore by a greater wisdom, than what proceeds from any thing of human understanding. What then can be more clear, than that those natural agents which work constantly for those ends which they themselves cannot perceive, must be directed by some high and overruling wisdom? And who can be their director in all their operations tending to those ends, but he which gave them their beings for those ends? And who is that, but the great Artificer who works in all of them? For art is so far the imitation of nature, that if it were not in the artificer, but¹ in the thing itself which by art is framed, the works of art and nature would be the same. Were that which frames a watch within it, and all those curious wheels wrought without the hand of man, it would seem to grow into that form; nor would there be any distinction between the making of that watch, and the growing of a plant. Now what the artificer is to works of art, who orders and disposes them to other ends than by nature they were made, that is the Maker of all things to all natural agents, directing all their operations to ends which they cannot apprehend; and thus appears the Maker to be the ruler of the world², the steerer of this great ship, the law of this universal commonwealth, the general of all the
21 hosts of heaven and earth. By these ways, as by the testimony³ of the creature, we come to find an eternal and independent Being, upon which all things else depend, and by

¹ Ἀποπῶν τὸ μὴ οἰεσθαι ἕνεκα τοῦ γίνεσθαι, ἐὰν μὴ ἴδωσι τὸ κινεῖν βουλευόμενον· καίτοι καὶ ἡ τέχνη οὐ βούλεται· καὶ γὰρ εἰ ἐνῆν ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ ἡ πανηγυκὴ, ὁμοίως ἂν τῇ φύσει ἐποίει. *Aristot. ibid.* § 15.

² Καθόλου, ὅπερ ἐν νηὶ μὲν κυβερ-

νήτης, ἐν ἄρματι δὲ ἡρῖος, ἐν χορῷ δὲ κορυφαῖος, ἐν πόλει δὲ νόμος, ἐν στρατοπέδῳ δὲ ἡγεμὼν· τοῦτο Θεὸς ἐν κόσμῳ. *Aristot. de Mund.* c. 6. § 34.

³ 'Habet Dominus testimonium totum hoc quod sumus, et in quo sumus.' *Tertull.*

which all things else are governed; and this we have before supposed to be the first notion of *God*.

Neither is this any private collection or particular ratiocination, but the public and universal reason of the world¹. No age so distant, no country so remote, no people so barbarous, but gives a sufficient testimony of this truth. When the Roman Eagle flew over most parts of the habitable world, they met with atheism nowhere, but rather by their miscellany deities at Rome, which grew together with their victories, they shewed no nation was without its God. And since the later art of navigation improved hath discovered another part of the world, with which no former commerce hath been known, although the customs of the people be much different, and their manner of religion hold small correspondency with any in these parts of the world professed, yet in this all agree, that some religious observances they retain, and a Divinity they acknowledge. Or if any nation be discovered which maketh no profession of piety, and exerciseth no religious observances, it followeth not from thence that they acknowledge no God; for they may only deny his providence, as the Epicureans did; or if any go farther, their numbers are so few, that they must be inconsiderable in respect of mankind. And therefore so much of the CREED hath been the general *profession* of all nations², *I believe in God*. Which were it not a most certain truth grounded upon principles obvious unto all, what reason could we give of so universal a consent; or how can it be imagined that all men should conspire to deceive themselves and their posterity³?

Nor is the reason only general, and the consent unto it universal, but God hath still preserved and quickened the worship due unto his name, by the paterfaction of himself. Things which are to come are so beyond our knowledge, that the wisest man can but conjecture: and being we are assured of the contingency of future things, and our ignorance of the concurrence of several free causes to the production of an effect, we may be sure that certain and infallible predictions

¹ Ἀρχαῖος τις λόγος καὶ πατριὸς ἐστὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, ὡς ἐκ Θεοῦ τὰ πάντα καὶ διὰ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν συνέστηκεν. *Aristot. de Mundo*, c. 6, § 2.

² 'Nec ulla gens usquam est adeo extra leges moresque projecta, ut non

aliquos Deos credat.' *Sen. Epist. cxvii.* p. 577. [p. 442. Elzevir, 1658.]

³ 'Nec in hunc furorem omnes mortales consensissent alloquendi surda numina et inefficaces Deos.' *Sen. l. iv. de Benef. c. 4.*

are clear divine patefactions. For none but he who made all things and gave them power to work, none but he who ruleth all things and ordereth and directeth all their operations to their ends, none but he upon whose will the actions of all things depend, can possibly be imagined to foresee the effects depending merely on those causes. And therefore by what means we may be assured of a prophecy, by the same we may be secured of a Divinity. Except then all the annals of the world were forgeries, and all remarks of history designed to put a cheat upon posterity, we can have no pretence to suspect God's existence, having so ample testimonies of his influence.

The works of nature appear by observation uniform, and there is a certain sphere of every body's power and activity. If then any action be performed, which is not within the compass of the power of any natural agent; if any thing be wrought by the intervention of a body which beareth no proportion to it, or hath no natural aptitude so to work; it must be ascribed to a cause transcending all natural causes, and disposing all their operations. Thus every miracle proves its author, and every act of omnipotency is a sufficient demonstration of a Deity. And that man must be possessed with a strange opinion of the weakness of our fathers, and the testimony of all former ages, who shall deny that ever any miracle was wrought. *We have heard with our ears, O God, our fathers have told us what works thou didst in their days, in the times of old.—Blessed be the Lord God, who only doeth wondrous works.*

Psalm. xlii. 1;
lxxii. 18.

Nor are we only informed by the necessary dependency
22 of all things on God, as effects upon their universal cause, or his external patefactions unto others, and the consentient acknowledgment of mankind; but every particular person hath a particular remembrancer in himself, as a sufficient testimony of his Creator, Lord, and Judge. We know there is a great force of conscience in all men, by which their *thoughts* are
ever *accusing, or excusing them*: they feel a comfort in those virtuous actions which they find themselves to have wrought according to their rule, a sting and secret remorse for all vicious acts and impious machinations. Nay those who strive most to deny a God, and to obliterate all sense of a Divinity out of their own souls, have not been least sensible of this remembrancer in their breasts. It is true indeed, that a false

Rom. ii. 15.

opinion of God, and a superstitious persuasion which hath nothing of the true God in it, may breed a remorse of conscience in those who think it true; and therefore some may hence collect that the force of conscience is only grounded upon an opinion of a Deity, and that opinion may be false. But if it be a truth, as the testimonies of the wisest writers of most different persuasions, and experience of all sorts of persons of most various inclinations, do agree, that the remorse of conscience can never be obliterated, then it rather proveth than supposeth an opinion of a Divinity; and that man which most peremptorily denieth God's existence is the greatest argument himself that there is a God. Let Caligula profess himself an atheist, and with that profession hide his head, or run under his bed, when the thunder strikes his ears, and lightning flashes in his eyes; those terrible works of nature put him in mind of the power, and his own guilt of the justice of God; whom while in his wilful opinion he weakly denieth, in his involuntary action he strongly asserteth. So that a Deity will either be granted or extorted, and where it is not acknowledged it will be manifested. Only unhappy is that man who denies him to himself, and proves him to others; who will not¹ acknowledge his existence, of whose power he cannot be ignorant. *God is not far from every one of us.* The proper discourse of St Paul to the philosophers of Athens was, that *they might feel after him and find him.* Some children have been so ungracious as to refuse to give the honour due unto their parent, but never any so irrational as to deny they had a father. As for those who have dishonoured God, it may stand most with their interest, and therefore they may wish there were none; but cannot consist with their reason to assert there is none, when even the very poets of the heathen have taught us *that we are his offspring.*

Acts xvii. 27.

Ibid.

Acts xvii. 28.

It is necessary thus to believe there is a God, first, because there can be no divine faith without this belief. For all faith is therefore only divine, because it relieth upon the authority of God giving testimony to the object of it; but that which hath no being can have no authority, can give no testimony. The ground of his authority is his veracity, the foundations of his veracity are his omniscience and sanctity,

¹ 'Hæc est summa delicti, nolle agnoscere quem ignorare non possis.'

S. Cyprian. de Idol. Van. § 5, fin. p. 15.

both which suppose his essence and existence, because what is not is neither knowing nor holy.

Secondly, It is necessary to believe a Deity, that thereby we may acknowledge such a nature extant as is worthy of, and may justly challenge from us, the highest worship and adoration. For it were vain to be religious and to exercise devotion, except there were a Being to which all such holy applications were most justly due. Adoration implies submission and dejection, so that while we worship we cast down ourselves: there must be therefore some great eminence in the object worshipped, or else we should dishonour our own nature in the worship of it. But when a Being is presented of that intrinsical and necessary perfection, that it depends on nothing, and all things else depend on that, and are wholly governed and disposed by it, this worthily calls us to our knees, and shews the humblest of our devotions to be but just and loyal retributions.

This necessary truth hath been so universally received, that we shall always find all nations of the world more prone unto idolatry than to atheism, and readier to multiply than to deny the Deity. But our faith teacheth us equally to deny them both, and each of them is renounced in these words, *I believe in God*. First, *in God* affirmatively, *I believe* he is, against atheism. Secondly, *in God* exclusively, not in gods, against polytheism and idolatry. Although therefore the *existence* and *unity* of God be two distinct truths, yet are they of so necessary dependence and intimate coherence, that both may be expressed by ¹one word, and included in one² Article.

And that the unity of the Godhead is included in this

¹ 'Solum Deum confirmas, quem tantum Deum nominas.' *Tertull. de Testim. Animæ*, c. 2. [p. 81 B.] When Leo, bishop of Rome, in an Epistle to Flavianus, had written these words [Ep. x. c. 2. p. 878 B], 'Fidelium universitas profitetur credere se in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, et in Jesum Christum Filium ejus:' one of the Eutychians objected with this question: 'Cur non dixerit in unum Deum Patrem, et in unum Jesum, juxta Nicæni Decretum Concilii?' To which Vigilius, bishop of Trent, or rather of Tapsus, gives this answer: 'Sed Romæ et antequam

Nicæna Synodus conveniret, a temporibus Apostolorum usque ad nunc, ita fidelibus Symbolum traditur, nec præjudicant verba ubi sensus incolumis permanet: magis enim cum Domini Jesu Christi sententia hæc fidei professio facit, dicentis, *Credidit in Deum, et in me credite* (Joan. xiv. 1): nec dixit in unum Deum Patrem, et in unum meipsum. Quis enim nesciat, unum esse Deum, et unum Jesum Christum Filium ejus.' *Vigil. l. iv. contra Eutych. § 1.*

² Rab. Chasdai in *Or Adonai*. R. Joseph Albo in *Hikkarim*.

Article is apparent, not only because the Nicene Council so expressed it by way of exposition, but also because this CREED in the churches¹ of the east, before the Council of Nice had that addition in it, *I believe in one God*. We begin our CREED then as Plato² did his chief and prime epistles, who gave this distinction to his friends, that the name of *God* was prefixed before those that were more serious and remarkable, but of *gods*, in the plural, to such as were more vulgar and trivial. *Unto thee it was shewed* (saith Moses to Israel), *that thou mightest know that the Lord he is God, there is none else beside him*. And as the Law, so the Gospel teacheth us the same. *We know that an idol is nothing in the world, and that there is none other God but one*. This unity of the Godhead will easily appear as necessary as the existence, so that it must be as impossible there should be more gods than one, as that there should be none: which will clearly be demonstrated, first, out of the nature of God, to which multiplication is repugnant; and secondly, from the government as he is Lord, in which we must not admit confusion.

Deut. iv. 35.

1 Cor. viii. 4.

For, first, the nature of God consists in this, that he is the prime and original cause of all things, as an independent Being upon which all things else depend, and likewise the ultimate end or final cause of all; but in this sense two prime causes are unimaginable, and for all things to depend of one, and to be more independent beings than one, is a clear contradiction. This primity God requires to be attributed to himself; *Hearken unto me, O Jacob, and Israel, my called; I am he; I am the first, I also am the last*. And from this primity he challengeth his unity; *Thus saith the Lord, the King of Israel, and his Redeemer the Lord of hosts; I am the first, and I am the last; and beside me there is no God*.

Isai. xlviii. 12.

Isai. xlv. 6.

¹ 'Orientis Ecclesie omnes fere ita tradunt: *Credo in unum Deum Patrem omnipotentem*.' *Ruff. in Symb.* § 4. [p. 18.] 'Bene hæc omnia poterunt ad solos Hæreticos pertinere, quia falsaverunt Symbolum, dum alter dixerit duos Deos, cum Deus unus sit.' *Optat. l. i. c. 10.* [p. 10.] 'Nos enim et scimus, et legimus, et credimus, et tenemus, unum esse Deum, qui fecit cælum pariter ac terram, quoniam nec alterum novimus, nec nosse, cum nullus sit, aliquando poterimus.' *Novatianus de*

Trinit. c. 30. [p. 312. col. 2 B.] And before all these Irenæus, citing under the title of Scripture, a passage out of the book of Hermas, called Pastor: 'Bene ergo Scriptura dicit, Primo omnium crede quoniam unus est Deus, qui omnia constituit et consummavit, et fecit ex eo quod non erat, ut essent omnia, omnium capax, et qui a nemine capiatur.' *l. iv. c. 37.* [p. 331 C.]

² *Euseb. in præp. Evang.* [Demonstr. Evang. l. iii. § 6. p. 129. Dobson.]

Again, if there were more gods than one, then were not all perfections in one, neither formally, by reason of their distinction, nor eminently and virtually, for then one should have power to produce the other, and that nature which is producible is not divine. But all acknowledge God to be absolutely and infinitely perfect, in whom all perfections imaginable
24 which are simply such must be contained formally, and all others which imply any mixture of imperfection virtually.

But were no arguments brought from the infinite perfections of the divine nature able to convince us, yet were the consideration of his supreme dominion sufficient to persuade us. The will of God is infinitely free, and by that freedom doth he govern and dispose of all things. *He doeth according to his will in the army of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth*, said Nebuchadnezzar out of his experience; and St Paul expresseth him as *working all things after the counsel of his own will*. If then there were more supreme governors of the world than one, each of them absolute and free, they might have contrary determinations concerning the same thing, than which nothing can be more prejudicial unto government. God is a God of order, not confusion; and therefore of unity, not admitting multiplication. If it be better that the universe¹ should be governed by one than many, we may be assured that it is so, because nothing must be conceived of God but what is best. He therefore who made all things, by that right is Lord of all, and because all power² is his, he alone ruleth over all.

Now God is not only *one*, but hath an *unity*³ peculiar to

¹ Τὰ ὅσα οὐ βούλεται πολιτεῦσθαι κακῶς

Οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίαν, εἰς κοίρανός.

[Il. B. 204.]

Aristot. Metaph. [I. xi. c. 10. § 14.]

² 'Unus—omnium Dominus est Deus: neque enim illa sublimitas potest habere consortem, cum sola omnem teneat potestatem.' *S. Cyprian. de Idol. Vanit.* § 5, p. 14.

אלה זה אחד והוא אינו לא שנים ולא יותר על שנים אלא אחד שאין כבודו אחד מן האחרים הנמצאים בשלם. לא אחד במין שהוא כולל אחדים הרבה. ולא אחד בגוף שהוא חלק למחלקות ולקצות: אלא אחד שאין יותר אחד כמותו בעולם:

God is one, not two, or more than two, but only one; whose unity is not like to that of the individuals of this world, neither is he one by way of species comprehending many individuals, neither one in the manner of a body which is divisible into parts and extremes: but he is so one, as no unity like his is to be found in the world. Moses Maimon. de Fundam. Legis, c. i. § 4. "Quod autem diximus, Orientis Ecclesias tradere unum Deum Patrem omnipotentem, et unum Dominum, hoc modo intelligendum est, unum non numero dici, sed universitate: verbi gratia, si quis

himself by which he is the *only* God; and that not only by way of actuality, but also of possibility. Every individual man is one, but so as there is a second and a third, and consequently every one is part of a number, and concurring to a multitude. The sun indeed is one; so as there is neither third nor second sun, at least within the same vortex: but though there be not, yet there might have been; neither in the unity of the solar nature is there any repugnancy to plurality; for that God which made this world, and in this *the sun to rule the day*, might have made another world by the same fecundity of his omnipotency, and another sun to rule in that. Whereas in the divine nature there is an intrinsic and essential singularity, because no other being can have any existence but from that; and whatsoever essence hath its existence from another is not God. *I am the Lord*, (saith he), *and there is none else, there is no God beside me: that they may know from the rising of the sun, and from the west, that there is none beside me, I am the Lord, and there is none else.* He who hath infinite knowledge knoweth no other God beside himself. *Is there a God beside me? yea, there is no God; I know not any.* And we who believe in him, and desire to enjoy him, need for that end to know no other God but him: *For this is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God¹; as certainly one, as God.*

Isai. xlv. 5, 6.
Deut. iv. 35,
& xxxii. 39.
Psal. xviii. 31.

Isai. xlv. 18,
21, 23, &
xlv. 8.

John xvii. 3.

It is necessary thus to believe the unity of the Godhead, that being assured there is a nature worthy of our devotions, and challenging our religious subjection, we may learn to 25

enim dicit unum hominem, aut unum equum, hic unum pro numero posuit. Potest enim et alius homo esse, et tertius, vel equus. Ubi autem secundus vel tertius non potest jungi, unus si dicatur, non numeri, sed universitatis est nomen. Ut si exempli causa dicamus unum Solem, hic unus ita dicitur ut alius vel tertius addi non possit, unus est enim Sol. Multo magis ergo Deus cum unus dicitur, unus non numeri, sed universitatis vocabulo nuncupatur, id est, qui propterea unus dicitur, quod alius non sit.' *Ruffin. in Symb. § 5. [p. 18.]*

¹ 'Veritas Christiana districte pronunciavit, *Deus si non unus est, non est*; quia dignius credimus non

esse, quodcumque non ita fuerit ut esse debeat.' *Tertull. adv. Marcion. l. i. c. 3. [p. 431 D.]* 'Deus cum summum magnum sit, recte veritas nostra pronunciavit, *Deus si non unus est, non est.* Non quasi dubitemus esse Deum, dicendo, Si non unus, non est, deus; sed quia, quem confidimus esse, id eum definiamus esse, quod si non est, Deus non est; summum scilicet magnum. Porro, summum magnum unicum sit necesse est. Ergo et Deus unicus erit. Non aliter Deus, nisi summum magnum; nec aliter summum magnum, nisi parem non habens; nec aliter parem non habens, nisi unicus fuerit.' *Ibid. [p. 432 B.]*

know whose that nature is to which we owe our adorations, lest our minds should wander and fluctuate in our worship about various and uncertain objects. If we should apprehend more gods than one, I know not what could determinate us in any instant to the actual adoration of any one; for where no difference doth appear (as, if there were many, and all by nature gods, there could be none), what inclination could we have, what reason could we imagine, to prefer or elect any one before the rest for the object of our devotions? Thus is it necessary to believe the unity of God in respect of us who are obliged to worship him.

Secondly, it is necessary to believe the unity of God in respect of him who is to be worshipped. Without this acknowledgment we cannot give unto God the things which are God's, it being part of the worship and honour due unto God, to accept of no compartner with him. When the Law was given, in the observance whereof the religion of the Israelites consisted, the first precept was this prohibition, *Thou shalt* Exod. xx. 3 *have no other gods before me;* and whosoever violateth this, denieth the foundation on which all the rest depend, as the Jews¹ observe. This is the true reason of that strict precept by which all are commanded to give divine worship to God only, *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only* Matt. iv. 10. *shalt thou serve;* because he alone is God: him only shalt thou fear, because he alone hath infinite power; in him only shalt thou trust, because *he only is our rock and our salva-* Psalm lxxii. 2 *tion;* to him alone shalt thou direct thy devotions, because *he only knoweth the hearts of the children of men.* Upon 2 Chron. vi. 30. this foundation the whole heart of man is entirely required of him, and engaged to him. *Hear, O Israel, the Lord our* Deut. vi. 4, 5. *God is one God: and (or rather therefore) thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might.* Whosoever were truly and by nature God, could not choose but challenge our love upon the ground of an infinite excellency, and transcendent beauty of holiness; and therefore if there were more Gods than one, our love must necessarily be terminated unto more² than

¹ Moses Maimon. de Fundam. Legis, c. 1. § 3.

² 'Numerus autem divinitatis summa ratione constare deberet, vel

quoniam et cultura ejus in anceps deduceretur. Ecce enim, duos intuens Deos tam pares quam duo summa magna, quid facerem si

Matt. vi. 24.

one, and consequently divided between them; and as our love, so also the proper effect thereof, our cheerful and ready obedience, which, like the child propounded to the judgment of Solomon, as soon as it is divided, is destroyed. *No man can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other: or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other.*

Having thus described the first *notion* of a *God*, having demonstrated the *existence* and unity of that *God*, and having in these three particulars comprised all which can be contained in this part of the Article, we may now clearly deliver, and every particular Christian understand, what it is he says when he makes his *confession* in these words, *I believe in God*: which in correspondence with the precedent discourse may be thus expressed:

Rom. i. 20.

Forasmuch as by all things created is made known the *eternal power and Godhead*, and the dependency of all limited beings infers an infinite and independent essence; whereas all things are for some end, and all their operations directed to it, although they cannot apprehend that end for which they are, and in prosecution of which they work, and therefore must be guided by some universal and overruling wisdom; being this collection is so evident, that all the nations of the earth have made it; being God hath not only written himself in the lively characters of his creatures, but hath also made frequent *patefactions* of his Deity by most infallible predictions and supernatural operations: therefore I fully assent unto, freely ²⁶ acknowledge, and clearly profess, this truth, that *there is a God*.

Again, being a prime and independent Being supposeth all other to depend, and consequently no other to be God; being the entire fountain of all perfections is incapable of a double head, and the most perfect government of the universe speaks the supreme dominion of one absolute Lord; hence do I acknowledge that God to be but one, and in this unity, or rather singularity of the Godhead, excluding all actual or possible multiplication of a Deity, I BELIEVE IN GOD.

ambos colerem? Vererem, ne abundantia officii superstitio potius quam religio existimaretur: quia duos tam pares et in altero ambos possem in uno demereri: hoc ipsum testimonio

præstans parilitati et unitati eorum, dum alterum in altero venerarer, dum in uno mihi duo sunt.' *Tertull. adv. Marcion. l. i. c. 5. [p. 433 c.]*

I BELIEVE IN GOD THE FATHER.

AFTER the confession of a *Deity*, and assertion of the divine *unity*, the next consideration is concerning God's *paternity*; for that *one God is Father of all*, and to us there is *but one God, the Father*. Eph. iv. 6.
1 Cor. viii. 6.

Now, although the Christian notion of the divine paternity be some way peculiar to the evangelical patefaction; yet ¹wheresoever *God* hath been acknowledged, he hath been understood and worshipped as a *Father*: the very heathen ²poets so describe their gods, and their vulgar names did carry *father* ³in them, as the most popular and universal notion.

This name of *Father* is a relative; and the proper foundation of paternity, as of a relation, is generation. As therefore the phrase of generating is diversely attributed unto several acts of the same nature with generation properly taken, or by consequence attending on it; so the title of *Father* is given unto divers persons or things, and for several reasons unto the same God. *These are the generations of the heavens and the earth, when they were created, in the day that the Lord God made the earth and the heavens*, saith Moses. So that the creation or production of any thing by which it is, and before was not, is a kind of generation, and consequently the creator or producer of it a kind of *Father*. *Hath the rain a father? Or who hath begotten the drops of dew?* by which words Job signifies, that as there is no other cause assignable of the rain but God, so may he as the cause be called the *Father* of it, though not in the most proper sense⁴, as he is Gen. ii. 4.
Job xxxviii. 28.

¹ 'Omnam Deum qui ab homine colitur, necesse est inter solennes ritus et precesiones *Patrem* nuncupari; non tantum honoris gratia, verum etiam rationis, et quod antiquior est homine, et quod vitam, salutem, victum præstat, ut pater. Itaque et Jupiter a precantibus *Pater* vocatur, et Saturnus, et Janus, et Liber, et cæteri deinceps.' *Lactan. de ver. Sap.* l. iv. c. 3. [Tom. I. p. 352.]

² That so frequent in Homer, *πατήρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε* 'eundemque appellans dicit Ennius: Divumque hominumque pater rex.' *Var. de L.* l. i. iv. p. 18. ed. 1581. As Servius observes of Virgil: 'A poeta pene omnibus Diis nomen Paternum ad-

ditur, ut fiant venerabiliores.' And before him Lucilius:

'Ut nemo sit nostrum, quin pater optimus'
Divum,
Ut Neptunus' Pater, Liber, Saturnus' Pater,
Mars,
Janus', Quirinus' Pater nomen dicatur ad unum.'
Lactan. Ib. [p. 353.]

³ As Jupiter, which is *Jovis Pater*, or *Ζευτρός*, otherwise *Diepiter*, or *Διείδρω*: and *Marspiter*, of whom Servius, 'apud Pontifices Marspiter dicitur,' *Æneid.* l. iii. v. 35. So *Semipater* for *Semo*, and *Zaphorodrius* for *Sardus*, the proper Deity of Sardinia. *Ptolem.*

⁴ 'Ἐτέρος γὰρ τῆς ἑοῦ πατέρα θεὸν ἀκούει, καὶ ἑτέρος υἱός. *Severus, Cat. Patr. in Job.* c. 26. p. 551.

1 Cor. viii. 6.

Heb. xii. 9.

Job xxxviii.
7.Acts xvii. 28.
Luke iii. 38.

Mal. ii. 10.

the *Father* of his Son: and so the philosophers¹ of old, who thought that God did make the world, called him expressly, as the Maker, so the *Father* of it. And thus to us there is but one God, the *Father*, of whom are all things; to which the words following in the CREED may seem to have relation, *the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth*. But in this mass of creatures and body of the universe, some works of the creation more properly call him *Father*, as being more rightly sons: such are all the rational and intellectual offspring of the Deity. Of merely natural beings and irrational agents 27 he is ²the creator; of rational, as so, the *Father* also: they are his creatures, these his sons. Hence he is styled the *Father of spirits*, and the blessed angels, when he laid the foundations of the earth, his sons; *When the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy*: hence man, whom he created after his own image, is called his *offspring*, and Adam, the immediate work of his hands, *the son of God*: hence may we all cry out with the Israelites taught by the prophet so to speak, *Have we not all one Father? Hath not one God created us?* Thus the first and most universal notion of God's *paternity* in a borrowed or metaphorical sense is founded rather upon creation than procreation.

Unto this act of creation is annexed that of conservation, by which God doth uphold and preserve in being that which at first he made, and to which he gave its being. As therefore it is the duty of the parent to educate and preserve the

¹ Plutarch of Plato, calling God *πατέρα πάντων και ποιητήν*, says: *τῇ μεταφορῇ χρώμενος, ὥσπερ εἶωθε, τὸν αἰτίων πατέρα τοῦ κόσμου κέκληκε. Platon. Quæst. ii. [Tom. v. p. 1000, v.]* And Alcimus: *πατὴρ δὲ ἐστὶ τῷ αἰτίῳ εἶναι πάντων*.

² So Plutarch [ibid.] answers the question, why Plato terms God the Maker and Father of all things; *Ἡ τῶν μὲν Θεῶν τῶν γεννητῶν και τῶν ἀνθρώπων πατὴρ ἐστὶ—ποιητῆς δὲ τῶν ἀλόγων και ἀψύχων; Father of gods and men, Maker of all things inanimate and irrational. Οὐ γὰρ χορίου, φησὶ Χρύσιππος, πατέρα καλεῖσθαι τὸν παρὰσχόντα τὸ σπέρμα, καίπερ ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματος γεγενῆστος. Non enim agri pater, si Chrysippo credimus, is dicitur qui eum concepit, quamquam*

e semine deinde fruges nascantur: as the Latin translation most absurdly. Ibid. [Dr Burton observes that in Wyttenbach's edition the passage is rightly translated.] For there is neither corn, nor field, nor any seed belonging to them, in the words of Plutarch. But *χορίον* (not *χωρίον*) is the *secunda*, the coat (or rather coats in the acceptation of Chrysippus, and the language of those times) in which the *fœtus* is involved in the mother's womb. Though therefore both the *secunda* and the *fœtus* be made of the seed of the male in the philosophy of Chrysippus, yet he is not called the father of the after-birth, but of the child; the one being endued with life and reason, and the other not.

child as that which had its being from him; so this paternal education doth give the name of *Father*¹ unto man, and conservation gives the same to God.

Again, redemption from a state of misery, by which a people hath become worse than nothing, unto a happy condition, is a kind of *generation*, which joined with love, care, and indulgence in the Redeemer, is sufficient to found a new *paternity*, and give him another title of a *Father*. Well might Moses tell the people of Israel, now brought out of the land of Egypt from their brick and straw, unto their quails and manna, unto their milk and honey, *Is not he thy Father that hath bought thee? hath he not made thee, and established thee?* Well might God speak unto the same people as to *his son, even his first-born*. Thus saith the Lord thy Redeemer, and he that formed thee from the womb, *Hearken unto me, O house of Jacob, and all the remnant of the house of Israel, which are borne by me from the belly, which are carried from the womb*. And just is the acknowledgment made by that people instructed by the prophet, *Doubtless thou art our Father, though Abraham be ignorant of us, and Israel acknowledge us not; thou, O Lord, art our Father, our Redeemer, from everlasting is thy name*. And thus another kind of paternal relation of God unto the sons of men is founded on a restitution or temporal redemption.

Besides, if to be born causeth relation to a *father*, then to be born again maketh an addition of another: and if to generate foundeth, then to regenerate addeth a *paternity*. Now though we cannot enter the second time into our mother's womb, nor pass through the same door into the scene of life again; yet we believe and are persuaded that *except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God*. A double birth there is, and the world² consists of two, the first and the second man. And though the incorruptible seed be the word of God, and the dispensers of it in some sense may say, as St Paul spake unto the Corinthians, *I have begotten you through the Gospel*: yet he is the true Father, whose word it is, and that is God, even *the Father of lights, who of his own will*

¹ So Eustathius observes out of an ingenious etymologist: Πατήρ Θεός μέν, ὡς τὸ πᾶν τῆρῶν ἀνθρώπου δέ, ὡς τοὺς παῖδας τῆρῶν. II. Θ. [480.]

² 'Totum genus humanum quodammodo sunt homines duo, primus et secundus.' Prosp. lib. Sententiar. ex August. sent. 299.

1 John v. 1. *begat us with the word of truth. Thus whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ, is born of God; which regeneration is as*
 Eph. ii. 10. *it were a second creation: for we are God's workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works. And he alone who did create us out of nothing, can beget us again, and make us*
 Gen. xxx. 1, 2. *of the new creation. When Rachel called to Jacob, Give me 28 children, or else I die; he answered her sufficiently with this question, Am I in God's stead? And if he only openeth the womb, who else can make the soul¹ to bear? Hence hath he the name of Father, and they of sons who are born of him; and so from that internal act of spiritual regeneration another title of *paternity* redoundeth unto the Divinity.*

Nor is this the only second birth or sole regeneration in a Christian sense; the soul, which after its natural being requires a birth into the life of grace, is also after that born again into
 Matt. xix. 28. *a life of glory. Our Saviour puts us in mind of the regeneration, when the Son of man shall sit in the throne of his glory. The resurrection of our bodies is a kind of coming out of the womb of the earth, and entering upon immortality, a nativity into another life. For they which shall be accounted worthy to obtain that world, and the resurrection from the dead, are the sons of God, being the sons of the resurrection, and*
 Luke xx. 35, 36. *then as sons, they become heirs, co-heirs with Christ, receiving the promise and reward of eternal inheritance. Beloved, now are we the sons of God, saith St John, even in this life by regeneration, and it doth not yet appear, or, it hath not been yet made manifest², what we shall be; but we know, that when he shall appear³, we shall be like him: the manifestation of the Father being a sufficient declaration of the condition of the sons, when the sonship itself consisteth in a similitude of the*
 Rom. viii. 17. *Father. And blessed be the God and Father of our Lord*
 Heb. ix. 15. *Jesus Christ, which according to his abundant mercy hath begotten us again unto a lively hope, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead; to an inheritance incorruptible and undefiled, and that fadeth not away, reserved in heaven for us. Why may not then a second kind of regeneration be thought a fit addition of this paternal relation?*
 1 Pet. i. 3, 4.

¹ Οὐ γὰρ ἀπὲ θεοῦ ἐγὼ εἰμι, τοῦ μόνου δυναμένου τὰς ψυχῶν μήτρας ἀνοίγειν, καὶ σπεῖρειν ἐν αὐταῖς ἀρετὰς, καὶ ποιεῖν ἐγκύμονας καὶ τικτούσας τὰ καλὰ. Philo de Alleg. i. iii. Tom.

I. p. 122, l. 48. ed. Mang. 1742.

² Καὶ οὐπω ἐφανερώθη.

³ [If he appears, ἐὰν φανερωθῇ, in the 3rd Edition.]

Neither is there only a natural, but also a voluntary and civil foundation of *paternity*; for the laws have found a way by which a man may become a father without procreation: and this imitation of nature¹ is called adoption, taken in the general signification². Although, therefore, many ways God be a Father; yet, lest any way might seem to exclude us from being his sons, he hath made us so also by adoption. Others are wont to fly to this, as to a comfort of their solitary condition, when either nature hath denied them, or death bereft them of their offspring³. Whereas God doth it not for his own, but for our sakes; nor is the advantage his, but ours. *Behold what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon* ^{1 John III. 1.} *us, that we should be called the sons of God*; that we, the sons of disobedient and condemned Adam by natural generation, should be translated into the glorious liberty of the sons of God by adoption; that we, who were aliens, strangers, and enemies, should be assumed *unto the Father of our Lord* ^{Eph. III. 14, 15.} *Jesus Christ, of whom the whole family*⁴ *in heaven and earth is named*, and be made partakers of *the riches of the glory* ^{Eph. I. 18.} *of his inheritance in the saints*. For as in the legal adoption, the father hath as full and absolute power over his adopted son as over his own issue⁵; so in the spiritual, the adopted

¹ 'Adoptio naturæ similitudo est, ut aliquis filium habere possit, quem non generavit.' *Cass. Inst.* 1. tit. 5. § 1. [lib. 1. tit. 7.] Τί ἐστὶν υἱοθεσία; νομίμη πρᾶξις μιμουμένη τὴν φύσιν πρὸς ἀπαίδων παραμυθίας ἐπικυνομένη. *Theoph. Inst.* 1. t. 11. [Tom. 1. p. 109.]

² Ἡ υἱοθεσία Ῥωμαϊκῇ φωνῇ λέγεται ἀδοπῶν. αὕτη οὖσα γενικὸν ὄνομα εἰς δύο διαιρεῖται, εἰς ἀδρυγατῖονα, καὶ τὴν ὁμώνυμον ἀδοπῶν. *Theoph. ibid.*

³ 'Spadones autem qui generare non possunt, adoptare possunt; et, licet filios generare non possint, quos adoptaverunt filios habere possunt.' *Cass. Inst.* 1. tit. 5. § 4. [lib. 1. tit. 7. § 3.] 'Hi qui generare non possunt, velut spado, utroque modo possunt adoptare. Idem juris est in cœlibe.' *Ulp. tit. 9. § 5.* Τυχὸν οὐκ ἔχων τις παῖδας διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἐπὶ γάμων, ἢ εἶναι μὲν, μὴ παιδοποιῆσαι δέ, ἢ

παιδοποιῆσαι μὲν, ἀποβάλλεσθαι δὲ τούτους, τὸ ἐκ τῆς φύσεως ἐλάττωμα ἢ καὶ τὸ συμβᾶν δυστύχημα βουλόμενος ἐπικουφίσαι, εἰλαβὼν εἰς υἱοθεσίαν τινά. *Theoph. Inst.* 1. tit. 11. [Tom. 1. pp. 109, 110.] Τοῖς ἀδρυχοῦσιν ἀπαιδῶν λόγῳ βουλόμενος τὸ δυστύχημα νόμος ἐν τῷ υἱοθετεῖσθαι προστάσσει, καὶ γνώμη ἐκεῖνο κτᾶσθαι, ὃ μὴ εὐπορον λαβεῖν παρὰ τῆς φύσεως. *Leonis Novel.* 27. [*Corp. Jur. Civ. t. 2. p. 722.*]

⁴ 'In alienam familiam transitus,' is the description in *A. Gellius*, i. 5. 19. [p. 354.] 'Cum in alienam familiam inque liberorum locum extranei sumuntur, aut per prætorem fit, aut per populum: quod per prætorem fit, adoptio dicitur; quod per populum, arrogatio.' *Ibid.*

⁵ As appears out of the form of Rogation yet extant in this manner: 'Velitis, jubeatis, Quirites, uti Lucius Valerius Lucio Titio, tam jure legeque

sons have a clear and undoubted right of inheritance. He, 29
 Eph. i. 5. then, who hath *predestinated us unto the adoption of children by Jesus Christ to himself*, hath thereby another kind of
 Rom. viii. 15. paternal relation, and so we receive the *Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father*.

The necessity of this faith in *God as in our Father* appeareth, first, in that it is the ground of all our filial fear, honour, and obedience due unto him upon this relation. *Honour thy father is the first commandment with promise*, written in
 Eph. vi. 1, 2. tables of stone with the finger of God; and, *Children, obey your parents in the Lord*, is an evangelical precept, but founded upon principles of reason and justice; *for this is right*, saith St Paul. And if there be such a rational and legal obligation of honour and obedience to the *fathers of our flesh*, how much more must we think ourselves obliged to him whom we believe to be our *heavenly and everlasting Father*?
 Mal. i. 6. *A son honoureth his father, and a servant his master. If then I be a father, where is my honour? and if I be a master, where is my fear? saith the Lord of hosts*. If we be heirs, we must be co-heirs with Christ; if sons, we must be brethren to the only-begotten: but being he came not to do his own will, but the will of Him that sent him, he acknowledgeth no fraternity but with such as do the same; as he
 Matt. xii. 50. hath said, *Whosoever shall do the will of my Father which is in heaven, the same is my brother*. If it be required of a
 1 Tim. iii. 4. bishop in the Church of God, to be *one that ruleth well his own house, having his children in subjection with all gravity*; what obedience must be due, what subjection must be paid, unto the Father of the family?

The same relation in the object of our faith is the life of our devotions, the expectation of all our petitions. Christ, who taught his disciples, and us in them, how to pray, propounded not the knowledge of God, though without that he could not hear us; neither represented he his power, though without that he cannot help us; but comprehended all in this relation,
 Luke xi. 2. *When ye pray, say, Our Father*. This prevents all *vain repetitions* of our most earnest desires, and gives us full security to cut off all tautology, for *Our Father knoweth what things we have need of before we ask him*. This creates a

Matt. vi. 8.

filius sibi siet, quam si ex eo patre matreque familias ejus natus esset, utique

ei vitæ necisque in eo potestas siet, uti patri endo filio est? Ibid.

clear assurance of a grant without mistake of our petition:

*What man is there of us, who if his son ask bread, will give him a stone? or if he ask fish, will give him a serpent? If we then who are evil know how to give good gifts unto our children; how much more shall our Father which is in heaven give good things to them that ask him?*¹

Matt. vii. 9-11.

Again, this paternity is the proper foundation of our Christian patience, sweetening all afflictions with the name and nature of fatherly corrections. *We have had fathers of our flesh, which corrected us, and we gave them reverence: shall we not much rather be in subjection to the Father of spirits, and live?* especially considering, that *they chastened us after their own pleasure; but he for our profit, that we might be partakers of his holiness*²; they, as an argument of their authority; he, as an assurance of his love: they, that we might acknowledge them to be our parents; he, that he might persuade us that we are his sons: *for whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth.* And what greater incitement unto the exercise of patience is imaginable unto a suffering soul, than to see in every stroke the hand of a Father, in every affliction a demonstration of his love? Or how canst thou repine, or be guilty of the least degree of impatience, even in the sharpest corrections, if *thou shalt know with thine heart, that as a man chasteneth his son, so the Lord thy God chasteneth thee?* How canst thou not be comforted, and even rejoice in the midst of thy greatest sufferings, when thou knowest that he which striketh pitieth, he which afflicteth is as it were afflicted with it? *For like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear him.*

Heb. xii. 9, 10.

Heb. xii. 6.

Dent. viii. 5.

Psalm. ciii. 13.

30 Lastly, the same relation strongly inferreth an absolute necessity of our imitation; it being clearly vain to assume the title of son without any similitude of the father. What is the³

¹ Ἀντὶ πέρους σκοπίων παροικία ἐπὶ τῶν τὰ χεῖρα αἰρουμένων ἀντὶ βελ-
τύνων. Zenob. [Cent. i. n. 88. Diog.
(Cent. i. n. 76) and Suidas (Cent. ii.
n. 94) have τῶν β.]

Ἄλλο δ' ἀντὶ πέρους σκοπίων σκῆδρας.
Lycophron. Cassand. ver. 476.

² 'Quod si a Domino nonnulla credimus incuti, cui magis patientiam quam Domino præbeamus! Quin in-
super gratulari et gaudere nos docet

dignatione divinæ castigationis. Ego, inquit, quos diligo castigo. O servum illum beatum, cujus emendationi Dominus instat, cui dignatur irasci, quem admonendi dissimulatione non decipit!' Tertull. de Pat. c. 11. [p. 166 B.]

³ Πάν τὸ γεννῶν ὅμοιον ταυτῷ γεννῶ.
S. Epiphani. Hæc. lxxvi. § 6. (p. 918.)
[Tom. i. p. 918 D.]

general notion of generation but the production of the like; nature, ambitious of perpetuity, striving to preserve the *species* in the multiplication and succession of individuals? And this similitude consisteth partly in essentials, or the likeness of nature; partly in accidentals, or the likeness in figure¹, or affections². *Adam begat a son in his own likeness, after his image*: and can we imagine those the sons of God which are no way like him? A similitude of nature we must not, of figure we cannot pretend unto: it remains then only that we bear some likeness in our actions and affections. *Be ye therefore followers* (saith the apostle), *or rather³ imitators of God, as dear children⁴*. What he hath revealed of himself, that we must express within ourselves. Thus God spake unto the children of Israel, whom he styled his sons, *Ye shall be holy, for I am holy*. And the apostle upon the same ground speaketh unto us, as to *obedient children*: *As he which hath called you is holy, so be ye holy in all manner of conversation*. It is part of the general beneficence and universal goodness of our God, that *he maketh the sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust⁵*: These impartial beams and undistinguishing showers are but to shew us what we ought to do, and to make us fruitful in the works of God; for no other reason Christ hath given us this command, *Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven⁶*. No other command did he give upon this ground, but, *Be ye therefore merciful, as your Father also is merciful*.

So necessary is this faith in *God*, as in *our Father*, both for direction to the best of actions, and for consolation in the worst of conditions.

But although this be very necessary, yet is it not the principal or most proper explication of God's *paternity*. For

¹ Τὸ ὁμοία γίνεσθαι τοῖς γεννή-
σασιν τὰ ἔκγονα, εἰλογον. *Aristot. de*
Generat. Animal. l. i. c. 9.

² 'Fortes creantur fortibus et bonis:
Est in juvenis, est in equis patrum
Virtus; nec imbellem feroces
Progenerant aquilæ columbam.'

Hor. Carm. l. iv. *Od.* iv. v. 29.

³ μιμηταί.

⁴ 'Filii hominum sunt quando

male faciunt; quando bene, filii mei
(sc. Dei). *S. August. in Psal.* lii.
[Tom. iv. p. 366 B.]

⁵ Vide *S. August. in Psal.* c.

⁶ 'Similitudinem patris actus indi-
cent sobolis; similitudo operis simili-
tudinem indicet generis: actus nomen
confirmet, ut nomen genus demon-
stret.' *S. August. de Temp. Serm.* 76.
[312. § 2. Append. Tom. v. p. 371 F.]

as we find one person in a more peculiar manner the Son of God, so must we look upon God as in a more peculiar manner the Father of that Son. *I ascend unto my Father and your Father*¹, saith our Saviour; the same of both, but in a different manner, denoted by the article prefixed before the one, and not the other: which distinction in the original we may preserve by this translation, *I ascend unto the Father of me, and Father of you*; first of me, and then of you: not therefore his, because ours; but therefore ours, because his. So far we are the sons of God, as we are like unto him; and our similitude unto God consisteth in our conformity to the likeness of his Son. *For whom he did foreknow, he also did* Rom. viii. 29. *predestinate to be conformed to the image of his Son, that he might be the first-born among many brethren.* He the first-born, and we sons, as brethren unto him: he *appointed heir* Heb. i. 2. *of all things, and we heirs of God, as joint-heirs with him.* Rom. viii. 17. Thus God sent forth his Son, that we might receive the adoption of sons. And because we are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, *Abba, Father*². By his mission are we adopted, and by his Spirit call we God

31 our Father. So we are no longer servants, but now sons; Gal. iv. 7. and if sons, then heirs of God, but still through Christ. It is true, indeed, that both he that sanctifieth, that is, Christ, Heb. ii. 11. and they who are sanctified, that is, faithful Christians, are all of one, the same father, the same God; for which cause he is not ashamed to call them brethren: yet are they not³

¹ Ἀναβαίνω πρὸς τὸν πατέρα μου, καὶ πατέρα ὑμῶν. Had πατέρα in both places had its article, there would have seemed two Fathers: had the article been prefixed to πατέρα ὑμῶν, he would have seemed first ours, then Christ's: but being prefixed to πατέρα μου, it shews God to be principally and originally Christ's, and by our reference unto him, our Father. Πατέρα μου μὲν κατὰ φύσιν ἐν τῇ θεότητι, καὶ πατέρα ὑμῶν διὰ χάρις ἐν τῇ υιοθεσίᾳ. *S. Epiphani. Hæres. lix. § 55. (p. 778.)* [Tom. i. p. 778 c.] Οὐκ εἰπὼν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ διελὼν, καὶ εἰπὼν πρῶτον τὸ οικεῖον, πρὸς τὸν πατέρα μου, ὅπερ ἦν κατὰ φύσιν εἶπ' ἐπαγαγὼν, καὶ πατέρα ὑμῶν, ὅπερ ἦν κατὰ θέσιν. *S. Cyril. Hieros. Catech.*

7. (c. 7. p. 116.) [p. 165.] [Cyril makes a similar application of this text, *Cateches. xi. p. 237.*] Ἐτέρως οὖν αὐτοῦ πατήρ, καὶ ἕτερος ἡμῶν; πᾶν μὲν οὖν. Εἰ γὰρ τῶν δικαίων ἕτερος Θεός καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων, πολλῶ μᾶλλον τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ ἡμῶν. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εἶπε, Εἶπε τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, ἵνα μὴ ἀπὸ τούτου ἴσων τι φαντασθῶσι, δεικνύσι τὸ ἐνηλλαγμένον. *S. Chrysost. ad locum.* [Hom. 86. al. 85. Tom. viii. p. 515 c.]

² 'Hoc facit Deus ex filiis hominum filios Dei, quia ex filio Dei fecit Deus filium hominis.' *S. August. in Psal. lii. [§ 6. Tom. iv. p. 366 B.]*

³ 'Dicimur et filii Dei, sed ille aliter filius Dei.' *S. August. in Psal. lxxxviii. [Serm. i. § 7. Tom. iv. p. 706]*

- Heb. ii. 10. all of him after the same manner, not the *many sons* like the *Captain of their salvation*: but *Christ* the beloved, the first-born, the only-begotten, the Son after a more peculiar and more excellent manner; the rest with relation unto, and dependence on, his Sonship; as given unto him, *Behold I, and the children which God hath given me*; as being so by faith in him, *For we are all the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus*; as receiving the right of Sonship from him, *For as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God*. Among¹ all the sons of God there is none like to that one Son of God. And if there be so great a disparity in the filiation, we must make as great a difference in the correspondent relation. There is one degree of sonship founded on creation, and that is the lowest, as belonging unto all, both good and bad: another degree above that there is grounded upon regeneration, or adoption, belonging only to the truly faithful in this life: and a third above the rest founded on the resurrection, or collation of the eternal inheritance, and the similitude of God, appertaining to the saints alone in the world to come: for *we are now the sons of God, and it doth not yet appear what we shall be; but we know that when he shall appear, we shall be like him*. And there is yet another degree of filiation, of a greater eminency and a different nature, appertaining properly to none of these, but to the true Son of God alone, who amongst all his brethren hath only received the title of his *own Son*², and a singular testimony from heaven, *This is my beloved Son*³, even in the presence of John the Baptist, even in the midst of Moses and Elias (who are certainly the sons of God by all the other three degrees of filia-
- Isai. viii. 18.
Heb. ii. 13.
- Gal. iii. 26.
- John i. 12.
- 1 John iii. 2.
- Rom. viii. 32.
- Matt. iii. 17:
xvii. 5.

c.] Ἔστι τοίνυν ὁ Θεὸς πολλῶν μὲν καταχρηστικῶς πατήρ, ἐνδὲ δὲ μόνου φύσει καὶ ἀληθελῶ τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ. *S. Cyril. Hieros. Catech. 7. (c. 5. p. 114.) [p. 161.]*

¹ 'Ergo nemo in filiis Dei similis erit filio Dei. Et ipse dictus est filius Dei, et nos dicti sumus filii Dei: sed quis similis erit Domino in filiis Dei? Ille unicus, nos multi. Ille unus, nos in illo unum. Ille natus, nos adoptati. Ille ab æterno filius genitus per naturam, nos a tempore facti per gratiam.' *S. August. in Psal. lxxxviii. [Serm. i. § 7. Tom. iv. p. 706 c.]*

² 'Ut magnificentia Dei dilectionis ex comparisonis genere noscetur, non peperciisse Deum proprio filio suo docuit. Non utique pro adoptandis adoptato, neque pro creatis creaturæ; sed pro alienis suo, pro connumerandis proprio. *S. Hilari. l. vi. de Trin. c. 45. (p. 909 D.)*

³ 'Anne tibi in eo quod dicitur, *hic est*, non hoc significari videtur, Alios quidem cognominatos ab eo in filios, sed hic filius meus est; Donavi adoptionis plurimis nomen, sed iste mihi filius est.' *Ibid. c. 23. (p. 893 D.)*

tion), and therefore hath called God after a peculiar way his *John v. 18.* own Father¹. And so at last we come unto the most singular and eminent paternal relation, *Unto the God and Father of our* *2 Cor. xi. 31.* *Lord Jesus Christ, which is blessed for evermore; the Father* of him, and of us, but not the Father of us as of him². *Christ* hath taught us to say, *Our Father*: a form of speech which he never used himself; sometimes he calls him *the Father*; sometimes *my Father*, sometimes *your*, but never *our*: he makes no such conjunction of us to himself, as to make no distinction between us and himself; so conjoining us as to distinguish, though so distinguishing as not to separate us.

Indeed I conceive this, as the most eminent notion of God's *paternity*, so the original and proper explication of this Article of the CREED: and that not only because the ancient fathers deliver no other exposition of it; but also because that which I conceive to be the first occasion, rise, and original of the CREED itself, requireth this as the proper interpretation. Immediately before the ascension of our Saviour, he said unto his apostles, *All power is given unto me in heaven and in* *Matt. xxviii.* *earth. Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them* *18, 19.* *32 in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* From this sacred form of baptism did the Church derive the rule of faith³, requiring the profession of belief in

¹ *πατέρα ἰδίον ἔλεγε τὸν Θεόν, ὡς* *Rom. viii. 32. ὅς γε τοῦ ἰδίου υἱοῦ οὐκ ἐπέλωτο.*

² 'Non sicut Christi pater, ita et noster pater. Nunquam enim Christus ita nos conjunxit, ut nullam distinctionem faceret inter nos et se. Ille enim Filius æqualis Patri, ille æternus cum Patre, Patrique cœternus: nos autem facti per filium, adoptati per unicum. Proinde nunquam auditum est de ore Domini nostri Jesu Christi, cum ad discipulos loqueretur, dixisse illum de Deo summo Patre suo, Pater noster; sed aut Pater meus dixit, aut Pater vester. Pater noster non dixit, usque adeo ut quodam loco poneret hæc duo, *Vado ad Deum meum, inquit, et Deum vestrum.* Quare non dixit Deum nostrum! et Patrem meum dixit, et Patrem vestrum; non dixit Patrem nostrum! Sic jungit, ut distinguit; sic distinguit, ut non se-

jungat. Unum nos vult esse in se, unum autem Patrem et se.' *S. August. in Ioan. Tract. 21. § 3. (Vol. III. P. 2. p. 457.) [Tom. III. p. 332 B.]*

³ Arius and Euzoïus, in their Creed delivered to Constantine: *Ταύτην τὴν πίστιν παρελήφαμεν ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων εὐαγγελίων, λέγοντος τοῦ κυρίου τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μαθηταῖς, Πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. Socrat. l. i. c. 26.* And upon exhibiting this Confession of Faith, they were restored to the Communion of the Church by the Synod of Jerusalem. *Sozom. l. ii. c. 27.* In the same manner Eusebius delivered his Creed unto the council of Nice, concluding and deducing it from the same text: *καθὰ καὶ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν, ἀποστέλλων εἰς τὸ κήρυγμα τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ μαθητάς, εἶπε, Πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε, &c. Socrat. l. i. c. 8. [p.*

Acta viii. 36,
37.

Acta viii. 12.

Acta ii. 38;
viii. 16; x. 48;
xix. 5.

the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, before they could be baptized in their name. When the eunuch asked Philip, *What doth hinder me to be baptized?* Philip said, *If thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest:* and when the eunuch replied, *I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God;* he baptized him. And before that, the Samaritans, when they believed Philip preaching the things concerning the kingdom of God, and the name of Jesus Christ, were baptized, both men and women. For as in the Acts of the Apostles there is no more expressed than that they baptized *in the name of Jesus Christ:* so is no more expressed of the faith required in them who were to be baptized, than to believe in the same name. But being the Father and the Holy Ghost were likewise mentioned in the first institution, being the expressing of one doth not exclude the other, being it is certain that from the apostles' times the names of all three were used; hence upon the same ground was required faith, and a profession of belief in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Again, as the eunuch said not simply, *I believe in the Son,* but *I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God;* as a brief explication of that part of the institution which he had learned before of Philip: so they who were converted unto Christianity were first taught not the bare names, but the explications and descriptions of them in a brief, easy, and familiar way; which when they had rendered, acknowledged, and professed, they were baptized in them. And these being regularly and constantly used, made up the rule of faith, that is, the CREED. The truth of which may sufficiently be made apparent to any who shall seriously consider the constant practice of the Church, from the first age unto this present, of delivering the rule of faith to those which were to be baptized, and so requiring of themselves, or their sureties, an express recitation, profession, or acknowledgment of the CREED. From whence this observation is properly deducible: that in what sense the name of *Father* is taken in

21 A.] *Theodor. l. i. c. 12. [p. 37 c.]* The same is also alleged by the council of Antioch, under the emperor Constantius and pope Julius. *Socrat. l. ii. c. 10. [p. 73 c.]* Vide S. Athanas. *in Epist. ad ubique Orthod. Orat. contra Gregales Sabellii, et contra Arianos ex Deo Deus, § 1.* Vide Basil. *de Spirit. S. c. 12.* So Vigilius Tapsensis, *Dial.*

l. i. § 3. [5.] makes Arius and Athanasius jointly speak these words: '*Credimus in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, et in Jesum Christum Filium ejus, Dominum nostrum, et in Spiritum Sanctum. Hæc est fidei nostræ regula, quam coelesti magisterio Dominus tradidit apostolis, dicens, Ite, baptizate, &c.*'

the form of baptism, in the same it also ought to be taken in this Article. And being nothing can be more clear than that, when it is said, *In the name of the Father, and of the Son*, the notion of *Father* hath in this particular no other relation but to that Son whose name is joined with his; and as we are baptized into no other son of that *Father*, but that only-begotten *Christ Jesus*, so into no other father, but the Father of that only-begotten: it followeth, that the proper explication of the first words of the CREED is this, *I believe in God the Father of Christ Jesus*.

In vain then is that vulgar distinction applied unto the explication of the CREED, whereby the Father is considered both personally, and essentially: personally, as the first in the glorious Trinity, with relation and opposition to the Son; essentially, as comprehending the whole Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. For that the Son is not here comprehended in the Father is evident, not only out of the original, or occasion, but also from the very letter of the CREED, which teacheth us *to believe in God the Father, and in his Son*; for if the Son were included in the Father, then were the Son the Father of himself. As therefore when I say, *I believe in Jesus Christ his Son*, I must necessarily understand the Son of that Father
 33 whom I mentioned in the first Article; so when I said, *I believe in God the Father*, I must as necessarily be understood of the Father¹ of him whom I call *his Son* in the second Article.

Now as it cannot be denied that God may several ways be said to be the *Father of Christ*; first, as he was begotten by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary; secondly, as he was sent by him with special authority, as the King of Israel; thirdly, as he was raised from the dead, out of the womb of the earth unto immortal life, and made heir of all things in his Father's house: so must we not doubt but, beside all these, God is the Father of that Son in a more eminent and peculiar manner, as he is and ever was with God, and God: which shall be demonstrated fully in the second Article, when we come to shew how Christ is the only-begotten Son. And according unto this paternity by way of generation totally divine, in which he who begetteth is God, and he which is

¹ 'Pater cum audis, Filii intellige Patrem, qui filius supradictæ sit imago substantiæ.' *Ruff. in Sym.* § 4. (p. 201.) [p. 18.]

begotten the same God, do we believe in God, as the eternal Father of an eternal Son. Which relation is coeval with his essence: so that we are not to imagine one without the other; but as we profess him always God, so must we acknowledge him always *Father*¹, and that in a far more proper manner than the same title can be given to any creature². Such is the fluctuant condition of human generation, and of those relations which arise from thence, that he which is this day a son, the next may prove a father, and within the space of one day more, without any real alteration in himself, become neither son nor father, losing one relation by the death of him that begot him, and the other by the departure of him that was begotten by him. But in the Godhead these relations are more proper, because fixed; the Father having never been a son, the Son never becoming Father, in reference to the same kind of generation³.

A farther reason of the propriety of God's *paternity* appears from this, that he hath begotten a Son of the same nature and essence with himself, not only specifically, but individually, as I shall also demonstrate in the exposition of the second Article. For generation being the production of the

¹ "Δια γὰρ ἐστὶ Θεὸς καὶ δια πατὴρ οὐκ ὑστερίσουσιν ἔχον τοῦ εἶναι τὴν γέννησιν· ἀλλ' ὁμοῦ τῷ εἶναι πατὴρ καὶ ὑφεστῶς καὶ νοούμενος. *S. Cyril. Alex. Dial. de Trin.* 2. [sub finem, Tom. v. p. 457 D. See also in the same Dialogue, p. 446 E. p. 452 O. p. 454 D.] Πατὴρ δὲ πατὴρ, καὶ οὐκ ἦν καιρὸς ὅτε οὐκ ἦν ὁ πατὴρ πατὴρ. *S. Epiphani. Hæres.* lxii. § 3. [Tom. i. p. 515 A.] 'Sicut nunquam fuit non Deus, ita nunquam fuit non Pater, a quo Filius natus.' *Gennad. de Eccles. dogm.* c. i. 'Credimus in Deum, et eundem confitemur Patrem ut eundem semper habuisse Filium nos credamus.' *Chrysost. Serm.* 59. [p. 704 E.] 'Inest Deo pietas, est in Deo semper affectio, paternitas permanet apud illum; semper ergo Filium fuisse credas, ne Patrem semper non fuisse blasphemias.' *Id. Serm.* 62. [p. 707 E.] 'Advertite, quod cum Dei Patris nomen in confessione conjungit, ostendit quod non ante Deus esse coeperit et postea Pater, sed sine ullo initio et

Deus semper et Pater est.' *S. August. de Temp. Serm.* 132.

² 'Deus solus proprie verus est Pater, qui sine initio et fine Pater est; non enim aliquando coepit esse, quod Pater est, sed semper Pater est, semper habens Filium ex se genitum.' *Faustinus, lib. contra Arianos.* [c. 7. p. 557 H.] 'Ἐπὶ τῆς θεότητος μόνῃς ὁ πατὴρ κυρίως ὁ πατὴρ ἐστὶ, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς κυρίως υἱὸς ἐστὶ, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων καὶ μόνων ἐστὶκε τὸ πατὴρ δὲ πατὴρ εἶναι, καὶ τὸ υἱὸς δὲ υἱὸς εἶναι. *S. Athanas. Orat. i. contra Arianos,* § 21. [Tom. i. p. 426 O.]

³ 'Ἐπὶ μόνῃς τῆς θεότητος τὸ πατὴρ καὶ τὸ υἱὸς ἐστὶκε καὶ ἐστὶν αἱ. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώπων εἰ πατὴρ λέγεται τις, ἀλλ' ἑτέρου γέγονεν υἱὸς, καὶ εἰ υἱὸς λέγεται, ἀλλ' ἑτέρου λέγεται πατὴρ. ὥστε ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων μὴ σώζεσθαι κυρίως τὸ πατὴρ καὶ υἱὸς θρονα. *S. Athanas. Tom. i. Πατὴρ κυρίως, ὅτι μὴ καὶ υἱὸς. ὡσπερ καὶ υἱὸς κυρίως, ὅτι μὴ καὶ πατὴρ. τὰ γὰρ ἡμέτερα οὐ κυρίως, ὅτι καὶ ἡμῶν. S. Greg. Naz. Orat.* 35. (xxix. 5. p. 526 A.)

like, and that likeness being the similitude of substance¹; where is the nearest identity of nature, there must be also the most proper generation, and consequently he which generateth the most proper father. If therefore man, who by the benediction of God given unto him at his first creation in these words, *Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth*, Gen. I. 28. begetteth a son *in his own likeness, after his image*; that is, of Gen. v. 3. the same human nature, of the same substance with him, (which if he did not, he should not according to the benediction multiply himself or man at all,) with which similitude of nature many accidental disparities may consist, if by this act of generation he obtaineth the name of father, because, and in regard, of the similitude of his nature in the son, how much more properly must that name belong unto God himself, who hath begotten a Son of a nature and essence so totally like, so totally the same, that no accidental disparity can imaginably consist with that identity?

- 34 That God is the proper and eternal Father of his own eternal Son is now declared: what is the eminency or excellency of this relation followeth to be considered. In general then we may safely observe, that in the very name of father there is something of eminence which is not in that of son²; and some kind of priority we must ascribe unto him whom we call the first, in respect of him whom we term the second person; and as we cannot but ascribe it, so must we endeavour to preserve it³.

Now that privilege or priority consisteth not in this⁴, that the essence or attributes of the one are greater than the essence or attributes of the other (for we shall hereafter demonstrate them to be the same in both); but only in this, that the Father hath that essence of himself, the Son by communication from the Father. From whence he acknowledgeth that he is *from*

¹ 'Etiam si Filius hominis homo in quibusdam similes, in quibusdam sit dissimilis Patri; tamen quia ejusdem substantiæ est, negari verus Filius non potest: et quia verus est Filius, negari ejusdem substantiæ non potest.' S. August. l. iii. cont. Mac. c. 15. [Lib. ii. c. xv. § 2. Tom. VIII. p. 503 B.] Vide Tho. Sum. p. 1. quæst. 33. art. 2. ad quart.

² Αὐτὸ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς μείζων ἐστὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ. Syn. Sardic. Theod. l. ii. c. 8. [p. 82 A.] 'Insinuat nobis in

Patre auctoritas, in filio nativitas.' S. August.

³ Τὸ μὲν ἀγεννήτην πατρὶ οικεῖον ἀξίωμα φυλακτέον, μηδένα τοῦ εἶναι αὐτῷ τὸν αἰτίον λέγοντας. Alex. apud Theod. l. i. c. 4. [p. 18 B.]

⁴ Ἡμεῖς δὲ κατὰ μὲν τὴν τῶν αἰτίων πρὸς τὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν σχέσιν, προτετάχθαι τοῦ υἱοῦ τὸν πατέρα φαμέν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν τῆς φύσεως διαφορὰν οὐκέτι. S. Basil. contra Eunom. l. i. § 20. (Tom. I. p. 232 B.)

John vii. 29.
John vi. 57.
John v. 26.

him, that he liveth by him, that the Father gave him to have life in himself, and generally referreth all things to him, as received from him. Wherefore in this sense some of the ancients have not stuck to interpret those words, *the Father is greater than I*¹, of Christ as the Son of God, as the second

John xiv. 28.

¹ Μείζων, εἶπεν, οὐ μεγέθει τῷ, οὐδὲ χρόνῳ, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς γέννησιν. *S. Athanas. contra Arianos*, l. ii. § 58. (Tom. I. p. 462 E.) Λέπεται τὸν μὴν κατὰ τὸν τῆς αἰτίας λόγον ἐνταῦθα τὸ μείζων λέγεσθαι. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡ ἀρχὴ τῷ υἱῷ, κατὰ τοῦτο μείζων ὁ πατήρ, ὡς αἰτίος καὶ ἀρχή. διὰ καὶ ὁ κύριος οὕτως εἶπεν, 'Ὁ πατήρ μου μείζων μου ἐστίν, καθὼς πατήρ δηλονότι. τὸ δὲ πατήρ τί ἄλλο σημαίνει, ἢ ὅχι τὸ αἰτία εἶναι καὶ ἀρχὴ τοῦ ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεννηθέντος; *S. Basil. contra Eunom.* l. i. § 25. (Tom. I. p. 236 C.) And the same S. Basil doth not only acknowledge this to be true in respect of the divine nature of Christ, but thinketh the divinity of the Son may be proved from hence: 'Εγὼ δὲ καὶ ἐκ ταύτης τῆς φωνῆς, τὸ ὁμοούσιον εἶναι τὸν υἱὸν τῷ πατρὶ δηλοῦσθαι πεπιστευκα, τὰς γὰρ συγκρίσεις οἶδα κυρίως ἐπὶ τῶν τῆς αὐτῆς φύσεως γνωμένων· ἀγγέλον γὰρ ἀγγέλου λέγομεν μείζονα, καὶ ἄνθρωπον ἀνθρώπου δικαίωτερον, καὶ πτηνὸν πτηνοῦ ταχύτερον. εἰ τὸν μὴν αἱ συγκρίσεις ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμοειδῶν γίνονται, μείζων δὲ κατὰ σύγκρισιν εἶρηται ὁ πατήρ τοῦ υἱοῦ, ὁμοούσιος τῷ πατρὶ ὁ υἱός. *Ad Casarienses Epist.* 141. (viii. § 5. Tom. III. p. 84 B.) Τὸ μείζων μὲν ἐστὶ τῆς αἰτίας, τὸ δὲ ἴσον τῆς φύσεως. *S. Greg. Naz. Orat.* 36. [*Orat.* 30. § 7. Tom. I. p. 544 E. *Orat.* 40. § 43. p. 725 D.] et *Orat.* 40. οὐ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν τὸ μείζων, τὴν αἰτίαν δέ. Vide *S. Epiphani. in Ancor.* c. 17. Εἰ δὲ λέγοι τις μείζονα εἶναι τὸν πατέρα καθὼς αἰτίος τοῦ υἱοῦ, οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἀντερούμεν. *S. Chrys. Homil. in Ioan.* 75. [Tom. VIII. p. 443 E.] 'Ἰσας τοιγαροῦν κατὰ τὸν τῆς οὐσίας λόγον ὑπάρχων ὁ υἱὸς τῷ πατρὶ, καὶ ὁμοιος κατὰ πάντα, μείζονα αὐτὸν φησιν ὡς ἀναρχόν, ἔχων ἀρχὴν κατὰ μόνον τὸ ἐξ οὗ, εἰ καὶ σύνδρομον αὐτῷ τὴν ὑπαρξίν ἔχοι. *S. Cyril. Alex. The-*

saur. c. xi. [Tom. v. p. 85 E.] And *Isidore Pelusiota, Epist.* 334. l. iii. cites this saying of an ancient father: Καὶ τὸ μείζων ἴσεται ἢ γεννήτωρ, καὶ τὸ ἴσον καθὼς Θεὸς καὶ ὁμοούσιος. So Vigilius professes to believe the Son: 'æqualem per omnia Patri, excepto eo quod ille inginitus est, et iste genitus.' *De Trin.* l. xi. c. 7. p. 285. 'Ideo totum quod habet, quod potest, non tribuit sibi, sed Patri, quia non est a seipso, sed a Patre. Æqualis est enim Patri, sed hoc quoque accepit a Patre.' *S. August. Epist.* 66. (Ep. 170. 8. Vol. II. p. 610.) [p. 464 B.] 'Necesse est quodammodo prior sit, quæ Pater sit; quoniam antecedit necesse est, eum qui habet originem, ille qui originem nescit. Simul ut hic minor sit, dum in illo esse se scit habens originem, quia nascitur.' *Novatianus, de Trin.* c. 31. [p. 313. col. 2 B.] 'Major itaque Pater filio est, et plane major, cui tantum donat esse quantus ipse est, cui innascibilitatis esse imaginem sacramento nativitatis impertit, quem ex se in formam suam generat.' *S. Hilari. de Trin.* l. ix. c. 54. p. 1020 E. 'Non præstantem quemquam cuiquam genere substantiæ, sed subjectum alteri nativitate naturæ: Patrem in eo majorem esse quod pater est, Filium in eo non minorem esse quod filius sit.' *Id. de Synod. contra Arianos*, c. 64. [p. 1187 D.] 'Quis non Patrem potius confitebitur, ut inginitum a genito, ut Patrem a Filio, ut eum qui miserit ab eo qui missus est, ut volentem ab eo qui obediens? et ipse nobis erit testis, Pater major me est.' *Id. de Trin.* l. iii. c. 12. p. 813 E. 'In eo enim quod in sese sunt, Dei ex Deo divinitatem cognosce; in eo vero quod Pater major est, confessionem paternæ auctoritatis intellige.' *Id.* l. xi. c. 12. (p. 1089.) [D.] And before all these Alexander bishop of Alexandria:

person in the blessed Trinity; but still with reference not unto his essence, but his generation, by which he is understood to have his being from the Father, who only hath it of himself, and is the original of all power and essence in the Son. *I can* John v. 30. *of mine own self do nothing*, saith our Saviour, because he is not of himself¹; and whosoever receives his being, must receive his power from another, especially where the essence and the power are undeniably the same, as in God they are.

The Son then can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the John v. 19.

35 *Father do*, because he hath no power of himself but what the Father gave²: and being he gave him all the power, as communicating his entire and undivided essence, therefore *what things soever he doeth, these also doeth the Son likewise*, by the same power by which the Father worketh, because he had received the same Godhead in which the Father subsisteth. There is nothing more intimate and essential to any thing than the life thereof, and that in nothing so conspicuous as in the Godhead, where life and truth are so inseparable, that

Τὸ δὲ ἀγέννητον τῷ πατρὶ μόνον ὁλωμα παρῆναι δοξάζοντες, ὅτε δὴ καὶ αὐτοῦ φάσκωτος τοῦ σωτήρος, 'Ὁ πατήρ μου μεῖζων μου ἐστίν. *Theodor. Hist. l. i. c. 4.* [p. 180.] Lastly, we have the testimony of Photius, that many of the ancient fathers so expounded it: Τῷ, 'Ὁ πατήρ μου μεῖζων μου ἐστίν, τοῦ εὐαγγελίου φωνή, διαφόρως οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐξεληφασαν.—οἱ μὲν γὰρ φασὶ τῷ αἰνῶ μεῖζονα εἰρησθαι. *Epiat. 176.* [p. 262.] 'Æqualis Patri; sed major Pater, quod ipse dedit ipsi omnia, et causa est ipsi Filio ut sit, ut isto modo sit.' *Victor. Afr. adv. Arium, l. i. in Biblioth. Patr. Lat. t. 4.* [p. 1930.] 'Pater, inquit, major me est; merito major, quia solus hic auctor sine auctore est.' *Phaeadius, [contra Arianos, c. 13. p. 253.]*

¹ 'Quicquid Filius habet ut faciat, a Patre habet ut faciat. Quare habet a Patre ut faciat? quia a Patre habet ut Filius sit; quia a Patre habet ut possit: quia a Patre habet ut sit.' *S. August. Tract. 20. in Ioan. § 4.* (Tom. III. Part. 2. p. 450.) [p. 327 B.]

² 'Non alia potentia est in Filio, et alia substantia; sed ipsa est potentia quæ et substantia; substantia ut sit, potentia ut possit. Ergo quia

Filius de Patre est, ideo dixit, *Filius non potest a se facere quicquam*; quia non est Filius a se, ideo non potest a se.' *Ibid.* 'Totum quod est, de Patre est; totum quod potest, de Patre est; quoniam quod potest et est, hoc unum est, et de Patre totum est.' *Ibid.* § 8. 'Non potest Filius a se facere quicquam, nisi quod viderit Patrem facientem: quia de Patre est totus Filius, et tota substantia et potentia ejus ex illo est qui genuit eum.' *Id. Tract. in Ioan. 21. § 2.* (p. 456.) [Tom. III. p. 332 D.] 'Et primum Filium cognosce, cum dicitur, *Non potest Filius ab se facere quidquam, nisi quod viderit Patrem facientem.* Habes nativitatem Filii, quæ ab se nihil possit facere nisi videat. In eo autem quod ab se nihil potest, innascibilitatis adimit errorem. Ab se enim non potest posse nativitas.' *S. Hilari. de Trin. l. vii. c. 21.* (p. 929 C.) 'Dum non ab se facit, ad id quod agit secundum nativitatem sibi Pater auctor est.' *Ibid. l. xi. c. 12.* (p. 1089 E.) 'Autorem discrevit cum ait, *Non potest ab se facere*: obedientiam significat cum addit: *Nisi quod viderit patrem facientem.*' *Id. de Syn. c. 75.* (p. 1192 C.)

there can be no living God but the true, no true God but the living. *The Lord is the true God, he is the living God, and an everlasting King*, saith the prophet Jeremy: and St Paul putteth the Thessalonians in mind, how they *turned from idols to serve the living and true God*. Now life is otherwise in God than in the creatures: in him originally, in them derivatively; in him as in the fountain of absolute perfection, in them by way of dependence and participation; our life is in him, but his is in himself: and as *the Father hath life in himself, so hath he given to the Son to have life in himself*¹; both the same life, both in themselves, both in the same degree, as the one, so the other; but only with this difference, the Father giveth it, and the Son receiveth it². From whence he professeth of himself, *that the living Father sent him, and that he liveth by the Father*³.

We must not therefore so far endeavour to involve ourselves in the darkness of this mystery, as to deny that glory which is clearly due unto the Father; whose pre-eminence undeniably consisteth in this, that he is God not of any other, but of him-

¹ *'Sicut habet Pater vitam in semetipso, sic dedit et Filio vitam habere in semetipso: ut hoc solum intersit inter Patrem et Filium, quia Pater habet vitam in semetipso quam nemo ei dedit, Filius autem habet vitam in semetipso quam Pater dedit.'* *S. August. Tract. 19. in Ioan. § 11. (p. 442.)* [Tom. III. p. 321 C.] 'Incommutabilis est vita Filii, sicut Patris, et tamen de Patre est: et inseparabilis est operatio Patris et Filii; sed tamen ita operari Filio de illo est, de quo ipse est, id est, de Patre.' *Id. de Trin. l. ii. c. 1. (p. 773.)* [§ 3. Tom. VIII. p. 548 E.]

² 'Sicut habet, dedit; quod habet dedit; qualem habet, talem dedit; quantam habet, tantam dedit.' *Id. contra Maxim. l. iii. c. 14. (Lib. ii. c. xiv. § 7. Tom. VIII. p. 706.)* [500 E.] 'Ergo quod dicitur *dedit Filio*, tale est ac si diceretur, genuit Filium; generando enim dedit. Quomodo dedit ut esset, sic dedit ut vita esset, et sic dedit ut in semetipso vita esset.' *Id. Tract. 22. in Ioan. § 10. (Tom. III. part. 2. p. 470.)* [Tom. IV. p. 341 B.] 'Connectitur tali confessione originis suæ, indiscretæ naturæ perfecta natiuitas. Quod enim in utroque vita est,

id in utroque significatur essentia. Et in vita quæ generatur ex vita, id est, essentia quæ de essentia nascitur, dum non dissimilis nascitur, scilicet, quia vita ex vita est, tenet in se originis suæ indissimilem naturam; quia natæ et gignentis essentia, id est, vitæ quæ habetur et data est, similitudo non discrepet.' *S. Hilari. de Synod. advers. Arianos, c. 16. (p. 1160 C.)* 'Quia ergo apparet vita Patria hoc esse quod ipse est; sicut habet vitam in se, sic dedit; sic dedit Filio habere vitam, id est, sic est Esse Filii, sicut Esse Patris.' *Vigil. Taps. Disput. in Biblioth. Patr. Lat. t. v. par. iii. p. 699.* 'In vita naturæ et essentia significatio est: quæ sicut habetur, ita data esse docetur ad habendum.' *S. Hilari. de Synod. c. 19. [p. 1163 A.]*

³ 'Propter Patrem vivit Filius, quod ex Patre Filius est: propter Patrem, [quod unius substantiæ cum Patre propter Patrem] quod eructatum est Verbum ex Patris corde, quod a Patre processit, quod ex paterno generatus est utero, quod fons Pater Filii est, quod radix Pater Filii est.' *S. Ambrosii. de Fide, l. iv. c. 5. fin. (Vol. II. p. 545.)* [Tom. IV. p. 175 H.]

self, and that there is no other person who is God, but is God of him. It is no diminution to the Son, to say, he is from another, for his very name imports as much; but it were a diminution to the Father to speak so of him; and there must be some pre-eminence, where there is place for derogation. What the Father is¹, he is from none; what the Son is, he is from him: what the first is, he giveth; what the second is, he receiveth. The first is a Father indeed by reason of his Son, but he is not God by reason of him; whereas the Son is not so only in regard of the Father, but also God by reason of the same.

36 Upon this pre-eminence (as I conceive) may safely be grounded the congruity of the divine mission. We often read that Christ was sent, from whence he bears the name of an *Apostle* himself, as well as those whom he therefore named so, Heb. iii. 1. because as the *Father sent him, so sent he them*; the Holy John xi. 21. Ghost is also said to be sent, sometimes by the Father, some-

¹ 'Pater de nullo patre, Filius de Deo Patre: Pater quod est, a nullo est; quod autem Pater est, propter Filium est. Filius vero et quod Filius est, propter Patrem est, et quod est, a Patre est.' *S. August. Tract. 19. in Ioan.*, § 13. (p. 443.) [Tom. III. p. 322 B.] 'Filius dicimus Deum de Deo; Patrem autem Deum tantum, non de Deo. Unde manifestum est, quod Filius habeat alium de quo sit, et cui Filius sit; Pater autem non Filius de quo sit habeat, sed tantum cui Pater sit. Omnis enim filius de patre est quod est, et patri filius est: nullus autem pater de filio est quod est.' *Id. de Trin. l. ii. c. (§ 2. Vol. VIII. p. 773.)* [Tom. VIII. p. 547 B.] 'Filius non hoc tantum habet nascendo, ut Filius sit, sed omnino ut sit.' *Ibid. l. v. c. 15. (p. 841.)* [§ 16. p. 596 O.] 'Filius non tantum ut sit Filius quod relative dicitur, sed omnino ut sit, ipsam substantiam nascendo habet.' *Ibid. c. 15. [§ 16. p. 596 D.]* 'Pater non habet Patrem de quo sit; Filius autem de Patre est ut sit, atque ut illi cœternus sit.' *Ibid. l. vi. c. 10. (p. 850.)* [§ 11. Tom. VIII. p. 602 F.] 'Ab ipso, inquit, sum; quia Filius de Patre, et quicquid est Filius, de illo est cujus est filius. Ideo Dominum Jesum dici-

mus Deum de Deo, Patrem non dicimus Deum de Deo, sed tantum Deum; et dicimus Dominum Jesum lumen de lumine, Patrem non dicimus lumen de lumine, sed tantum lumen. Ad hoc ergo pertinet quod dixit, *Ab ipso sum.*' *Id. Tract. 31. in Ioan. § 4. (Vol. III. Pt. 2. p. 521.)* [Tom. III. p. 378 F.] 'Pater non est si non habeat Filium, et Filius non est si non habeat Patrem: sed tamen Filius Deus de Patre, Pater autem Deus, sed non de Filio: Pater Filii, non Deus de Filio; ille autem Filius Patris, et Deus de Patre.' *Id. Tract. 29. in Ioan. § 5. (p. 514.)* [Tom. III. p. 373 B.] 'Hoc tamen inter Patrem et Filium interest, quia Pater a nullo hoc accepit, Filius autem per generationem omnia Patris accepit.' *S. Ambros. in Epist. ad Eph. c. 2. [II. 2. Tom. III. p. 495 L.]* 'Est ergo Deus Pater omnium, institutor, et creator, solus originem nesciens.' *Novat. de Trin. c. 31. [init. p. 313. col. 2 A.]*; whereas he speaks after of the Son: 'Est ergo Deus, sed in hoc ipsum genitus, ut esset Deus.' [p. 314. col. 2 A.] 'Pater est Deus de quo Filius est Deus, de quo autem Pater nullus est Deus.' *S. August. Epist. 66. al. 170. [§ 7. Tom. II. p. 464 A.]*

Matt. xxi.
33, &c.

Heb. i. 1, 2.

John vi. 57.

John vii. 29.

times by the Son: but we never read that the Father was sent at all¹, there being an authority in that name which seems inconsistent with this mission². In the parable, *a certain householder which planted a vineyard, first sent his servants to the husbandmen, and again other servants, but last of all he sent unto them his son*: it had been inconsistent even with the literal sense of an historical parable, as not at all consonant to the rational customs of men, to have said, that last of all the son sent his father to them. So God, placing man in the vineyard of his Church, first sent his servants the prophets, by whom³ he spake at sundry times and in divers manners, but in the last days he sent his Son: and it were as incongruous⁴ and inconsistent with the divine generation, that the Son should send the Father into the world. *As the living Father hath sent me, and I live by the Father*, saith our Saviour, intimating, that by whom he lived, by him he was sent, and therefore sent by him, because he lived by him; laying his generation as the proper ground of his mission. Thus he which begetteth sendeth, and he which is begotten is sent⁴. *For I am from him, and he hath sent me*, saith the Son: from whom I received my essence by communication, from him also received I this commission. As therefore it is more worthy to give than to receive, to send than to be sent; so in respect of the Sonship there is some priority in the divine *paternity*:

¹ 'Pater enim solus nusquam legitur missus.' *S. August.* l. ii. *de Trin.* c. 5. (§8. *Tom. VIII.* p. 776.) [p. 550A.]

² 'Solut Pater non legitur missus, quoniam solus non habet auctorem a quo genitus sit, vel a quo procedat. Et ideo non propter naturæ diversitatem, quæ in Trinitate nulla est, sed propter ipsam auctoritatem, solus Pater non dicitur missus: non enim splendor aut fervor ignem, sed ignis mittit sive splendorem sive fervorem.' *S. August. Serm. contra Arian.* c. 4. (*Tom. VIII.* p. 627.) [p. 444 E.] 'Qui mittit, potestatem suam in eo quod mittit, ostendit.' *S. Hilari. de Trin.* l. viii. c. 19. (p. 958.)

³ 'Si voluisset Deus Pater per subiectam creaturam visibiliter apparere, absurdissime tamen aut a Filio, quem genuit, aut a Spiritu Sancto, qui de illo procedit, missus diceretur.' *S. August. de Trin.* lib. iv. cap. ult. (p. 832.)

[*Tom. VIII.* p. 590 B.]

⁴ 'Filius est igitur a Patre missus, non Pater a Filio; quia Filius est a Patre natus, non Pater a Filio.' *Fulgent. fragm.* l. viii. *contra Fabianum, in Collect. de Theodul. de S. S.* (p. 626. ed. 1684.) [*Bibliotheca Patrum*, *Tom. VI.* p. 191 c.] 'Quis autem Christianus ignorat quod Pater miserit, missusque sit Filius? Non enim genitorem ab eo quem genuit, sed genitum a genitore mitti oportebat.' *S. August. contra Maximin.* lib. iii. c. 14. (*Lib. ii.* c. 14. § 8. p. 707.) [*Tom. VIII.* p. 50 c.] 'Ubi audis, *Ipsæ me misit*, noli intelligere naturæ dissimilitudinem, sed generantis auctoritatem.' *Id. Tract. 31. in Ioan.* § 4. (p. 521.) [*Tom. III.* p. 378 F.] 'Ἐξαυθα οὖν ὁ ἀποστείλας καὶ ὁ ἀποστέλλόμενος, ὡς δέλεη τῶν πάντων ἀγαθῶν μίαν εἶναι τὴν πηγὴν, τοῦτόστι τὸν πατέρα. *S. Epiphani. Hæres. lxi.* § 54. (p. 776.) [*Tom. I.*

from whence divers of the ancients¹ read that place of St John with this addition, *the Father (which sent me) is greater* John xiv. 28. *than I.* He then is that *God who sent forth his Son, made of a woman*, that *God who hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son* Gal. iv. 4, 6. *into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father.* So that the authority of sending is in the Father: which therefore ought to be acknowledged, because upon this mission is founded the highest testimony of his love to man; for *herein is love* (saith ¹ John iv. 10. St John), *not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins.*

Again, the dignity of the *Father* will farther yet appear from the order of the persons in the blessed Trinity, of which he is undoubtedly the first. For although in some passages of the apostolical discourses the Son may first be named (as in that of St Paul, *the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost be with you all*; the latter part of which is nothing but an addition unto his constant benediction); and in others the Holy Ghost precedes the Son, as *Now there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit; and there are differences of administrations, but the same Lord; and there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God which worketh all in all*: yet where the three Persons are barely enumerated, and delivered unto us as the rule of faith², there that order is observed which is proper to them; witness the form of baptism, *In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*: which order hath been perpetuated in all confessions of faith, and is for ever inviolably to be observed³. For that which is not instituted or invented

p. 776 D.] Hence the language of the Schools: 'Missio importat—processionem originis:' as *Thom. Aquin.* Par. i. q. 43. art. 1. ad prim. or, 'auctoritatem Principii:' as *Durand.* l. i. dist. 15. q. 1.

¹ Δέγουσι γὰρ τὸ ῥητὸν τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου κακῶς ἐρμηνεύοντες, ὅτι ὁ ἀποστείλας με πατὴρ μείζων μου ἐστίν, saith Epiphanius of the Arians; and answering, grants in these words which follow: καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ὁ ἀποστείλας με πατὴρ, φάσκει, καὶ οὐχ, ὁ κτίσας με. *Heres.* lxi. § 53. *Tom.* I. p. 775 O. To the same purpose *Athanasius de Hæc. Nat. nasc.* § 4. (p. 873 D), and *Cyril of Alexandria, Thesour. Assertio.*

xi. *Tom.* v. p. 85 B. ed. Aubert. 1638, read it, ὁ πέμψας με πατὴρ. And St Basil makes Eunomius read it so, in his first book against him, c. 21. and with that addition answers it. So the second confession of the council of Sirmium, both in the Latin original, and Greek translation. *S. Hilar. de Syn.* § 11. *S. Athanas. de Synod.* § 28. *Tom.* I. p. 744. et *Socrat.* l. ii. c. 30. [p. 103 D.]

² Παραδίδους ὁ κύριος τὴν σωτήριον πίστιν τοῖς μαθητευομένοις τῷ λόγῳ, τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ συνάπτει τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. *S. Basil. Epist.* 80. (189. *Tom.* III. p. 278 D.)

³ Ἀκλήτῳ καὶ ἀπαρεχέλητον

by the will or design of man, but founded in the nature of things themselves¹, is not to be altered at the pleasure of man. Now this priority doth properly and naturally result from the divine *paternity*; so that the Son must necessarily be second unto the Father², from whom he receiveth his origination, and the Holy Ghost unto the Son. Neither can we be thought to want a sufficient foundation for this priority of the first person of the Trinity, if we look upon the numerous testimonies of

φυλάσσειν προσήκει τὴν ἀκολουθίαν, ἣν ἐξ αὐτῆς τοῦ κυρίου τῆς φωτὸς παρελάβομεν, εἰπόντες, Πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα, &c. *S. Basil. Epist.* 78. (125. *Tom.* III. p. 217 A.)

¹ Ἔστι τι τάξεως εἶδος οὐκ ἐκ τῆς παρ' ἡμῶν θέσεως συνιστάμενον, ἀλλ' αὐτῇ τῇ κατὰ φύσιν ἀκολουθίᾳ συμβαίνον, ὡς τῷ πυρὶ πρὸς τὸ φῶς ἐστὶ τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ· ἐν τοῦτοις γὰρ πρότερον τὸ αἰνῶν λέγομεν, δεύτερον δὲ τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ.—πῶς οὖν ἐβλογον ἀρκείσθαι τὴν τάξιν ἐφ' ᾗ ὢν ἐστὶ πρότερον καὶ δεύτερον, οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν θέσιν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς κατὰ φύσιν αὐτοῖς ἐνυπαρχούσης ἀκολουθίας; *S. Basil. adversa. Eunom.* l. i. § 20. (Vol. I. p. 232.) [*Tom.* I. p. 234 B.]

² Δευτερεύει μὲν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ πατρὸς τῷ αἰτίῳ· δευτερεύει δὲ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ υἱοῦ κατὰ τὸν τῆς αἰτίας λόγον. *S. Basil. apud Georg. Pachym.* *Hist.* l. vii. 'Ὡς γὰρ ὁ υἱὸς τάξει μὲν δεύτερος τοῦ πατρὸς, οὗτις ἀπ' ἐκείνου, καὶ ἀξιώματι, οὗτις ἀρχὴ καὶ αἰτία τοῦ εἶναι αὐτοῦ [τῷ εἶναι αὐτοῦ πατέρα] καὶ οὗτις δι' αὐτοῦ ἡ πρόσδοσις καὶ προσαγωγή πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ πατέρα, φύσει δὲ οὐκ ἐστὶν δεύτερος, διότι ἡ θεότης ἐν ἐκατέρῳ μία· οὕτως δηλονότι καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον, εἰ καὶ ὑποβέβηκε τὸν υἱὸν τῇ τε τάξει καὶ τῷ ἀξιώματι,—οὐκ ἐστ' ἂν εἰκότως ὡς ἀλλοτρίως ὑπάρχον φύσεως. *S. Basil. contra Eunom.* l. iii. § 1. [*Tom.* I. p. 272 B.] 'Si unum Deum singulariter nominamus, excludentes vocabulum secundæ personæ, furorem ejus hæresis approbamus quæ ipsum asserit Patrem passum.' *Phœbad. contra Arian.* [c. 22. p. 256.] 'Illi cui est in Filio secunda persona, est et tertia in Spiritu Sancto.' *Ibid.* p. 112. 'Sic alius a Filio Spiritus, sicut a Patre Filius: sic tertia in Spiritu, ut in Filio se-

cunda persona.' *Ibid.* 'Omne quod prodit ex aliquo, secundum sit ejus necesse est de quo prodit, non idem tamen est separatim. Secundus autem ubi est, duo sunt; et tertius ubi est, tres sunt: tertius enim est Spiritus a Deo et Filio.' *Tertull. adversa. Praxeas,* c. 8. [p. 640.] 'Sic alium a se Paracletum, quomodo et nos a Patre alium Filium; ut tertium gradum ostenderet in Paracletu, sicut nos secundum in Filio.' *Ibid.* c. 9. [p. 640.] 'Hic interim acceptum a Patre munus effudit Spiritum Sanctum, tertium nomen divinitatis, et tertium gradum majestatis.' *Ibid.* c. 30. [p. 663 A.] 'Ὁ δὲ ὡς ἐξ αἰτίου γεγενῆσθαι υἱὸς, δεύτερος οὐ ἐστὶν υἱὸς καθέστηκεν, παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τὸ δὲ εἶναι καὶ τοῖσδε εἶναι εὐληφώς. *Euseb. Dem. Evang.* l. iv. c. 3. [p. 147 D.] 'Et quidem confessione communi secunda quidem ab auctore nativitas est, quia ex Deo est; non tamen separabilis ab auctore, quia in quantum sensus noster intelligentiam tentabit nativitatis excedere, in tantum necesse est etiam generationis excedat.' *S. Hilar. de Trin.* l. xii. c. 51. (p. 1139 E.) 'Tua enim res est, et unigenitus tuus est filius, ex te Deo Patre Deus verus, et a te in nature tue unitate genitus, post te ita confitendus, ut tecum, quia æternæ originis suæ es auctor æternus. Nam dum ex te est, secundus a te est.' *Ibid.* c. 54. (p. 1141.) This by the Schools is called *ordo naturæ, ordo originis, ordo naturalis præsuppositionis*. Which being so generally acknowledged by the fathers, when we read in the Athanasian creed, 'In this Trinity none is afore or after other,' we must understand it of the priority of perfection or time.

the ancient doctors of the Church, who have not stuck to call
38 the Father the origin¹, the cause², the author³, the root⁴, the fountain⁵, and the head of the Son⁶, or the whole Divinity.

¹ Μικρὼν γὰρ ἐν εἴῃ καὶ ἀναξίῳ ἀρχή, μᾶλλον δὲ μικρὸς τε καὶ ἀναξίως, μὴ θεότητος ὡς ἀρχή καὶ ἀγαθότητος τῆς ἐν υἱῷ καὶ πνεύματι θεωρουμένης. *S. Greg. Naz. Orat.* i. [2. § 38. Tom. i. p. 30 D. et *Orat.* 20.] et 29. Μὴ χροσικὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ υἱοῦ καταδέξῃ τῶς λέγοντος, ἀλλὰ ἀχρονον ἀρχὴν γίνωσκε τὸν πατέρα· ἀρχή γὰρ υἱοῦ ἀχρονος, ἀκατάληπτος. *S. Cyril. Hier. Catech.* 11. (§ 20. p. 159.) [p. 237.] 'Ἀρχὴ μὲν οὖν πατὴρ οὐδεμία, ἀρχὴ δὲ τοῦ υἱοῦ ὁ πατήρ. *S. Basil. contra Eunom.* l. ii. § 12. [Tom. i. p. 247 C.] Φαίνεται λοιπὸν ὁ μακρίως εὐαγγελιστὴς σαφέστερον ἡμῶν ἐρμηνεύειν τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὄνομα· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἕτερον, ὡς εἰκός, τῇ ἀρχῇ εἶναι φησιν, ἢ αὐτὸν τὸν Πατέρα, ἀφ' οὗπερ ὁ ζῶν ἐξέλαμψε Λόγος, καθάπερ ἐξ ἡλίου τὸ φῶς—οὐκοῦν ἀρχὴ τῷ Τιῷ Πατρί. *S. Cyril. Alex. Theaur.* c. 32. (Tom. v. p. 312 C.) 'Cum dixisset, quem mittit Pater, addidit, in nomine meo: non tamen dixit, quem mittit Pater a me, quemadmodum dixit, quem ego mittam vobis a Patre; videlicet ostendens quod totius Divinitatis, vel, si melius dicitur, Deitatis, principium Pater est.' *S. August. de Trin.* l. 4. c. 20. (§ 29. Tom. VIII. p. 829.) [p. 587 F.] 'Unum principium ad creaturam dicitur Deus, non duo vel tria principia. Ad se autem invicem in Trinitate, si gignens ad id quod gignit principium est, Pater ad Filium principium est, quia gignit eum.' *S. August. de Trin.* l. v. c. 13. 14. § 15. (p. 840.) [Tom. VIII. p. 595 F.] 'Pater ergo principium Deitatis.' *Gennad. de Eccles. Dogmat.* c. 1. In this sense the Greek fathers used *ἀρχος* as proper to the Father (in the same notion with *ἀγέννητος*, with relation to the 'principle productionis'), and denied it to the Son: 'Ὁ δὲ υἱός, ἐὰν μὲν ὡς αἰτίον τὸν πατέρα λαμβάνῃ, οὐκ ἀρχος, ἀρχὴ γὰρ υἱοῦ ὁ πατήρ ὡς αἰτίος· ἐὰν δὲ τῇ ἀπὸ χρόνου νοῦς ἀρχὴν, καὶ ἀρχος. *S. Greg. Naz. Orat.* 29. [20. § 7. Tom. I. p. 380 C.] Εἰ τις ἀγέννητον καὶ

ἀρχος λέγει τὸν υἱόν· ὡς δύο ἀρχα, καὶ δύο ἀγέννητα λέγων, καὶ δύο τοῦτον θεοῦ, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. Synod. Sirm. Confessio prim. [Labbe, Tom. II. p. 594 C. p. 786 A.] thus first translated into Latin: 'Si quis innascibilem et sine initio dicat Filium, tanquam duo sine principio, et duo innascibilia, et duo innata dicens, duos faciat deos, Anathema sit.' *S. Hilar. de Synod.* art. xxvi. c. 38. p. 1177 B. In which sense the Platonists did understand *ἀγέννητος* of God: 'Ὡστε οὐκ ἀγαθὸν τῇ λεγομένῃ ὕλη τὸ κοσμεῖσθαι, εἴπερ ἀγέννητος εἴη μὴ ἀπὸ χρόνου μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ αἰτίου καθ' ὃ σημασόμενον καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἀγέννητον λέγομεν. Hierocles de provid. [p. 248.] And the Latins attributing the term *principium* to the Son, do it with the addition of *de* or *ex principio*. 'Pater principium non de principio, Filius principium de principio.' *S. August. contra Maxim.* l. iii. c. 17. 'Principium ex principio et unum est, et initio caret.' *Faustus Rheg. Epist.* 16. [p. 531 C.] 'Ex ore, inquit, (Eccl. ii. 4.) *Altissimi proditi*; hæc est enim nativitas perfecta sermonis, hoc est principium sine principio; hic est ortus habens initium in nativitate, in statu non habens.' *Phœbad. contra Arian.* [c. 11. p. 252.] 'Sicut in creaturis invenitur principium primum et principium secundum; ita in personis divinis—invenitur principium non de principio, quod est Pater, et principium a principio, quod est Filius.' *Thō. Aquin.* Par. i. q. 33. art. 4. And to this all the schoolmen writing on his *Sums* agree, as all upon the Sentences. i. Dist. 29.

² *Αἰτία ἐστίν ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ φύσις καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, καὶ τῆς κτίσεως πάσης. S. Athanas. Orthodoci et Anomai Arianiastes* [De Trinitate Dial. ii. § 23. Tom. II. p. 502 F.] [This work is probably spurious.] 'Ἀλλὰ τίς ἐστι δύναμις ἀγεννητῆος καὶ ἀνάρχως ὑπεστώσα, ἥτις ἐστίν αἰτία

For by these titles it appeareth clearly, first, that they made a considerable difference between the person of the

τῆς ἀπάντων τῶν ὄντων αἰτίας· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ πατρὸς ὁ υἱός, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα. *S. Basil. Epist.* 43. (38. Tom. III. p. 1170.) And upon that place, "this day have I begotten thee:" Ἀλλὰ τὸ μέν, γεγέννηκα, τὴν αἰτίαν ἀφ' ἧς ἔχει ἀρχὴν τοῦ εἶναι σημαίνει. *Id. contra Eunom.* l. ii. § 17. [Tom. I. p. 252 D.] Πῶς οὐδεμιαν διαφορὰν καταλείπει, οὐδὲ τὴν ἐν αἰτίᾳ πρὸς τὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐνυπάρχουσαν; *Id.* l. i. § 23. [p. 234 E.] Πρὸς τὸ, ὅτι ἐγὼ ἦλθον ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρὸς μου, ἐκεῖνο εἰδέναι χρή, ὅτι ἀρχὴν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ αἰτίαν ἐπιγραφόμενος τὸν πατέρα ταῦτα λέγει. *Id. Epist.* 64. [210. § 4. Tom. III. p. 315 D.] Διαφορὰν τῶν ὑποστάσεων ἐν μόναις ταῖς τρισὶν ἰδιότησι, τῇ ἀνακτῇ καὶ πατρικῇ, καὶ αἰτιατῇ υἱικῇ, καὶ τῇ αἰτιατῇ καὶ ἐκπορευτῇ, ἐπιγινώσκουμεν. *Damasc.* l. iv. c. 5. Τὸν πατέρα τοῦ λόγου καὶ τῆς σοφίας, καὶ προβολέα τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου, τὴν πρώτην αἰτίαν καὶ ἀρχὴν φάμεν τῆς θεότητος εἶναι. *Zachar. Mitylen.* p. 215. ed. Barth. 1655. *De Mundi Opificio* [p. 285 E.] And although Thomas Aquinas, and Eugenius bishop of Rome, in the definition of the Council of Florence, have observed that the Greeks in this case do use the term *causa*, but the Latins only *principium*: yet the very Latin fathers in the twenty-fifth session of the same Council have these words: *μὴν γινώσκουμεν τὸν πατέρα αἰτίαν, καὶ ῥίζαν, καὶ πηγὴν τῆς θεότητος*: [Labbé, Tom. XIII. p. 461 B.] and we have before cited Victorinus Afer, p. 51. col. 2. who says: 'Pater causa est ipsi Filio ut ait.' [p. 193 C.] So St Hilary: 'Deum nasci, non est aliud quam in ea natura esse qua Deus est; quia nasci cum causam nativitatis ostendat, non disproficit tamen in genere auctoris existere.' *De Trin.* l. xi. c. 11. (p. 1089 A.) 'Ex Spiritu enim Spiritus nascens, licet de proprietate Spiritus, per quam et ipse Spiritus est, nascatur, non tamen alia ei præterquam perfectarum atque indemutabilitum causarum ad id quod nascitur causa est. Et ex causa, licet perfecta

atque indemutabili nascons, necesse est ex causa in causis ipsis proprietate nascatur.' *Id.* l. xii. (p. 1116 E.) 'Qui ex eo qui est natus est, intelligi non potest ex eo quod non fuit natus esse, quia ei is qui est ad id quod est causa est, non etiam id quod non est origo nascendi est.' *Ibid.* c. 17. (p. 1121 E.) 'Deus omnium quæ sunt causa est. Quod autem omnium rerum causa est, etiam sapientiæ suæ causa est, nec unquam Deus sine sapientia sua. Igitur sempiternæ sapientiæ suæ causa est sempiterna.' *S. August. lib. de divers. Quest.* lxxxiii. quæst. [15. 16. Tom. VI. p. 4 A.] And as they called the Father the cause of the Son, so they accounted it the propriety of the Father to be without a cause; as appears out of Alexander the bishop of Alexandria's Epistle before produced.

³ We have cited Phœbadius speaking so before, p. 69. col. 2. to which may be added: 'Si quis igitur adhuc et de Apostolo requirit dominicum statum, id est, singularis substantiæ dualitatem, quæ per naturam auctori suo jungatur:' [*Contra Arianos*, c. 21. p. 256.] *et paulo post*: 'Sed cum refertur ex ipso, certe ad Patrem, ut ad rerum omnium respiciat auctorem.' St Hilary is known to speak frequently of the authority of the Father, as of the author of his Son; and several places have been already collected, especially by Petavius, to which these may be added, besides what have been already produced. 'In ipso quod Pater dicitur, ejus quem genuit auctor ostenditur.' *De Trin.* l. iv. c. 9. (p. 831 E.) 'Cum potius honor Filii dignitas sit paterna, et gloriosus auctor sit ex quo is, qui tali gloria sit dignus, exstiterit.' *Ibid.* c. 10. 'Aliud est sine auctore esse semper æternum, aliud quod Patri, id est, auctori, est cœternum. Ubi enim Pater auctor est, ibi et nativitas est. At vero ubi auctor æternus est, ibi et nativitas æterna est: quasi cuncta nativitas ab auctore est, ita ab æterno auctore æterna nativitas est.' *Ibid.* l. xii. c. 21.

Father, of whom are all things, and the person of the Son, ^{1 Cor. viii. 6.} by whom are all things. Secondly, That the difference con-

(p. 1123 A.) 'Quod vero ex æterno natum est, id si non æternum natum est, jam non erit et Pater auctor æternus. Si quid igitur ei qui ab æterno Patre natus est ex æternitate defuerit, id ipsum auctori non est ambiguum defuisse.' *Ibid.* [p. 1123 C.] 'Natum non post aliquid, sed ante omnia; ut nativitas tantum testetur auctorem, non præposterum aliquid in se auctore significet.' *Ibid.* c. 51. (p. 1139 D.) 'Natus autem ita, ut nihil aliud quam Te [omnipotens Deus] sibi significet auctorem.' *Ibid.* c. 52. [p. 1140 C.] 'Ipsius tamen auctor est Pater generando sine initio.' *Ruff. in Symb.* § 9. [p. 19.] 'Si propterea Deum Patrem Deo Filio dicis auctorem, quia ille genuit, genitus est iste, quia iste de illo est, non ille de isto; fateor et concedo.' *S. August. contra Maxim.* l. iii. c. 14. [Lib. ii. c. 14. 6. Tom. VIII. p. 500 B.] (p. 706.)

⁴ 'Nec dubitaverim Filium dicere et radicis fruticem, et fontis fluvium, et solis radium.' *Tertul. adv. Præscam.* c. 8. [p. 639 D.] 'Nec frutex tamen a radice, nec fluvius a fonte, nec radius a sole discernitur; sicut nec a Deo Sermo.' *Ibid.* 'Ἐστὶ μὲν γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ τέλειον ἔχων τὸ εἶναι καὶ ἀνευθέτις, βίβλα καὶ πηγὴ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος.' *S. Basil. Hom.* 26. (§ 4. Vol. II. p. 193 D.) 'Dominus Pater, quia radix est Filii.' *S. Ambros. in Luc.* l. x. c. 1. [Tom. III. p. 201 D.] ut et *de Fide*, l. iv. c. 5. [Tom. IV. p. 175 H.] St Cyril of Alexandria speaking of the baptismal institution: *Τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀνωτάτω βίβλιν, ἧς ἐπέκεινα τὸ σὺν πᾶσι οὐδὲν, ἐνοήσεις τὸν πατέρα· τὸν δὲ γὰρ τῆς ἀνωτάτω βίβλης ἐκπεφυκῶτα καὶ γεγεννημένον παραδέξει τὸν υἱόν.* *De S. Trín. Dial.* 2. [Tom. v. p. 422 E.]

⁵ 'Ἀναρχὸς ὁ πατὴρ, πηγὴ τοῦ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ποταμοῦ, τοῦ μονογενοῦς ὁ πατὴρ.' *S. Cyril. Hieros. Catech.* 11. (p. 159.) [p. 237.] 'In hac ergo natura filius est, et in hoc originis fonte subsistens processit ex sapiente sapientia, ex forti virtus, ex lumine splendor.' *Vigil. Taps. Disp.* p. 702. 'Ὡς πνεῦμα

θεοῦ καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ πεφυκός, αἰώνιον αὐτὸν ἔχων, ὡς πηγὴν ἑαυτοῦ, κἀκεῖθεν πηγάζων.' *Basil. Homil.* 28. *Ἄγειν περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ ἡ θεία γραφὴ, Κλίνω, φησὶν, ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὡς ποταμὸς εἰρήνης· ἐκπορεύμενος δηλονότι ἐκ τῆς ἀληθοῦς πηγῆς τῆς ζωῆς, τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς θεότητος.* *Act. Concil. Nic.* l. ii. c. 22. [Labbé, Tom. II. p. 213 E.] And St Cyril of Alexandria, who often useth this expression, gives us the full signification of it in these words, upon the first chapter of St John, p. 12. [John i. 1. Tom. IV. p. 12 A.] 'Ἀδικήσει δὲ ὅλως οὐδὲν τό, ὡς ἐν πηγῇ, τῷ πατρὶ τὸν υἱὸν ὑπάρχειν ἐννοεῖν· μόνον γὰρ τὸ ἐξ οὗ τὸ τῆς πηγῆς ἐν τοῖτοις ὀνόματι σημαίνει. 'Patrem quidem non genitum, non creatum, sed ingentum profitemur; ipse enim a nullo originem ducit, ex quo et Filius nativitate, et Spiritus Sanctus processionem accepit. Fons ergo ipse et origo est totius divinitatis.' *Concil. Toletan.* 11. [Concil. Toletan. xi. Prefatio. Labbé, Tom. VI. p. 541. col. 1 A.] 'Quanto magis Dei vocem credendum est et manere in æternum, et sensu ac virtute comitari, quam de Deo Patre tanquam rivus de fonte traduxerit?' *Lactan. de ver. Sap.* l. iv. c. 8. et *rursus*, c. 29. [Tom. I. p. 371.] 'Cum igitur et Pater Filium faciat, et Filius Patrem, una utrique mens, unus spiritus, una substantia est: sed ille quasi exuberans fons est, hic tanquam defluens ex eo rivus; ille quasi sol, hic tanquam radius a sole porrectus.' [Tom. I. p. 446.]

⁶ 'Caput, quod est principium omnium, Filius: caput autem, quod est principium Christi, Deus.' *Concil. Sirm.* accepted and expounded as Orthodox by St Hilary: 'Caput enim omnium Filius, sed caput Filii Deus.' *de Synod.* c. 60. p. 1185. [See also Labbé, Tom. II. p. 786. col. 2 A.] 'Caput enim et principium omnium Filius est. Caput vero et principium Christi, Deus.' Labbé. *Prima Confessio Sirmiana*, cap. xxv. *Κεφάλη γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ ἀρχὴ πάντων ὁ υἱὸς κεφαλὴ δὲ ἐστὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὁ*

sisteth properly in this, that as the branch is from the root, and river from the fountain, and by their origination from them receive that being which they have; whereas the root receiveth nothing from the branch, or fountain from the river; so the Son is from the Father, receiving his subsistence by generation from him; the Father is not from the Son, as being what he is from none.

Some indeed of the ancients may seem to have made yet a farther difference between the persons of the Father and the Son, laying upon that relation terms of greater opposition. As if, because the Son hath not his essence from himself, the Father¹ had; because he was not begotten of himself, the Father² had been so; because he is not the cause of himself, the Father³ were. Whereas, if we speak properly, God the Father hath⁴ neither his being from another, nor from himself; not from another, that were repugnant to his *pater-* 39
nity; not from himself, that were a contradiction in itself. And therefore those expressions are not to be understood positively and affirmatively, but negatively⁵ and exclusively, that

Θεός. Concil. Antioch. Labbé, Tom. II. p. 594 c.] 'Cum ipse sit omnium caput, ipsius tamen caput est Pater.' *Ruff. in Symb.* § 9. p. 19. 'Tu capitis primique caput, tu fontis origo.' *S. Hilar. ad Leonem.* [v. 9. p. 1369.] Ὅτε δύο εἰσιν ἀρχαί, ἀλλὰ κεφαλὴ τοῦ υἱοῦ ὁ πατήρ, μὴ ἡ ἀρχή. *S. Cyril. Hieros. Catech.* II. (§ 14. p. 156.) [p. 233.] 'Caput Filii Pater est, et caput Spiritus Sancti Filius, quia de ipso accepit.' *S. August. Quæst. Vet. Test.* 9. St Chrysostom is so clearly of the opinion that 1 Cor. xi. 3. is to be understood of Christ as God, that from thence he proves him to have the same essence with God: Εἰ γὰρ κεφαλὴ γυναικὸς ὁ ἀνὴρ, ὁμοούσιος δὲ ἡ κεφαλὴ τῷ σώματι· κεφαλὴ δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὁ θεός, ὁμοούσιος ὁ υἱός τῷ πατρὶ. [Hom. 26c. Tom. x. p. 229 B.] So likewise Theodoret upon the same place [T. III. p. 172 A.] 'Ἡ δὲ γυνὴ οὐ ποίημα τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ ἀνδρός. οὐδὲ ὁ υἱὸς ἀρα ποίημα τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ θεοῦ. So St Cyril: Κεφαλὴ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὁ θεός, οὐκ ἐξ αὐτοῦ κατὰ φύσιν γεγέννηται γὰρ ὁ λόγος ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρός. *Ad Regim. Ep.* I.

¹ Lactan. I. i. c. 8. S. Hilar. I. ii. Zach. Mitylen. p. 214. seqq. [284.]

² Lactan. ib. Synes. Hymn.

³ S. Hieron. in c. 3. ad Eph. ['Deus vero qui semper est, nec habet aliunde principium, et ipse sui origo est, susque causa substantie, non potest intelligi aliunde habere quod substituit.' *Comment. in Ephes.* iii. Tom. VII. p. 600 E.]

⁴ 'Ἀναρχος οὖν ὁ πατήρ, οὐ γὰρ ἐτέρωθεν αὐτῷ, οὐδὲ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ τὸ εἶναι. *S. Greg. Naz. Orat.* [10. § 7. Tom. I. p. 380 c.] 'Ὁ ἀγέννητος οὐ γεγέννηται, οὐδ' ὁφ' ἑαυτοῦ, οὐδ' ὁφ' ἐτέρου. *S. Athan.* 'Si rursum quod a semetipso sit accipias, nemo sibi ipse et munerator et munus est.' *S. Hilar. de Trin.* I. ii. c. 7. (p. 792 D.) 'Qui putant Deum ejus potentie esse ut seipsam ipse genuerit, eo plus errant, quod non solum Deus ita non est, sed neque corporalis neque spiritualis creatura. Nulla enim omnino res est quæ seipsam gignat ut sit. Et ideo non est credendum, vel dicendum, quod Deus genuit se.' *S. August.*

⁵ This appeareth by those expositions which have been given of such words as seem to bear the affirmation;

he hath his essence from none, that he is not begotten of any, nor hath he any cause of his existence. So that the proper

as αὐτογένεθλος, αὐτοφυής, αὐτόγονος, αὐτογενής, &c. *Αὐτογενής, αὐτογένεθλος, οὐκ ἐκ τινος γεννώμενος. Hesych.* And *Αὐτολόχευτος, Θεὸς ἀγέννητος, αὐτογέννητος. Idem.* And after him Suidas: *Αὐτολόχευτος, αὐτογέννητος, ὁ Θεὸς ἀγέννητος.* And if *αὐτογέννητος* be not αὐτόθεν γεννητός, no more is αὐτόθεος to be taken for αὐτόθεν, or ἐξ αὐτοῦ θεός. Eusebius in his Panegyric Oration gives this title to the Son: *Ὁλα τοῦ καθόλου θεοῦ παῖδα γνήσιον καὶ αὐτόθεν προσκυνεῖσθαι. Hist. l. x. c. 4. [p. 307 A.]* And in his Evangelical Demonstration calls him: *αὐτονοῦν, καὶ αὐτολόγον, καὶ αὐτοσοφῶν, καὶ ἐτι δὲ αὐτόκαλον καὶ αὐτογάθων. l. iv. c. 2. [p. 146 A.]* And in the thirteenth chapter of the same book [p. 170 B.] with relation to the former words: *τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος αὐτοζῶν τυγχάνων, καὶ αὐτοφῶς ποιεῖν, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα προκατελεγκται.* Theodoret terms him: *αὐτοδύναμις καὶ αὐτοζῶν καὶ αὐτοσοφῶν. contra Anathem. 4. Cyrilli. [Tom. IV. p. 712 C.]* St Basil: *αὐτοζῶν, in Paul. xlviii. et de Spiritu Sancto, c. 8.* and αὐτοδικαιοσύνη, *Ep. 141.* St Chrysostom: *αὐτοσαβαστάς, αὐτομακροτότητα. St Athanasius gives him them, and many more to the same purpose. [Ἀληθινὸς υἱός, &c. Athanas. Oratio contra Gentes. § 46. Tom. I. p. 46 A. et B.]* And before all these Origen: *Ὅν μὲν νομίζομεν καὶ πεπεσμεθα ἀρχήθεν εἶναι Θεόν, καὶ υἱὸν Θεοῦ, οὗτος δ' αὐτολόγος ἐστὶ, καὶ ἡ αὐτοσοφία, καὶ ἡ αὐτοαλήθεια. c. Cels. l. iii. § 41. [Tom. I. p. 474 A.]* And again: *Τὸ μᾶλλον τῆς Ἰησοῦ ψυχῆς, ἢ καὶ παραπλησίως, κεκώληται τῷ Κυρίῳ, τῷ αὐτολόγῳ, καὶ αὐτοσοφῷ καὶ αὐτοαληθεῖ καὶ αὐτοδικαιοσύνῃ; l. vi. § 47. [p. 669 F.]* Εἰκὼν μὲν τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ πρωτόκοκος πάσης κτίσεως ἐστὶν ὁ αὐτολόγος, καὶ ἡ αὐτοαλήθεια, ἐτι δὲ καὶ ἡ αὐτοσοφία. *Ibid. § 63. [p. 680 D.]* And certainly in the same sense that αὐτός is joined with one attribute, it may be joined with any other, and with the Godhead: because all the attributes of God are really the same, not only with them-

selves, but with the essence. But in what sense it ought to be understood, when thus used by the fathers, it will be necessary to inquire, lest it be so attributed to the Son, as it prove derogatory to the Father. St Basil, I confess, may seem so to speak, as if the Son were therefore αὐτοζῶν, because he hath life of himself, not from the Father (and consequently he may be termed αὐτόθεος, as God of himself, not from the Father), for he denieth those words, "I live by the Father," (John vi. 58.) to be spoken of Christ according to his divine nature, and that only for this reason, that if it were so understood he could not be called αὐτοζῶν: *Εἰ διὰ τὸν πατέρα ὁ υἱὸς ζῇ, δι' ἕτερον καὶ οὐ δι' αὐτὸν ζῇ, ὁ δὲ δι' ἕτερον ζῶν αὐτοζῶν εἶναι οὐ δύναται* from whence he concludeth: *eis τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν οὖν καὶ οὐκ eis τὴν θεότητα, τὸ ἐρμηνέον νοεῖν δεῖ. contra Eunom. l. iv. [Tom. I.] p. 290.* But because the authority of that book is questioned, I shall produce the same author upon the same Scripture, speaking to the same purpose, in his 141st epistle, al. 8th, § 4. (Tom. III. p. 83 E.) which is unquestionably genuine: *Ἐργαῖθα δὲ τὸ ῥητὸν οὐ τὴν προαιώνιον, ὥς οἶμαι, ζῶν ὀνομάζει· πᾶν γὰρ τὸ δι' ἕτερον ζῶν αὐτοζῶν εἶναι οὐ δύναται.* To which testimonies I answer, first, that those words of his, ὥς οἶμαι (*as I think*) shew that he doth not absolutely deny these words of Christ to be understood of his Divinity, of which the rest of the fathers quoted before did understand it; and not only they, but St Basil himself, in his book *de Spiritu Sancto, c. 8. § 19. [Tom. III. p. 16 E.]* hath delivered a clear resolution of this point according to that interpretation, wholly consonant to his doctrine of the Trinity in other parts of his works: *Ὅμοι μέντοι, ἢ αἰμώτερον ἐκ τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν ἐνεργουμένων περισπασθῶμεν eis τὸ φαντασθῆναι ἀναρχὸν εἶναι τὸν κύριον, τί φησὶν ἡ αὐτοζῶν; Ἐγὼ ζῶ διὰ τὸν πατέρα, καὶ ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ δύναμις; Οὐ δύναται ὁ υἱὸς ποιεῖν ἀφ'*

notion of the Father in whom we believe is this, that he is a person subsisting eternally in the one infinite essence of the

ἐαυτοῦ οὐδέν. καὶ ἡ ἀποτελής σοφία; Ἐπολὴν ἔλαβον, τί εἶπω καὶ τί λαλήσω. Christ therefore as αὐτοζωή spake those words, "I live by the Father," and by them shewed his origination from him, from whom he received his life, power, and wisdom, as receiving his essence, which is the same with them: wherefore those former passages are to be looked upon, as if αὐτός in composition did not deny origination, but participation, or receiving by way of affection. And that he understood it so, appears out of the places themselves: for in the first, after ὁ δι' ἑτερον ζῶν αὐτοζωή εἶναι οὐ δύναται, immediately followeth, οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ κατὰ χάριν ἅγιος αὐτοδύσιος; and in the second, after πάν γὰρ τὸ δι' ἑτερον ζῶν αὐτοζωή εἶναι οὐ δύναται, followeth likewise, ὡς οὐδὲ τὸ ὑψ' ἑτέρου θερμανθέν αὐτοθερμότης εἶναι. The meaning then of St Basil must be this, that he which receiveth life from another merely as a grace or favour, as the saints receive their sanctity, cannot properly be termed αὐτοζωή, no more than they αὐτοδύσιος: or if he receive it by derivation or participation, as water receiveth heat from fire, he deserveth the same name no more than water heated to be called αὐτοθερμότης. And this is fully consonant to the expressions of the rest of the ancients: as particularly Athanasius, *contr. Gent.* § 46. (p. 46.) Οὐ κατὰ μετοχὴν ταῦτα ὄν, οὐδὲ ἐξωθεν ἐπιγινόμενων τούτων αὐτῷ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοῦ μετέχοντας, καὶ σοφίζομένους δι' αὐτοῦ, καὶ δυνατοὺς καὶ λογικοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ γνωμένους· ἀλλ' αὐτοσοφία, αὐτολόγος, αὐτοδύναμις ἰδίᾳ τοῦ πατρὸς ἔστω, αὐτοφῶς, αὐτοαλήθεια, αὐτοδικαιοσύνη, αὐτοαρετή. And to the same purpose: "Ὅτι οὐ μεθεκτήν ἔχει τὴν δωρεάν ἀλλ' αὐτοπηγὴ καὶ αὐτὸρρίζα πάντων ἐστὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν, αὐτοζωή, καὶ αὐτοφῶς, καὶ αὐτοαλήθεια· in the MS. Catena in the King of France's Library. *Petav. de Trin.* l. vi. c. 11. All therefore which these compositions signify, is either a negation of a derivative participation, or an affirmation of a reality and iden-

tity of substance, as yet farther appears by St Epiphanius: αὐτοουσία ἐστὶν ὁ θεὸς πατὴρ καὶ ὁ υἱός, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, καὶ οὐχ ἑτερουσία· and Origen himself upon St John: ἡ αὐτοδικαιοσύνη ἡ οὐσιώδης Χριστὸς ἐστὶ, as also ἡ αὐτοαλήθεια ἡ οὐσιώδης, καὶ ὡ' οὕτως εἶπω, πρωτότυπος τῆς ἐν ταῖς λογικαῖς ψυχαῖς ἀληθείας. To conclude, there is a catholic sense in which the Son is termed αὐτόθεος, αὐτοσοφία, &c. by the ancient fathers; and another sense there is in which these terms are so proper and peculiar to the Father, that they are denied to the Son. Indeed αὐτόθεος, in the highest sense, ἀφ' ἐαυτοῦ θεός, positively taken, belongeth neither to the Son nor to the Father, as implying a manifest contradiction; because nothing can have its being actually from itself, as communicated to itself, and that by itself: but in a negative way of interpretation, by which that is said to be of itself, which is and yet is not of or from another, αὐτόθεος belongs properly to the Father, neither generated by, nor proceeding from another; and in that sense it is denied to the Son, because he is generated by the Father, as: ἐκ θεοῦ θεός, ἐκ σοφοῦ σοφία, ἐκ λογικοῦ λόγος, καὶ ἐκ πατρὸς υἱός, saith St Athanasius *cont. Ar. Or.* iv. § 1. (Vol. i. p. 618 B.) from whence he thus proceeds: ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ ἂν τις εἰποι αὐτοσοφίαν εἶναι καὶ αὐτολόγον τὸν θεόν, ἀλλ' εἰ τοῦτο, εἴη ἂν αὐτὸς ἐαυτοῦ πατὴρ καὶ υἱός. *Ibid.* § 2. [p. 618 D.] And again: εἰ δὲ αὐτοσοφία ὁ θεός, καὶ τὸ ἐκ τούτου ἄπορον εἰρηγαι παρὰ Σαβελλίω. [p. 618 E.] Lastly, in another sense in which αὐτός in composition is taken not in obliquo, but in recto, αὐτόθεος, that is, αὐτός ὁ θεός, God himself, and αὐτοζωή, αὐτή ἡ ζωή, life itself: so all these terms are attributed to the Son as truly, really, and essentially, as to the Father. And that the fathers took it so appears, because they did sometimes resolve the composition: as when Eusebius calleth Christ αὐτόθεον, in the Pane-

Godhead; which essence or subsistence he hath received from no other person, but hath communicated the same essence, in which himself subsisteth, by generation to another person, who by that generation is the Son.

40 Howsoever, it is most reasonable to assert that there is but one Person who is from none; and the very generation of the Son and procession of the Holy Ghost undeniably prove, that neither of those two can be that Person. For whosoever is generated is from him which is the genitor, and whosoever proceedeth is from him from whom he proceedeth, whatsoever the nature of the generation or procession be. It followeth therefore that this Person is the *Father*, which name speaks nothing of dependence, nor supposeth any kind of priority in another.

From hence it is observed that the name of *God*, taken absolutely¹, is often in the Scripture spoken of the *Father*; as when we read of *God sending his own Son*; of *the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God*; and generally wheresoever Christ is called the Son of God, or the Word of God, the name of God is to be taken particularly for the *Father*, because he is no Son but of the Father. From hence he is styled *one God*; *the true God*; *the only true God*; *the God² and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ*.

Which, as it is most true, and so fit to be believed, is also a most necessary truth, and therefore to be acknowledged,

gyric before cited, presently after he speaketh thus, l. x. § 4. p. 469. [p. 307 D.] Τί γὰρ καὶ ἐμελλε τοῦ παμβασιλείως καὶ πανηγυμένως καὶ αὐτοῦ θεοῦ λόγου ἐσθῆσθαι τῷ νεύματι; where αὐτοῦ θεοῦ is the same with αὐτοῦ θεοῦ.

¹ 'Ὅθεν οἱ ἀπόστολοι, καὶ πᾶσα σὺν ἡ ἀγία γραφή, ὅταν εἴπῃ, ὁ Θεός, οὕτως ἀπολύτως καὶ ἀπροσδιορίστως, καὶ ὡς ἐπίπαν σὺν Ἀβραάμ, καὶ χωρὶς ἰδιώματος ὑποστατικοῦ, τὸν πατέρα δηλοῦ. *Theod. Adacar. Opusc. 42.* [p. 435 C.]

² 'Unxit te Deus, Deus tuus. Id enim quod sit, tuus, ad nativitatem refertur; cæterum non perimit naturam. Et idcirco Deus ejus est, qui ex eo natus in Deum est. Non tamen per id quod Pater Deus est, non et Filius Deus est. Unxit enim te Deus, Deus

tuus; designata videlicet et auctoris et ex eo geniti significatione, uno eodemque dicto utrumque illum in naturæ ejusdem et dignitatis nuncupatione constituit.' *S. Hilar. de Trin.* l. iv. c. 35. (p. 848 C.) 'Deo enim ex quo omnia sunt Deus nullus est, qui sine initio æternus est. Filio autem Deus Pater est, ex eo enim Deus natus est.' *Ibid.* c. 37. [p. 849. col. 1 B.] 'Cum autem ex Deo Deus est, per id quoque Deus Pater Deo Filio et nativitatis ejus Deus est, et naturæ Pater: quia Dei nativitas et ex Deo est, et in ea est generis natura qua Deus est.' *Id.* l. xi. c. 11. (p. 1089.) [col. 1 A.] So St Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech.* xi. [p. 237.] (158): Θεός ὁ γενήσας, Θεός ὁ γεννηθεὶς. Θεός μὲν τῶν πάντων, Θεὸς δὲ ἐαυτοῦ τῶν πατέρα ἐπιγραφόμενος.

¹ Rom. viii. 3.
² 2 Cor. xiii. 14.

¹ 1 Cor. viii. 6.
Eph. iv. 6.
¹ 1 Thess. i. 9.
John xvii. 3.
² 2 Cor. i. 3.
Eph. i. 3.

for the avoiding multiplication¹ and plurality of gods. For if there were more than one which were from none, it could not be denied but there were more gods than one. Wherefore this origination² in the divine *paternity* hath anciently been looked upon as the assertion of the unity: and therefore the Son and Holy Ghost have been believed to be but one God with the Father, because both from the Father, who is one, and so the union³ of them.

Secondly, It is necessary thus to believe in the *Father*, because our salvation is propounded to us by an access unto

¹ Μη μοι—εἴπατε, δύο θεοὺς κηρύττει, πολυθεῖαν καταγγέλλει. οὐ δύο θεοί, οὐδὲ γὰρ δύο πατέρες· ὁ μὲν ἀρχὴς εἰσάγων δύο, δύο κηρύττει θεοὺς. *S. Basil. Homil. 26.* [§ 4. 24. Tom. II. p. 192 B.] 'In duobus ingentis diversa divinitas invenitur; in uno autem genito ex uno ingenito naturalis unitas demonstratur.' *Fulgen. Resp. contra Arian. ad Obj. 5.* [*Bibliotheca Patrum*, Tom. VI. p. 34 E.] 'Si quis innascibilem et sine initio dicat Filium, tanquam duo sine principio, et duo innascibilia, et duo innata dicens, duos faciat Deos, Anathema sit.' *Concil. Sirm. [Hilary de Syn. c. 38, p. 1177 B.]* 'Deus utique procedens ex Deo, secundam personam efficiens, [post Patremque filius,] sed non eripiens illud Patri, quod unus est Deus. Si enim natus non fuisset, innatus comparatus cum eo qui esset innatus, æquatione in utroque ostensa, duos faceret innatos, et ideo duos faceret Deos. Si non genitus esset, collatus cum eo qui genitus non esset, et æquales inventi, duos Deos merito reddidissent non geniti; atque ideo duos Christus reddidisset Deos. Si sine origine esset ut Pater, inventus, et ipse principium omnium ut Pater, duo faciens principia, duos ostendisset nobis consequenter et Deos, &c.' *Novatian. de Trin. c. 31.* [p. 313. col. 1 A.]

² Ὡς περ δὲ μία ἀρχή, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο εἰς θεός. *S. Athan. Orat. iv. § 1.* p. 617. Τηροῦτο δ' ἄν, ὡς ὁ ἐμὸς λόγος, εἰς μὲν θεός, εἰς ἂν αἰτίων καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἀγίου πνεύματος ἀναφερόμενον. *S. Gregor. Naz. Orat. 29.* [20. § 7. Tom. I. p. 379 E.] 'Ὅπου γὰρ μία μὲν ἡ ἀρχή,

ἐν δὲ τὸ ἐξ αὐτῆς, καὶ ἐν μὲν τὸ ἀρχέ-
των, μία δὲ ἡ εἰκὼν, ὁ τῆς ἐνότητος
λόγος οὐ διαφθείρεται. *S. Basil. Homil. 26.* [24.] (§ 4. Tom. II. p. 192 C.)
'Patri suo originem suam debens, discordiam divinitatis de numero duorum Deorum facere non potuit, qui ex illo qui est unus Deus originem nascenti contraxit.' *Novatian. de Trin. c. 31.* [p. 314, col. 1 C.] 'Confitemur—non Deos duos, sed Deum unum, neque per id non et Deum Dei Filium, est enim ex Deo Deus. Non innascibiles duos, quia auctoritate innascibilitatis Deus unus est.' *S. Hilary. de Synod. c. 64.* [p. 1187 D.] whose assertion is: 'Unum Deum esse ex quo omnia, unam virtutem innascibilem, et unam hanc esse sine initio potestatem:' which words belong unto the Father, and then it followeth of the Son; 'Non enim Patri adimitur quod Deus unus est, quia et Filius Deus sit. Est enim Deus ex Deo, unus ex uno: ob id unus Deus, quia ex se Deus. Contra vero non minus per id Filius Deus, quia Pater Deus unus sit. Est enim unigenitus Filius Dei: non innascibilia, ut Patri adimat quod Deus unus sit.' *De Trin. l. iv. c. 15.* (p. 836.) [A, B.]

³ Φύσις δὲ τοῖς τρισι μία, θεός· ἔνωσις δὲ ὁ πατήρ, ἐξ οὗ καὶ πρὸς ὃν ἀνάγεται τὰ ἑξῆς. *S. Greg. Naz. Orat. 32.* (42. § 15. Tom. I. p. 758 D.) Unto which words those of Theodore Abucara have relation: Θεός δὲ ἐξαίρετως λέγεται, ἐπειδὴ ἡ ἔνωσις, ἥτοι ἀνάπτυξις καὶ ἀνακεφαλαιώσις, τῇ τριάδι ὁ πατήρ ἐστίν, ὡς εἶπεν ὁ Θεολόγος. *Opusc. 42.* [p. 435 D.]

the Father. We are all gone away and fallen from God, and we must be brought to him again. There is no other notion under which we can be brought to God as to be saved, but the notion of the Father: and there is no other person can bring us to the Father, but the Son of that Father: for, as the apostle teacheth us, *through him we have an access by one Spirit unto the Father.* Eph. ii. 18

41 Having thus described the true nature and notion of the divine *paternity*, in all the several degrees and eminences belonging to it, I may now clearly deliver, and every particular Christian understand what it is he speaks, when he makes his confession in these words, *I believe in God the Father*: by which I conceive him to express thus much:

As I am assured that there is an infinite and independent Being, which we call *a God*, and that it is impossible there should be more infinities than one: so I assure myself that this one God is the *Father* of all things, especially of all men and angels, so far as the mere act of creation may be styled generation; that he is farther yet, and in a more peculiar manner, the *Father* of all those whom he regenerateth by his Spirit, whom he adopteth in his Son, as heirs and coheirs with him, whom he crowneth with the reward of an eternal inheritance in the heavens. But beyond and far above all this, beside his general offspring and peculiar people, *to whom* John i. 12. *he hath given power to become the sons of God*, I believe him the Father in a more eminent and transcendent manner, of one singular and proper Son, his own, his beloved, his only-begotten Son: whom he hath not only begotten of the blessed Virgin, by the coming of the Holy Ghost, and the overshadowing of his power; not only sent with special authority as the King of Israel; not only raised from the dead, and made heir of all things in his house: but antecedently to all this, hath begotten him by way of eternal generation in the same Divinity and Majesty with himself: by which *paternity*, coeval to the Deity, I acknowledge him always *Father*, as much as always *God*. And in this relation, I profess that eminency and priority, that as he is the original Cause of all things as created by him, so is he the fountain of the Son begotten of him, and of the Holy Ghost proceeding from him.

I BELIEVE IN GOD THE FATHER *ALMIGHTY*.

Rev. iv. 8. AFTER the relation of God's paternity, immediately followeth the glorious attribute of his *omnipotency*¹: that as those in heaven in their devotions, so we on earth in our confessions might acknowledge that *Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come*. That in our solemn meetings at the Church of God, with the joint expression and concurring language of the congregation, we might
Rev. xix. 6. some way imitate that *voice of a great multitude, as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of mighty thunderings, saying Allelujah; for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth*².

This notion of *Almighty* in the CREED, must certainly be interpreted according to the sense which the original word beareth in the New Testament; and that cannot be better understood than by the Greek writers or interpreters of the Old, especially when the notion itself belongs unto the Gospel and the Law indifferently. Now the word which we translate *Almighty*³, the most ancient Greek interpreters used sometimes for the title of God, *the Lord of Hosts*, sometimes for his name *Shaddai*, as generally in the Book of Job: by the first, they seem to signify the rule and dominion which
42 God hath over all; by the second, the strength, force, or power by which he is able to perform all things. *The*
Gen. ii. 1.

¹ For the oldest and shortest Creed had always this attribute expressed in it. Inasmuch that Παντοκράτωρ was ordinarily by the ancients taken for the Father, as Origen, *adv. Celsum*, l. vii. § 10. [Tom. I. p. 700 E.] Ἐσχρὴν δὲ αὐτόν—ἐκθέσθαι αὐταῖς λέξεσι τὰς προφητείας εἶπ' ἐν αἷς Θεὸς Παντοκράτωρ ἐπηγγέλλετο εἶναι ὁ λέγων, εἶπ' ἐν αἷς ὁ Τίος τοῦ Θεοῦ, εἶπε καὶ ἐν αἷς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον λέγον εἶναι ἐπιστεύετο. And according to this general confession did Polycarp begin his prayer at his martyrdom: Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ τοῦ ἀγαπῆτου καὶ εὐλογητοῦ παιδὸς σου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πατήρ. *Eccles. Smyrn. Epist.* [c. 14.]

² Οἱ παρόντων εἰληφότες, τὸν παντοκράτορα πατέρα καλεῖν. *Constit. Apost.* l. i. Proœm.

³ Παντοκράτωρ, translated by Ter-

tullian and St Augustin [*De Genesi ad Lit.* Lib. iv. c. 12. § 22. Tom. III. p. 126 E.] *Omnitenens* (as Tertullian translates κοσμοκράτορας *munditenentes*), [*adv. Valentinianus*, c. 22, p. 298 D.] by Prudentius *Omnipollens*, by all *Omnipotens* (as St Hilary translated κοσμοκράτορας *mundipotentis*), [*Tractat. in Ps. lix. c. 14. p. 141 E.*] and, as I conceive, it is translated, *Capax universorum*, by the Latin interpreter of Hermas. 'Primum omnium credere quod unus est Deus, qui omnia creavit, et consummavit, et ex nihilo omnia fecit. Ipse capax universorum, solus immensus est.' l. ii. Mand. [p. 85.] Which by the interpreter of Irenæus is thus translated: 'Omnium capax, et qui a nemine capiatur.' l. iv. c. 37. (p. 253-) [p. 331. 5.]

heavens and the earth were finished, saith Moses, and all the host of them: and he which begun them, he which finished them, is the ruler and commander of them. Upon the right of creation doth he justly challenge this dominion. *I have made the earth, and created man upon it; I, even my hands, have stretched out the heavens, and all their host have I commanded.* And on this dominion or command doth he raise the title of *the Lord of Hosts*¹: which, though preserved in the² original language both by St Paul and St James, yet by St John is turned into that word which we translate *Almighty*. Wherefore from the use of the sacred writers, from the³ notation of the word in Greek, and from the testimony of the ancient fathers⁴, we may well ascribe unto God the Father,

Isai. xiv. 12.

¹ Κύριος Σαβαώθ.

² Εἰ μὴ Κύριος Σαβαώθ ἐγκατέλιπεν ἡμῖν σπέρμα. Rom. ix. 29. the words of Isa. i. 9. Καὶ αἱ βοαὶ τῶν θερισάντων εἰς τὰ ὅτα Κυρίου Σαβαώθ ἐσεληλύθασιν. Jam. v. 4. which are the words of St James in relation to Deut. xxiv. 15. "Ἄγιος, ἄγιος, ἄγιος, Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ. Rev. iv. 8. which are before in Isaiah. "Ἄγιος, ἄγιος, ἄγιος Κύριος Σαβαώθ. Isa. vi. 3. Τὸ δ' ὅμοιον ἐρούμεν καὶ περὶ τῆς Σαβαώθ φωνῆς, πολλὰ τοῦ τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν παραλαμβανόμενης· ὅτι εἰ μεταλαμβάνομεν τὸ ὄνομα εἰς τὸ Κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων, ἢ Κύριος στρατιῶν, ἢ παντοκράτωρ (διαφόρως γὰρ αὐτὸ ἐξεδέξαντο οἱ ἐρμηνεύοντες αὐτό), οὐδὲν ποιήσομεν. Origen. contra Cels. l. v. § 45. Tom. i. p. 613 A.

³ That παντοκράτωρ should have the signification of government in it, according to the composition in the Greek language, no man can doubt, who but only considers those vulgar terms of their politics, δημοκρατία, and ἀριστοκρατία, from whence it appears that μονοκρατία might as well have been used as μοναρχία: and in that sense αὐτοκράτωρ is the proper title given by the Greeks to the Roman emperor, as not only the latter historians, but even the coins of Julius Cæsar witness. Hesych. Αὐτοκράτωρ, αὐτεξούσιος, κοσμοκράτωρ; because the

Roman emperor was ruler of the known world. So the devils or princes of the air are termed by St Paul, κοσμοκράτορες, Eph. vi. 12. which is all one with ἀρχόντες τοῦ κόσμου, as will appear, John xii. 31. xiv. 30. xvi. 11. As therefore Κράτος signifieth of itself rule and authority, Hesych. Κράτος, βασιλεία, — ἐξουσία· Κράτει, ἀρχῇ, ἐξουσίᾳ· to which sense Eustathius hath observed Homer led the following writers by those words of his, σὺν δὲ κράτος αἰὲν ἄδξειν, Iliad. μ. 214. τὸ μὲν κράτος συλλαμβάνεται τι τοῖς ὕστερον τῇ βασιλείᾳ κράτος λέγουσι· whence Æschylus calls Agamemnon and Menelaus Ἀχαιῶν δίδρονον κράτος, Agam. [109.] and Sophocles after him, δικρατεῖς Ἀτρεΐδας, Aj. 251. and as κρατεῖν to rule or govern. (Κρατεῖ, κυριεύει, ἀρχει· from whence Κρατός, ἀρχων, ἐξουσιδίζων) so also in composition, παντοκράτωρ, the ruler of all. Παντοκράτωρ, ὁ θεὸς πάντων κρατῶν. Hesych. Παντοκρατορία, πανταρχία. Suid.

⁴ Αἰρετικοί—οὐκ οἶδασιν ἓνα παντοκράτορα θεόν· παντοκράτωρ γὰρ ἔστιν ὁ πάντων κρατῶν, ὁ πάντων ἐξουσιδίζων. οἱ δὲ λέγοντες τὸν μὲν εἶναι τῆς ψυχῆς δεσπότην, τὸν δὲ τοῦ σώματος, οὐ τέλειον λέγουσι· πῶς γὰρ τέλειος, ὁ λέγων ἕκαστον ἐκαστέρῳ; ὁ γὰρ ψυχῆς ἐξουσίαν ἔχων, σώματος δὲ ἐξουσίαν μὴ ἔχων, πῶς παντοκράτωρ; καὶ ὁ δεσπότης

in the explication of this article, the dominion over all, and the rule and government of all.

This authority or power properly potestative is attributed unto God in the sacred scriptures¹; from whence those names or titles², which most aptly and fully express dominion, are frequently given unto him; and the rule, empire, or government of the world is acknowledged to be wholly in him, as necessarily following that natural and eternal right of dominion.

What the nature of this authoritative power is, we shall the more clearly understand, if we first divide it into three degrees or branches of it: the first whereof we may conceive, a right of making and framing anything which he willeth, in any manner as it pleaseth him, according to the absolute freedom of his own will; the second, a right of having and possessing all things so made and framed by him, as his own, properly belonging to him, as to the Lord and Master of them, by virtue of direct dominion; the third, a right of using and disposing all things so in his possession, according to his own pleasure. The first of these we mention only for the necessity of it, and the dependence of the other two upon it. God's actual dominion being no otherways necessary, than upon supposition of a precedent act of creation; because nothing, before it hath a being, can belong to any one, neither can any propriety be imagined in that which hath no entity.

But the second branch or absolute dominion of this *Almighty*, is farther to be considered in the independency and infinity of it. First, it is independent in a double respect, in reference both to the original, and the use thereof. For God hath received no authority from any, because he hath

συνμάτων, μὴ ἐξουσιάζων δὲ πνευμάτων, πῶς παντοκράτωρ; *S. Cyril. Hieros. Catech.* 8. (§ 3. p. 122.) 'Ὡς γὰρ τὸ πῦρ ἰσχυρότατον τῶν στοιχείων, καὶ πάντων κρατοῦν, οὕτω καὶ ὁ Θεὸς παντοδύναμος καὶ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ δινόμενος κρατῆσαι, κτίσαι, ποιῆσαι, τρέφειν, αἰθεῖν, σώζειν, σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς ἐξουσίαν ἔχει. *Theodotus apud Cl. Alex. ex Script. Proph. Eclog.* c. 26. [p. 996.] 'Unus est Dominus Jesus Christus—per quem Deus Pater dominatum om-

nium tenet; unde et sequens sermo Omnipotentem pronunciat Dominum. Omnipotens autem ab eo esse dicitur, quod omnium ille teneat potentatum. *Ruffin. in Symb.* § 6. [p. 18.]

¹ Ἐξουσία. *Luke* xiii. 5. *Acts* i.

7. *Jude* 25. *Rev.* v. 13. [κράτος.]

² Ὡς ἡ γῆ κύριος, δεσπότης. 'Ἐν μὲν τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ πρώτῳ θεῷ, οὗ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ πάντα, καὶ ὅς ἀπάντων δεσπόζει: τὰ γὰρ σύμπαντα δοῦλά σα. *Phot. Ep.* 162. [p. 215.]

43 all power originally in himself, and hath produced all things by the act of his own will, without any commander, counsellor, or coadjutor. Neither doth the use or exercise of this dominion depend upon any one, so as to receive any direction or regulation, or to render any account of the administration of it: as being illimited, absolute, and supreme, and so the fountain from whence all dominion in any other is derived. Wherefore he being the *God of gods*, is also the *Lord of lords*, and *King of kings*, the *only potentate*¹; because he alone hath all power of himself, and whosoever else hath any, hath it from him, either by donation or permission.

The infinity of God's dominion, if we respect the object, appears in the amplitude or extension; if we look upon the manner, in the plenitude or perfection; if we consider the time, in the eternity of duration. The amplitude of the object is sufficiently evidenced by those appellations which the holy writ ascribeth unto the *Almighty*, calling him the *Lord of heaven*, the *Lord of the whole earth*, the *Lord of heaven and earth*²; under which two are comprehended all things both in heaven and earth. This Moses taught the distrusting Israelites in the wilderness: *Behold the heaven and the heaven of heavens is the Lord's thy God, the earth also, with all that is therein*. With these words David glorifieth God: *the heavens are thine, the earth also is thine*, so acknowledging his dominion; *as for the world and the fulness thereof, thou hast founded them*, so expressing the foundation or ground of that dominion. And yet more fully, at the dedication of the offerings for the building of the temple, to shew that what they gave was of his own, he saith, *Thine, O Lord, is the greatness, and the power, and the glory, and the victory, and the majesty: for all that is in the heaven and in the earth is thine. Thine is the kingdom, O Lord, and thou art exalted as head above all. Both riches and honour come of thee, and thou reignest over all*³. If then we look upon the object of God's dominion, it

Deut. x. 14.

Psalm. lxxxix. 11.

1 Chron. xxix. 11, 12.

¹ Deut. x. 17. Psalm. cxxxvi. 3. Rev. xvii. 14; xix. 16. *μὲνος δυνάστης*, 1 Tim. vi. 15. *ὑψίστος δυνάστης*, Eccles. xli. 5. *ὁ δυνάστης*, 2 Mac. xv. 29. *δυνάστης τῶν οὐρανῶν*, 2 Mac. xv. 23. *ὁ τῶν πατέρων κύριος*, καὶ πάσης ἐξουσίας δυνάστης, 2 Mac. iii. 24. *Ἰσχυρὸς κρείττων*, Π. Θ. 13.

² Dan. v. 23. Josh. iii. 11, 13. Psalm. xcvi. 5. Mic. iv. 13. Zech. iv. 14; vi. 5. Matt. xi. 25. Acts xvii. 24.

³ מַשֵּׁל בְּכָל—ver. 14. *מַשֵּׁל בְּכָל הָאָרֶץ כָּל הַשָּׁמַיִם וְכָל הַיָּם וְכָל הַבְּרִיָּה וְכָל הַיָּבֵשׁ וְכָל הַיָּם וְכָל הַיָּבֵשׁ וְכָל הַיָּם וְכָל הַיָּבֵשׁ*. Xenoph. de Exped. Cyr. l. ii. c. 5. § 2.

is of that amplitude and extension, that it includeth and comprehendeth all things; so that nothing can be imagined which is not his, belonging to him as the true owner and proprietor, and subject wholly to his will as the sole governor and disposer: in respect of which universal power we must confess him to be *Almighty*.

If we consider the manner and nature of this power, the plenitude thereof or perfection will appear; for as in regard of the extension, he hath power over all things; so in respect of the intension, he hath all power over every thing, as being absolute and supreme. This God challenged to himself, when he catechised the prophet Jeremy in a potter's house, *Jer. xviii. 6.* saying, *O house of Israel, cannot I do with you as this potter? saith the Lord. Behold, as the clay is in the potter's hand, so are ye in my hand, O house of Israel.* That is, God hath as absolute power and dominion over every person, over every nation and kingdom on the earth, as the potter hath over the pot he maketh, or the clay he mouldeth. Thus are we wholly at the disposal of his will, and our present and future condition framed and ordered by his free, but wise and just, decrees. *Rom. ix. 21.* *Hath not the potter power over the clay, of the same lump to make one vessel unto honour, and another unto dishonour? And can that earth-artificer have a freer power over his brother potsherd (both being made of the same metal), than God hath over him, who by the strange fecundity of his omnipotent power, first made the clay out of nothing, and then him out of that?*

The duration of God's dominion must likewise necessarily be eternal, if any thing which is be immortal. For, being every thing is therefore his, because it received its being from him, and the continuation of the creature is as much from him as the first production; it followeth that so long as it is continued it must be his, and consequently, being some of his 44 creatures are immortal, his dominion must be eternal. Wherefore St Paul expressly calleth God *the king eternal*¹, with *1 Tim. i. 17.* reference to that of David, *thy kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and thy dominion endureth throughout all generations*². *Psal. cxlv. 13.* And Moses in his song hath told us, *The Lord shall reign for* *Exod. xv. 18.*

¹ Τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν αἰώνων.

² מלכותו לעולם ועד LXX. βασιλεῖα πάντων τῶν αἰώνων.

*ever and ever*¹: which phrase for *ever and ever* in the original signifieth thus much, that there is no time to come assignable or imaginable, but after and beyond that God shall reign.

The third branch of God's authoritative or potestative power consisteth in the use of all things in his possession, by virtue of his absolute dominion. For it is the general dictate of reason, that the use, benefit, and utility of any thing, redoundeth unto him whose it is, and to whom as to the proprietor it belongeth. It is true indeed, that God, who is all-sufficient and infinitely happy in and of himself, so that no accession ever could or can be made to his original felicity, cannot receive any real benefit and utility from the creature.

Thou art my Lord, saith David, *my goodness extendeth not to thee*². And therefore our only and absolute Lord, because his goodness extendeth unto us, and not ours to him, because his dominion is for our benefit, not for his own: for us who want, and therefore may receive: not for himself who cannot receive, because he wanteth nothing, whose honour standeth not in his own, but in our receiving³.

But though the universal Cause made all things for the benefit of some creatures framed by him, yet hath he made them ultimately for himself; and God is as universally the final as the efficient cause of his operations. The apostle hath taught us, that not only *of him*, and *by him*, as the first

Psalm. xvi. 2.

Rom. xi. 36.
1 Cor. viii. 6.
Heb. ii. 10.

¹ לְעוֹלָם וָעוֹלָם LXX. ἐν αἰῶνα καὶ ἔτι. S. Hier. in *eternum et ultra*. So Aquila, Theod. and the fifth edit. in Psalm. xxi. 4. So the LXX. again, Dan. xii. 3, ἐἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας καὶ ἔτι, and Mich. iv. 5, ἐἰς τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ ἐνέκειρα.

² 'Ille quippe nostra servitute non indiget, nos vero dominatione illius indigemus, ut operetur et custodiat nos: et ideo verus solus est Dominus, quia non illi ad suam, sed ad nostram utilitatem salutemque, servimus. Nam si nobis indigeret, eo ipso non verus Dominus esset, cum per nos ejus adjuvaretur necessitas, sub qua et ipse serviret.' S. August. de Gen. ad lit. l. viii. c. 11. (§ 24. Tom. III. par. i. p. 234.) [p. 176 D.] 'Dixi Domino, Deus meus es tu: quare? quoniam bonorum meorum non eges. Ille non eget nostri,

nos egemus ipsius; ideo verus Dominus. Nam tu non valde verus Dominus servi tui; ambo homines, ambo egentes Deo. Si autem putas egere tui servum tuum, ut des panem; eges et tu servi tui, ut adjuvet labores tuos. Uterque vestrum altero vestrum indiget: itaque nullus vestrum vere dominus, et nullus vestrum vere servus. Audi verum Dominum, cujus verus es servus, Dixi Domino, Deus meus es tu: quare tu dominus? quoniam bonorum meorum non eges.' Id. ad Psalm. lxi. (§ 7. Tom. IV. p. 717.) [p. 536 B.]

³ Τιμὴν ποιεῖται τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τῶν ἐκείνου προτεινομένων ἀγαθῶν ὑποδοχῇ. Hierocl. in Aurea Car. p. 22. ed. prin. And again: 'Ὅστις τιμᾷ τὸν Θεὸν ὡς προσδεόμενον, οὗτος λέληθεν ὁλόμενος ἑαυτὸν τοῦ θεοῦ εἶναι κρείττονα. p. 24.

author, but also *to him*, and *for him*, as the ultimate end, *are all things*. And it is one of the proverbial sentences of Solomon, *The Lord hath made all things for himself, yea even the wicked for the day of evil*. For though he cannot receive any real benefit or utility from the creature, yet he can and doth in a manner receive that which hath some similitude or affinity with it. Thus God rejoiceth at the effects of his wisdom, power, and goodness, and taketh delight in the works of his hands. Thus doth he order and dispose of all things unto his own glory, which redoundeth from the demonstration of his attributes.

An explicit belief of this authoritative power and absolute dominion of the *Almighty* is necessary, First, for the breeding in us an awful reverence of his majesty, an entire subjection to his will. For to the highest excellency the greatest honour, to the supreme¹ authority the most exact obedience is no more than duty. If God be our absolute Lord, we his servants and vassals, then is there a right in him to require of us whatsoever we can perform, and an obligation² upon us to perform whatsoever he commandeth. Whosoever doth otherwise, while he confesseth, denieth him; while he acknowledgeth him with his tongue, he sets his hand against him. *Why call ye me Lord, Lord*, saith our Saviour, *and do not the things which I say?*

Secondly, This belief is also necessary to breed in us equanimity and patience in our sufferings, to prevent all murmuring, repining, and objecting against the actions or determinations of God, as knowing that he, who is absolute Lord, cannot abuse his power; he, whose will is a law to us, cannot do any thing unwisely or unjustly. *Let the potsherd strive with the potsherds of the earth: shall the clay say to him that fashioneth it, What makest thou?* But let the man after God's own heart rather teach us humble and religious silence: *I was dumb*, saith he, *and opened not my mouth, because thou didst it*. When Shimei cast stones at him, and

¹ Ἡμεῖς δὴ μεγάλῳ Διὶ πειθώ-
μεθα βουλῇ,

² Ὅς πᾶσι θνητοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοιςιν
ἀνάσσει.

Hom. Il. M. 241.

² Ἐμοὶ πόλις ἐστὶ καὶ καταφυγὴ
καὶ νόμος

Καὶ τοῦ δικαίου τοῦ τ' ἀδίκου παν-
τὸς κριτῆς

Ὁ δεσπότης πρὸς τοῦτον ἔνα δεῖ
ἔῃν ἐμέ.

Servius apud Menand. ap.

Stob. Flor. tit. 62.

cursed him, let us learn to speak as he then spake: *The Lord hath said unto him, Curse David: who shall then say, Wherefore hast thou done so?* ^{2 Sam. xvi. 10.}

Thirdly, the belief of God's absolute dominion is yet farther necessary to make us truly and sufficiently sensible of the benefits we receive from him, so as by a right value and estimation of them to understand how far we stand obliged to him. No man can duly prize the blessings of heaven, but he which acknowledgeth they might justly have been denied him; nor can any be sufficiently thankful for them, except it be confessed that he owed him nothing who bestowed them.

But as the original word for *Almighty* is not put only for the *Lord of Hosts*, but often also for the *Lord Shaddai*; so we must not restrain the signification to the power authoritative, but extend it also to that power which is properly operative, and executive. In the title of the *Lord of Sabaoth* we understand the rule and dominion of God, by which he hath a right of governing all: in the name *Shaddai* we apprehend an infinite force and strength, by which he is able to work and perform all things. For whether we take this word in composition¹, as signifying the *All-sufficient*; whosoever is able to suppetitate all things to the sufficing all, must have an infinite power: or whether we deduce it from the root denoting *vastation* or *destruction*²; whosoever can destroy the being of all things, and reduce them unto nothing, must have the same power which originally produced all things out of nothing, and that is infinite. Howsoever the first notion of *Almighty* necessarily inferreth the second, and the infinity of God's dominion speaketh him infinitely powerful

¹ So R. Solomon [on Gen. xvii. 1.] will have it compounded of שׁ the pronoun and י, די [אני הוא.] because in God there is sufficiency, that is, sufficient power over every creature: [The quotation from R. Solomon is translated by Breithaupt: 'This name Shaddai implies I am He: there is sufficiency in my Godhead for every creature: that is, "I am He, in whose Godhead there is sufficiency (sufficient power) for every creature."' H. J. R.] From whence the LXX. Ruth i. 20, 21; Job xxi. 15; xxxi. 2. translate it *ikarós*, as

Symmachus, Job xxii. 3. and Aquila with him, Ezek. i. 24.

² שׁר *vastavit, destruxit, perdidit*; from whence שׁר the destroyer; and because utter destruction requireth power equivalent to production, the Omnipotent, from whence the LXX. Job viii. 3. translate it *ὁ πᾶντα ποιεῖς*. And this etymology rather than the former, seemeth to be confirmed by the prophet, Isa. xiii. 6: 'Howl ye, for the day of the Lord is at hand, יבא כשׁר משרי' It shall come as a destruction from the Almighty (destroyer).'

in operation¹. Indeed, in earthly dominions the strength of the governor is not in himself, but in those whom he governeth; and he is a powerful prince whose subjects are numerous. But the King of kings hath in himself all power of execution, as well as right of dominion. Were all the force and strength of a nation in the person of the king, as the authority is, obedience would not be arbitrary, nor could rebellion be successful: whereas experience teacheth us that the most puissant prince is compelled actually to submit, when the stronger part of his own people hath taken the boldness to put a force upon him. But we must not imagine that the Governor of the world ruleth only over them which are willing to obey, or that any of his creatures may dispute his commands with safety, or cast off his yoke with impunity. And if his dominion be uncontrollable, it is because his power is irresistible. For man is not more inclinable to obey God than man; but God is more powerful to exact subjection, and to vindicate rebellion. In respect of the infinity, and irresistibility of which active power we must acknowledge him *Almighty*; and so, according to the most vulgar acception, give the second explication of his *omnipotency*².

But because this word *Almighty* is twice repeated in the 46 CREED³, once in this first Article, and again in the sixth, where *Christ* is represented *sitting at the right hand of God the Father Almighty*; and although in our English and the Latin the same word be expressed in both places, yet in the ancient Greek copies there is a manifest distinction; being the word in the first Article may equally comprehend God's power in operation, as well as authority in dominion; whereas that in the sixth speaketh only infinity of power, without relation to authority or dominion: I shall therefore reserve the explication of the latter unto its proper place, designing to

¹ Homer hath well joined these two:

Ὁ πατήρ ἡμετέρε, Κρονίων, ὕπαρ κρείωντα,

Εὖ νυ καὶ ἡμεῖς ὄμεν ὁ τοι σθένος οὐκ ἐπιεκτόν. *Il. Θ. 31.*

² 'Hoc nisi credamus, periclitatur ipsum nostræ Confessionis initium, quæ nos in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem credere confitemur. Neque enim ob aliud veraciter vocatur Omnipotens, nisi quoniam quicquid vult potest, nec

voluntate cujuspiam creature voluntatis omnipotentis impeditur effectus.' *S. August. Enchir. c. 96. [Tom. vi. p. 170 B.] (§ 24. Vol. vi. p. 231.)*

³ Artic. 1: Πιστεύω εἰς θεόν πατέρα παντοκράτορα. Artic. 6: καθέδμενον ἐν δεξιᾷ θεοῦ πατρὸς παντοδυνάμου: as it is in the ancient copy of the Creed, taken out of the library of Bene't College, and set forth by the archbishop of Armagh.

treat particularly of God's infinite power where it is most peculiarly expressed; and so conclude briefly with two other interpretations which some of the ancients have made of the original word, belonging rather to philosophy than divinity, though true in both. For some have stretched this word *Almighty* according to the Greek notation¹, to signify that God holdeth, encircleth, and containeth all things. *Who hath gathered the wind in his fists? who hath bound the waters in a garment? who hath established all the ends of the earth? who but God? Who hath measured the waters in the hollow of his hand, and meted out heaven with the span, and comprehended the dust of the earth in a measure? who but he?* Thus then may he be called *Almighty*, as holding, containing, and comprehending all things. Prov. xxx. 4. Isai. xl. 12.

Others extend it farther yet, beyond that of containing or comprehension, to a more immediate influence of sustaining or preservation². For the same power which first gave being unto all things, continueth the same being unto all. *God giveth to all life, and breath, and all things. In him we live, move, and have our being*, saith the strangest philosopher that ever entered Athens, the first expositor of that blind inscription, *To the unknown God*. *How could any thing have endured, if it had not been thy will? or been preserved, if not called by thee?* as the wisdom of the Jews confesseth. Thus did the Levites stand and bless: *Thou, even thou, art Lord alone: thou hast made heaven, the heaven of heavens, with all their host, the earth, and all things that are therein, the seas, and that all that is therein, and thou preservest them all.* Where the continual conservation of the creature is in an equal latitude attributed unto God with their first production. Acts xvii. 28. Wisd. xi. 25. Neh. ix. 6.

¹ As Theophilus, bishop of Antioch, giving account of those words which are attributed unto God, as *θεός, κύριος, ὕψιστος*, tells us He is called *παντοκράτωρ*, ὅτι αὐτὸς τὰ πάντα κρατεῖ καὶ ἐμπεριέχει· τὰ γὰρ ὕψη τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ τὰ βάθη τῶν ἀβύσσων, καὶ τὰ πέρας τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ ἐστὶ. *Ad Autol.* l. i. p. 71 D. ed. Colon. 1686.

² As Greg. Nyssenus: Οὐκοῦν, ὅταν τῆς Παντοκράτωρ φωνῆς ἀκούσωμεν, τοῦτο νοοῦμεν, τὸ πάντα τὸν θεὸν ἐν τῷ εἶναι συνέχειν, contr. *Eunom.* Or.

ii. Tom. II. p. 467 D. ed. Par. 1638. Neither, says he, would God be termed *παντοκράτωρ*, εἰ μὴ πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις τοῦ περικρατοῦντος αὐτῆς, καὶ ἐν τῷ εἶναι συντηροῦντος, ἐδέετο. *Ibid.* [p. 467 C.] 'Creatoris namque potentia, et Omnipotentis atque Omnitentis virtus, causa subsistendi est omni creature. Quæ virtus ab eis quæ creata sunt regendis si aliquando cessaret, simul et illorum cessaret species, omnisque natura concideret.' *S. August. in Genes. ad lit.* l. iv. c. 12. (§ 22. Tom. III. par. 1. p. 167.) [p. 126 E.]

Because there is as absolute a necessity of preserving us from returning unto nothing by annihilation, as there was for first bestowing an existence on us by creation. And in this sense God is undoubtedly *Almighty*, in that he doth sustain, uphold, and constantly preserve all things in that being which they have.

From whence we may at last declare what is couched under this attribute of God, how far this *omnipotency* extends itself, and what every Christian is thought to profess, when he addeth this part of the first Article of his CREED, *I believe in God the Father ALMIGHTY.*

As I am persuaded of an infinite and independent Essence, which I term a God, and of the mystery of an eternal generation by which that God is a Father: so I assure myself that Father is not subject to infirmities of age, nor is there any weakness attending on the *Ancient of days*; but, on the contrary, I believe *omnipotency* to be an essential attribute of his Deity, and that not only in respect of operative and active power (concerning which I shall have occasion to express my faith hereafter), but also in regard of power authoritative, in which I must acknowledge his antecedent and eternal right of making what, and when, and how he pleased, of possessing 47 whatsoever he maketh by direct dominion, of using and disposing as he pleaseth all things which he so possesseth. This dominion I believe most absolute in respect of its independency, both in the original, and the use or exercise thereof: this I acknowledge infinite for amplitude or extension, as being a power over all things without exception; for plenitude or perfection, as being all power over every thing without limitation; for continuance or duration, as being eternal without end or conclusion. Thus I BELIEVE IN GOD THE FATHER ALMIGHTY.

MAKER OF HEAVEN AND EARTH.

ALTHOUGH this last part of the first Article were not expressed in the ancient CREEDS¹, yet the sense thereof was

¹ For we find it not mentioned by St Augustin *de Fide et Symbolo*; neither hath Ruffinus expounded it in the Aquileian, or noted it to be found in the Roman or oriental Creeds. Leo, reciting the three first articles in his epistle to Flavianus, maketh no mention of it. *Epist.* 10. [p. 878.] Maxi-

mus Taurinensis hath it not in *Traditione Symboli*, nor Petrus Chrysologus in his Sermons, amongst six several expositions. It is not in the Homilies of Eusebius Gallicanus, or the exposition of Venantius Fortunatus. Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra, left it not at Rome with Julius; nor did Arius in

delivered in the first rules of faith¹, and at last these particular words inserted both in the Greek and Latin confessions. And indeed the work of creation most properly followeth the attribute of omnipotency, as being the foundation of the first, and the demonstration of the second explication of it. As then we believe there is a *God*, and that *God Almighty*; as we acknowledge that same *God* to be the *Father* of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, and in him of us: so we also confess, that the same *God the Father made both heaven and earth*. For the full explication of which operation, it will be sufficient, first to declare the latitude of the object, what is comprehended under the terms of *heaven and earth*; secondly, to express the nature of the action, the true notion of creation, by which they were made; and thirdly, to demonstrate the Person to whom this operation is ascribed.

For the first, I suppose it cannot be denied as the sense of the CREED, that under the terms of *heaven and earth* are comprehended all things: because the first rules of faith did so express it; and the most ancient Creeds had, either instead

his Catholic confession unto Constantine acknowledge it. Neither are the words to be found in the Latin or Greek copy of the Creed, written about the beginning of the eighth century, and published out of the MSS. by the most reverend and learned Archbishop of Armagh; or in that which Etherius and Beatus produced against Elipandus, archbishop of Toledo, toward the end of the seventh century.

¹ As in that delivered by Irenæus: *Eis éna θεόν πατέρα παντοκράτορα, τὸν πεποιηκότα τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὰς θαλάσσας, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς. Adver. Hær. l. i. [p. 45.] c. 2.* And that by Tertullian: 'Unum omnino Deum esse, nec alium præter mundi conditorem, qui universa de nihilo produxerit.' *De præscr. adv. Hær. c. 13.* [p. 235 c.] And that under the name of Novatian, not in formal words, but with an (*id est*) by way of explication: 'Regula exigit veritatis ut primo omnium credamus in Deum Patrem et Dominum Omnipotentem, id est, rerum omnium perfectissimum conditorem, qui cœlum alta sublimitate suspenderit, terram dejecta mole solidaverit, maria soluto liquore diffu-

derit, et hæc omnia propriis et condignis instrumentis et ornata et plena digesserit.' *De Trin. c. i.* [Init. p. 287. col. 1 A.] It was also observed by Origen, that the Christians were wont most frequently to mention God under that as the most common title: 'Ἡ γὰρ δοξαστὴς ὁμολογοῦσι τὸ κοινὸν ὄνομα, ὁ Θεός, ἡ καὶ μετὰ προσθήκης τῆς, ὁ δημιουργὸς τῶν ὄλων, ὁ ποιητὴς οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς. *Adv. Celsum, l. i. § 25.* (Tom. 1. p. 343 E.) Eusebius delivered the first Article thus in his Confession to the Nicene Council, *Socrat. l. i. c. 8.* [p. 21 D.] *Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἓνα θεόν πατέρα παντοκράτορα, τὸν τῶν ἀπάντων ὄρατῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων ποιητὴν* and that Council expressed the same without alteration in their Creed. But after the Nicene Council we find added *ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς*, by St Cyril of Jerusalem, in his *Catechism*, cat. 9. [p. 182.] and Epiphanius in *Ancorato*, § 120: which addition was received, confirmed, and transmitted to us by the Council of Constantinople. By which means at last we find this article thus expressed in the western Confessions: *Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, creatorem cœli et terre.*

of these words, or together with them, *the Maker of all things visible and invisible*, which being terms of immediate contradiction, must consequently be of universal comprehension; nor is there any thing imaginable which is not visible, or invisible. Being then these were the words of the Nicene Creed; being the addition of *heaven and earth* in the Constantinopolitan could be no diminution to the former, which they still retained together with them, saying, *I believe in one God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible*; it followeth, that they which in the Latin Church made use only of this last addition, could not choose but take it in the full latitude of the first expression.

And well may this be taken as the undoubted sense of the 48 CREED, because it is the known language of the sacred Scriptures. *In six days*, saith Moses, *the Lord made heaven and earth*: in the same time, saith God himself, *the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is*. So that all things by those two must be understood which are contained in them; and we know no being which is made or placed without them. When God would call a general rendezvous, and make up an universal auditory, the prophet cries out, *Hear, O heavens, and give ear, O earth*. When he would express the full splendour of his majesty, and utmost extent of his actual dominion, *Thus saith the Lord, The heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool*. When he would challenge unto himself those glorious attributes of immensity and omnipresence, *Do not I fill heaven and earth?* saith the Lord. These two then taken together signify the Universe, or that which is called the World. St Paul hath given a clear exposition of these words in his explication of the Athenian altar: *God that made the world, and all things therein, seeing that he is Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands*. For being God is necessarily the Lord of all things which he made (the right of his direct dominion being clearly grounded upon the first creation), except we should conceive the apostle to exempt some creature from the authoritative power of God, and so take some work of his hand out of the reach of his arm; we must confess that *heaven and earth* are as of large extent, and ample signification as the *world and all things therein*. Where it is yet farther observable, that the apostle hath conjoined the

Exod. xxxi.
17.

Exod. xx. 11.

Isai. i. 2.

Isai. lxvi. 1.

Jer. xxiii. 24.

Acts xvii. 24.

speech of both Testaments together. For the ancient Hebrews seem to have had no word in use among them which singly of itself did signify the world, as the Greeks had, in whose language St Paul did speak; and therefore they used in conjunction the *heaven and earth*, as the grand extremities within which all things are contained¹. Nay, if we take the expositions of the later writers in that language, those two words will not only as extremities comprehend between them, but in the extension of their own significations contain all things in them. For when they divide the Universe into three worlds², the inferior, superior, and the middle world; the lower is wholly contained in the name of *earth*, the other two under the name of *heaven*. Nor do the Hebrews only use this manner of expression, but even the Greeks themselves; and that not only before, but after³ Pythagoras⁴ had accustomed them to one name. As therefore under the single name of World or Universe⁵, so also under the conjunctive expression

¹ Καλῶς δὲ πάντες σχεδὸν ἐξεδέξαντο τοῖς ἄλλοις, οὐρανῷ τε καὶ γῇ, τὰ μέσα συμπεριελήφθαι στοιχεῖα [ἄρα, ἀέρα, καὶ πῦρ.] πῶς δὲ ἄκρα φημί; ὅτι γῇ μὲν τὸ κέντρον παντὸς ἐμπεριελήφθη· καὶ ἔστι κάτωθεν μὲν ἀρχὴ πάντων ἡ γῇ, πέρας δὲ τούτων ὁ πάντα περιέχων οὐρανός· τοῦτο πάλιν δὲ ἄνωθεν, ἀρχὴ μὲν ὁ οὐρανός, πέρας δὲ πάντων ἡ γῇ· μετὰ δὲ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς τὰ λοιπὰ τρία περιελήφθηται στοιχεῖα. *Jo. Philop. De Mundis Creat.* l. i. c. 5. [Galland, *Tom.* II. p. 478 B.] Τῷ μὲν οὐρανῷ σώματι (ἢ φύσει) τὸ περίε τοῦ παντός ἀπένευμε, τῷ δὲ περιγείῳ τὸ κέντρον· ἐν δὲ σφαίρᾳ ἄλλως μὲν τὸ κέντρον ἀρχή, ἄλλως δὲ ὁ τοῦ περιέχοντος ὅρος. *Hierocl. in Aur. Carm.* v. 52. [p. 180.]

² For the Rabbins usually divide the whole frame of things into ὡς τινος *three worlds*: the first, ὡς τινος *the inferior*, or ὡς τινος *the depressed and lowest world*; ἡ γῇ *that is this world*, say they, to wit, this globe of earth on which we live. This they divide into three parts; ὡς τινος *the sea, lakes and rivers*, ὡς τινος *the desert, solitary and inhabitable places*, ὡς τινος *far from the habitations of men*; and, ὡς τινος *the earth inhabited*. The second is called

ἡ μεσότης ὡς τινος *the middle or inmost world*; ὡς τινος ὡς τινος *this is the world of the spheres*, containing the aerial region and the starry heavens. The third is, ὡς τινος ὡς τινος *the superior world*; ὡς τινος ὡς τινος *this is the world of angels*, ὡς τινος *of God*, ὡς τινος *of souls*, ὡς τινος *the spiritual world*. Now being these three comprehend all things imaginable; being the first is sufficiently expressed in γῇ *the earth*, and the two last in οὐρανῷ *the heaven*; it followeth that, in the sense of the Hebrews, *heaven and earth* signify all things.

³ Εἰς ταῖς ἀληθείαις, εἰς ἑστὶν θεός,

Ὅς οὐρανὸν τ' εὐρεξε καὶ γαῖαν μακρὰν.

Ex incert. Trag. Sophocl. Frag. LI.
ed. Brunck.

⁴ Πυθαγόρας πρῶτος ὠνόμασε τὴν τῶν ὅλων περιοχὴν, κόσμον, ἐκ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ τάξεως. *Plutarch. de Plac. Philosoph.* l. ii. c. 1. [Tom. IV. par. 2. p. 886 B.]

⁵ 'Si Mundum dixeris, illic erit et cœlum, et quæ in eo, sol, et luna, et sidera, et astra, et terra, et freta, omnis census elementorum. Omnia dixeris, cum id dixeris, quod ex omnibus constat.' *Tertull. de Virg. Veland.* c. 4.

of *heaven and earth*, are contained all things material and immaterial, visible and invisible.

1 Cor. xv. 27. But as the apostle hath taught us to reason, *When he saith* 49
all things are put under him, it is manifest that he is excepted
which did put all things under him: so when we say, all
 things were made by God, it is as manifest that he is excepted
 who made all things. And then the proposition is clearly
 thus delivered: All beings whatsoever beside God were made.
 John i. 10. As we read in St John concerning the *Word*, that *the world*
was made by him; and in more plain and express words before,
 John i. 3. *All things were made by him, and without him was not any*
thing made that was made. Which is yet farther illustrated
 Col. i. 16. by St Paul: *For by him were all things created that are in*
heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether
they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers; all
things were created by him. If then there be nothing imagin-
 able which is not either in heaven or in earth, nothing which
 is not either visible or invisible, then is there nothing beside
 God which was not made by God.

This then is the unquestionable doctrine of the Christian
 faith, that the vast capacious frame of the World, and every
 thing any way contained and existing in it, hath not its essence
 from or of itself, nor is of existence absolutely necessary; but
 what it is, it hath not been, and that being which it hath was
 Heb. iii. 4. made, framed, and constituted by another. And as *every house*
is builded by some man; for we see the earth bear no such
 creature of itself; stones do not grow into a wall, or first hew
 and square, then unite and fasten themselves together in their
 generation; trees sprout not cross-like dry and sapless beams,
 nor do spars and tiles spring with a natural uniformity into a
 roof, and that out of stone and mortar: these are not the
 works of nature, but superstructions and additions to her, as
 the supplies of art, and the testimonies of the understanding
 of man, the great artificer on earth: so, if the World itself be
 Job xvi. 7. but an house¹, if the earth, which *hanceth upon nothing*, be

[p. 195 B.] Φασι δὲ οἱ σοφοὶ καὶ οὐ-
 ρανὸν καὶ γῆν καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους
 τὴν κοινωνίαν συνέχειν, καὶ φίλων, καὶ
 κοσμοτύτητα, καὶ σωφροσύνην, καὶ δι-
 καιότητα· καὶ τὸ δῶν τοῦτο διὰ ταῦτα
 κόσμον καλοῦσιν. Iambli. *Protrept.* but
 the words are Plato's in *Gorgia*. [Tom.

iv.] p. 132. ed. Bipont.

¹ Ὁ ἀσθητὸς οὐτοὶ κόσμος οὐδὲν
 ἄρα ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἢ οἶκος θεοῦ. *Philo.*
 [Quod a Deo mittantur Somnia, lib. i.
 Tom. i. p. 648. l. 42. Aliter, p. 593.]
 τὸν Κόσμον εὐκρετῇ καὶ ἔτοιμον αἰ-
 σθητὸν οἶκον εἶναι θεοῦ. *Id. de Plant.*

the foundation, and the glorious spheres of heaven the roof (which hath been delivered as the most universal hypothesis), if this be the habitation of an infinite intelligence, the temple of God¹; then must we acknowledge the world was built by him, and consequently, that *he which built all things* Heb. iii. 4. *is God.*

From hence appears the truth of that distinction, Whatsoever hath any being, is either made or not made: whatsoever is not made is God; whatsoever is not God is made. One uncreated and independent essence; all other depending on it, and created by it. One of eternal and necessary existence; all other indifferent, in respect of actual existing, either to be or not to be, and that indifferency determined only by the free and voluntary act of the first Cause.

Now because to be thus made includes some imperfection, and among the parts of the world, some are more glorious than others; if those which are most perfect presuppose a Maker, then can we not doubt of a creation where we find far less perfection. This house of God, though uniform, yet is not all of the same materials, the footstool and the throne are not of the same mould; there is a vast difference between the heavenly expansions. This first aerial heaven, where God setteth up his pavilion, where *he maketh the clouds his chariot, and walketh upon the wings of the wind* Psal. civ. 3. is not so far inferior in place as it is in glory to the next, the seat of the sun and moon, the two great lights, and stars innumerable, far greater than the one of them. And yet that second heaven is not so far above the first as beneath the *third*, into which St Paul was caught. The brightness of 2 Cor. xii. 2. the sun doth not so far surpass the blackness of a wandering cloud, as the glory of that heaven of presence surmounts the fading beauty of the starry firmament. For in this great
50 temple of the World, in which the Son of God is the high-priest, the heaven which we see is but the veil, and that which is above, the Holy of Holies. This veil indeed is rich and glorious, but one day to be rent, and then to admit us

Noë. Tom. i. p. 337. l. 16. Θεόν τι μέγεθος ὁ κόσμος, καὶ οἶκος θεοῦ ἀσθητῶν. Id. de Mundi Incorr. Tom. II. p. 509. l. 13.

¹ Lucretius calls the heavens:

'Mundi magnum et versatile templum.' l. v. v. 1435. Το ἀνωτάτω καὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν λεγὸν θεοῦ νομίζω τὸν σῶμαρτα χορὴ κόσμον εἶναι. Philo de Monarch. l. ii. init. [Tom. II. p. 222.]

into a far greater glory, even to the Mercy-seat and Cherubins. For this third heaven is the *proper habitation*¹ of the blessed angels, which constantly attend upon the throne. And if those most glorious and happy spirits, those *morning-stars which sang together, those sons of God which shouted for joy when the foundations of the earth were laid*, if they and their habitation were made; then can we no ways doubt of the production of all other creatures so much inferior unto them.

Forasmuch then as the angels are termed 'the sons of God,' it sufficiently denoteth that they are from him, not of themselves; all filiation inferring some kind of production: and being God hath but one proper and only-begotten Son, whose propriety and singularity consisteth in this, that he is of the same increated essence with the Father, all other offspring must be made, and consequently even the angels created sons; of whom the Scripture speaking saith, *Who maketh his angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire*. For although those words, as first spoken by the Psalmist, do rather express the nature of the wind and lightning: yet being the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews hath applied the same to the angels properly so called, we cannot but conclude upon his authority, that the same God who *created the wind, and made a way for the lightning of the thunder*, hath also produced those glorious spirits; and as he furnished them with that activity there expressed, so did he frame the subject of it, their immaterial and immortal essence.

If then the angels and their proper habitation, the far most eminent and illustrious parts of the world were made; if only to be made be one character of imperfection; much more must we acknowledge all things of inferior nature to have dependence on their universal Cause, and consequently this great Universe, or all things, to be made, beside that One who made them.

This is the first part of our Christian faith, against some of the ancient philosophers, who were so wildly fond of those things they see, that they imagined the Universe to be infinite and eternal², and, what will follow from it, to be even

¹ Ἰδιον ἀκινήσιμον.

² 'Mundum, et hoc quodcunque nomine alio cælum appellare libuit, ejus circumflexu teguntur cuncta,

numen esse credi par est, æternum, immensum, neque genitum, neque interitum unquam.' *Plin. Nat. Hist.* l. ii. c. i. [Tom. i. p. 79.]

God himself. It is true that the most ancient of the heathen were not of this opinion, but all the philosophy for many ages delivered the World to have been made¹.

When this tradition of the Creation of the World was delivered in all places down successively by those which seriously considered the frame of all things, and the difference of
51 the most ancient poets and philosophers from Moses was only in the manner of expressing it; those which in after-ages first denied it made use of very frivolous and inconcluding arguments, grounding their new opinion upon weak foundations.

For that which in the first place they take for granted as an axiom of undoubted truth, that² 'Whatsoever hath a beginning, must have an end,' and consequently, 'Whatsoever

¹ Γενόμενον μὲν οὖν ἅπαντες εἶναι φασιν, says Aristotle, *De Cælo*, l. i. c. 10. [§ 2.] confessing it the general opinion that the world was made.— Which was so ancient a tradition of all the first philosophers, that from Linus, Musæus, Orpheus, Homer, Hesiod, and the rest, they all mention the original of the world, entitling their books, *Κοσμογονία* or *Θεογονία*, or the like. Εἰσὶ γὰρ τινες οἱ φασιν οὕθην ἀγέννητον εἶναι τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀλλὰ πάντα γέγενεσθαι· γενόμενα δὲ τὰ μὲν φθάρτα διαμένειν, τὰ δὲ πάλιν φθίρεσθαι· μάλιστα μὲν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἡσίοδον, εἶτα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ πρότεροι φυσιολόγησαντες, says Aristotle, *De Cælo*, l. iii. c. 1. [§ 7.] In which words he manifestly attributes the doctrine of the creation of the world not only to Hesiod, but to all the first natural philosophers: which learning, beginning with Prometheus, the first professor of that science, continued in that family amongst the Atlantiadæ, who all successively delivered that truth. After them the Ionian philosophy did acknowledge it, and the Italian received it by Pythagoras, whose scholars all maintained it beside Ocellus Lucanus, the first of them that fancied the world not made, whom Plato, though he much esteemed him, yet followed not; for there is nothing more evident than that he held the world

was made. Λέγωμεν δὴ, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν γέγενεν καὶ τὸ πᾶν τότε ὁ ξυνίστας ξυνέστησεν ἀγαθὸς ἦν. [Tom. ix.] p. 304. ed. Bipont. In which words he delivers not only the generation of the universe, but also the true cause thereof, which is the goodness of God. For he which asks this plain and clear question: πότερον ἦν ἀελ, γενέσεως ἀρχὴν ἔχων οὐδεμίαν, ἢ γέγονεν, ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τινὸς ἀρξάμενος; and answers the question briefly with a γέγονεν, p. 302; he which gives this general rule upon it: τῷ δ' αὖ γενομένῳ φαιμέν ὅπ' αἰτιῶν τινὸς ἀνάγκη εἶναι γενέσθαι· and then immediately concludes: τὸν μὲν οὖν ποιητὴν καὶ πατέρα τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς εὐρεῖν τε ἔργον, καὶ εὐρόντα εἰς πάντας ἀδύνατον λέγειν· p. 303. cannot (notwithstanding all the shifts of his Greek expositors) be imagined to have conceived the world not made. And Aristotle, who best understood him, tells us clearly his opinion ἐν τῷ Τιμαίῳ (from whence I cited the precedent words), ἐκεῖ γὰρ φησι τὸν οὐρανὸν (where by the way observe that in Plato's *Timæus* οὐρανὸς and κόσμος are made synonymous) γενέσθαι μὲν, οὐ μὴ φθαρτὸν. *De Cælo*, l. i. c. 10. § 12.

² Ocellus Lucanus, *Περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς φύσεως*, which book Aristotle hath made use of, and transcribed in many parts.

shall have no end, had no beginning,' is grounded upon no general reason, but only upon particular observation of such things here below, as from the ordinary way of generation tend in some space of time unto corruption. From whence, seeing no tendency to corruption in several parts of the World, they conclude that it was never generated, nor had any cause or original of its being. Whereas, if we would speak properly, future existence or non-existence hath no such relation unto the first production. Neither is there any contradiction that at the same time one thing may begin to be, and last but for an hour, another continue for a thousand years, a third beginning at the same instant remain for ever: the difference being either in the nature of the thing so made, or in the determinations of the will of him that made them. Notwithstanding then their universal rules, which are not true but in some limited particulars, it is most certain the whole world was made, and of it part shall perish, part continue unto all eternity; by which something which had a beginning shall have an end, and something not.

The second fallacy which led them to this novelty was the very name of Universe, which comprehendeth in it all things; from whence they reasoned thus: If the World or Universe were made; then were all things made: and if the World shall be dissolved, then all things shall come to nothing¹; which is impossible. For if all things were made, then must either all, or at least something, have made itself, and so have been the cause of itself as of the effect, and the effect of itself as of the cause, and consequently in the same instant both have been and not been, which is a contradiction. But this fallacy is easily discovered: for when we say the Universe or all things were made, we must be always understood to except him who made all things: neither can we by that name be supposed to comprehend more than the frame of heaven and earth, and all things contained in them; and so he which first devised this argument hath himself acknowledged².

¹ Τὸ γε δὲ πᾶν γινόμενον σὺν πᾶσι γίνεται, καὶ τὸ φθειρόμενον σὺν πᾶσι φθίσκεται: καὶ τοῦτο γε δὲ ἀδύνατον ἀναρχὸν ἄρα καὶ ἀτελεύτητον τὸ πᾶν. *Ocellus*, c. 1. p. 506. ed. Gal. [p. 8.]

² Τὸ δὲ γε ὅλον καὶ τὸ πᾶν ὀνομάζω τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον· διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ τῆς προσηγορίας ἔτυχε, ἐκ τῶν ἀπάντων δὴ κοσμηθείς. *Ocellus*, c. 1. p. 508. [p. 10.]

Far more gross was that third conceit, That, if the World were ever made, it must be after the vulgar way of ordinary natural generations: in which¹ two mutations are observable, the first from less to greater, or from worse to better; the second from greater to less, or from better to worse. (The beginning of the first mutation is called generation, the end of it perfection: the beginning of the second is from the same perfection, but concludeth in corruption or dissolution.²) But none hath ever yet observed that this frame of the World did ever grow up from less to greater, or improve itself from worse to better: nor can we now perceive that it becomes worse or less than it was, by which decretion we might guess at a former increase, and from a tendency to corruption collect its original generation. This conceit, I say, is far more gross. For certainly the argument so managed proves nothing at all, but only this (if yet it prove so much), that the whole frame of the World, and the parts thereof which are of greater perfection, were not generated in that manner in which we see some other parts of it are: which no man denies. But that
52 there can be no other way of production beside these petty generations, or that the World was not some other way actually produced, this argument doth not endeavour to infer, nor can any other prove it.

The next foundation upon which they cast off the constant doctrine of their predecessors, was that general assertion, That it is impossible for any thing to be produced out of nothing, or to be reduced unto nothing³: from whence it will inevitably follow, that the matter of this World hath always been, and must always be. The clear refutation of which difficulty requires an explication of the manner how the World was

¹ Πᾶν τὸ γενέσθω ἀρχὴν εὐληφὸς καὶ διαλύσθω ἀφείλων κοινωῆσαι δύο ἐπιδέχεται μεταβολὰς. μίαν μὲν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ μείονος ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον, καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ χείρονος ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον... δευτέραν δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ μείζονος ἐπὶ τὸ μείον, καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίονος ἐπὶ τὸ χείρον... Ἐὰν οὖν καὶ τὸ ὅλον καὶ τὸ πᾶν γεννητὸν ἔσται καὶ φθαρτὸν, γενόμενον, ἀπὸ τοῦ μείονος ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον μετέβαλε, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ χείρονος ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον. *Ocellus*, c. 1. p. 506. [p. 9.]

² Τὸ δὲ γε ὅλον καὶ τὸ πᾶν οὐδὲν ἡμῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ παρέχεται τεκμήριον τοιοῦτον· οὔτε γὰρ γενόμενον αὐτὸ εἶδομεν, οὔτε μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον καὶ τὸ μείζον μεταβάλλον, οὔτε χείρον ποτε ἢ μείον γενόμενον. ἀλλ' αἰ κατὰ ταῦτ' οὕτως διατελεῖ, καὶ ἴσως καὶ ὁμοίον αὐτὸ ἔσται. *Ocellus*, c. 1. p. 507. [p. 9.]

³ Ἀμήχανον γὰρ τὸ ὄν ἀποτελεῖσθαι ἐκ τῶν μὴ ὄντων, ἢ εἰς τὸ μὴ ὄν ἀναλυθῆναι. ἀφθαρτον ἄρα καὶ ἀνώλεθρον τὸ πᾶν. *Ocellus*, c. 1. p. 511. [p. 13.]

made; the second part before propounded for the exposition of this Article.

Now that the true nature and manner of this action may be so far understood as to declare the Christian faith, and refute the errors of all opposers, it will be necessary to consider it first with reference to the object or effect; secondly, in relation to the cause or agent; thirdly, with respect unto the time or origination of it.

The action by which the heaven and earth were made, considered in reference to the effect, I conceive to be the production of their total being; so that whatsoever entity they had when made, had no real existence before they were so made. And this manner of production we usually term *creation*, as excluding all concurrence of any material cause, and all dependence of any kind of subject, as presupposing no privation, as including no motion, as signifying a production out of nothing; that is, by which something is made, and not any thing preceding out of which it is made¹. This is the proper and peculiar sense of the word *creation*: not that it signifies so much by virtue of its origination or vulgar use in the Latin tongue²; nor that the Hebrew word used by Moses, *In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth*, hath of itself any such peculiar acception. For it is often used synonymously³ with words which signify any kind of production

Gen. i. 1.

¹ So I conceive it best expressed by Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury: 'Dicitur aliquid esse factum de nihilo, cum intelligimus esse quidem factum, sed non esse aliquid unde sit factum.' *Monologii*, c. 8. [Tom. III. p. 5 c.]

² 'Creatio apud nos *generatio* vel *nativitas* dicitur, apud Græcos vero sub nomine creationis verbum *facturæ* et *conditionis* accipitur.' *S. Hieron. ad Eph.* c. 4. (Tom. VII. p. 626 E.)

³ ברא is promiscuously used with עשה which is of the greatest latitude, denoting any kind of effect, and with יצר which rather implies a formation out of something, from whence יצר a potter. For the first, we read Gen. ii. 3. that "God rested from all his work," אשר ברא אלוהים לעשות not that on the sixth day he did the work of two days, that he might rest on the seventh, as Rabbi Solomon [Rabbi

Solomon, on Gen. ii. 3. quotes this opinion as stated in the Midrash Rabbah, H. J. R.]; not that in six days he made the roots of things that they might afterward produce the like, as Aben Ezra; not these or any other fancies of the Rabbins; as if ברא signified one work, and עשה another; for they both express the production, as appears clearly in the following verse, "These are the generations of the heavens and of the earth, בראם when they were created, ביום עשרת in the day that the Lord God made the heaven and the earth." So Isa. xlv. 12. "I have made the earth, and created man upon it:" where the first expresseth the proper, the second the improper creation. Which indifferent acception appeareth in collating Psal. cxv. 15; cxxi. 2. with Isa. xlii. 5; xlv. 18. as also Isa. xvii. 7. with Eccl. xii.

or formation, and by itself it seldom denotes a production out of nothing, or proper creation, but most frequently the making of one substance out of another pre-existing, as the fishes of the water; and man of the dust of the earth; the renovating or restoring any thing to its former perfection, for want of Hebrew words in composition; or lastly, the doing some new or wonderful work¹, the producing some strange and admirable effect, as the opening the mouth of the earth, and the signal judgments on the people of Israel.

Gen. i. 21.
Gen. i. 27;
il. 7.

Psalm. li. 10.
Isa. lxxv. 17.

Numb. xvi.
30.
Isa. xlv. 7.

53 We must not therefore weakly collect the true nature of creation from the force of any word which by some may be thought to express so much, but we must collect it from the testimony of God the Creator, in his Word, and of the world created, in our reason. The opinion of the Church of the Jews will sufficiently appear in that zealous mother to her seventh and youngest son; *I beseech thee, my son, look upon the heaven and the earth, and all that is therein, and consider that God made them of things that were not*: which is a clear description of creation, that is, production out of nothing. But because this is not by all received as canonical, we shall therefore evince it by the undoubted testimony of St Paul, who, expressing the nature of Abraham's faith, propoundeth *him whom he believed as God who quickeneth the dead, and calleth those things which be not, as though they were*. For, as to be called in the language of the Scripture is to be, (*Behold what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called the sons of God*, saith St John in his Epistle, who in his Gospel told us, *he had given us power to become the sons of God*;) so to call is to make, or cause to be. As where

2 Mac. vii.
23.

Rom. iv. 17.

1 John iii. 1.

John i. 12.

1. From whence the LXX. translate ברא indifferently ποιέω or κτίζω. For the second, יצר is usually rendered by the Targum ברא and by the LXX. though generally πλαττω, yet sometimes κτίζω. And that it hath the same signification, will appear by conferring Gen. ii. 7. with Isa. xlv. 12. and not only so, but by that single verse, Isa. xliii. 1. "Now thus saith the Lord בראך that created thee, O Jacob, יצרך and he that formed thee, O Israel." Lastly, all these are jointly used in the same validity of expression, Isa. xliii. 7. "Every one that is called

by my name: for בראתי I have created him for my glory, יצרתי I have formed him, yea עשיתי I have made him."

¹ '[Considerandum igitur, quia] creatio atque conditio nunquam nisi in magnis operibus nominentur: verbi causa, mundus creatus est, urbs condita est; domus vero, quamvis magna sit, edificata potius dicitur, quam condita vel creata. In magnis enim operibus atque facturis, verbum creationis assumitur.' S. Hieron. ad Eph. c. 4. [Tom. vii. p. 627 A.]

Jer. xxxii. 23. the prophet Jeremy saith, *Thou hast caused all this evil to come upon them*, the original¹ may be thought to speak no more than this, *thou hast called this evil to them*. He therefore calleth those things which be not, as if they were, who maketh those things which were not, to be, and produceth that which hath a being out of that which had not, that is, out of nothing. This reason, generally persuasive unto faith, is more peculiarly applied by the apostle to the belief of the creation: for *through faith*, saith he, *we understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God, so that things which are seen were not made of things which do appear*. Not as if the earth, which we see, were made of air, or any more subtil body, which we see not; nor as if those things which are seen were in equal latitude commensurable with the worlds which were framed; but that those things which are seen, that is, which are, were made of those which did not appear², that is, which were not.

Heb. xi. 3.

Vain therefore was that opinion of a real matter coeval with God, as necessary for production of the world by way of subject, as the eternal and Almighty God by way of efficient. For if some real and material being must be presupposed by indispensable necessity, without which God could not cause any thing to be, then is not he independent in his actions, nor of infinite power and absolute activity, which is contradictory to the divine perfection. Nor can any reason be alleged why he should be dependent in his operation, who is confessed independent in his being.

And as this coeternity of matter opposeth God's independency, the proper notion of the Deity, so doth it also contradict his all-sufficiency. For if, without the production of something beside himself, he cannot make a demonstration of

¹ κρηνη

² For I take μη εκ φαινομένων in this place to be equivalent unto οὐκ ἐξ ὄντων in the Maccabees, and that of the same sense with ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων, as the Syriac translation, כְּדִי יִלֵּךְ יוֹרִינִי עַל יֵסָּדָא לֹא מֵעֵינִי. Which manner of speech may be observed even in the best Greek authors; as in Aristotle: μεταβάλλοι ἂν τὸ μεταβάλλον τετραχῶς· ἢ γὰρ ἐξ ὑποκειμένου εἰς ὑποκειμένου, ἢ οὐκ ἐξ ὑποκειμένου εἰς οὐκ ὑποκειμένου, ἢ μη ἐξ ὑποκειμένου εἰς

ὑποκειμένου, ἢ ἐξ ὑποκειμένου εἰς μη ὑποκειμένου. Phys. I. v. c. 2. § 8. Where οὐκ ἐξ ὑποκειμένου is the same with ἐξ οὐκ ὑποκειμένου, and μη ἐξ ὑποκειμένου with ἐκ μη ὑποκειμένου. [In Bekker's Edition the passage is, Μεταβάλλοι ἂν τὸ, μεταβάλλον τετραχῶς· ἢ γὰρ ἐξ ὑποκειμένου εἰς ὑποκειμένου, ἢ ἐξ ὑποκειμένου εἰς μη ὑποκειμένου, ἢ οὐκ ἐξ ὑποκειμένου εἰς ὑποκειμένου, ἢ οὐκ ἐξ ὑποκειμένου εἰς μη ὑποκειμένου. Tom. II. p. 104.]

his attributes, or cause any sensibility of his power and will for the illustration of his own glory; and if, without something distinct wholly from himself, he cannot produce any thing, then must he want something external¹: and whosoever wanteth any thing is not all-sufficient. And certainly he must have a low opinion and poor conception of the infinite and eternal God, who thinks he is no otherwise known to be omnipotent than by the benefit² of another. Nor were the
54 framers of the CREED so wise in prefixing the *Almighty* before *Maker of heaven and earth*, if, out of a necessity of material concurrence, the making of them left a mark of impotency rather than omnipotency.

The supposition then of an eternal matter is so unnecessary where God works, and so derogatory to the infinity of his power, and all-sufficiency of himself, that the later philosophers³, something acquainted with the truth which we profess, though rejecting Christianity, have reprov'd those of the school of Plato, who delivered, as the doctrine of their master, an eternal companion, so injurious to the Father and Maker of all things.

Wherefore to give an answer to that general position, 'That out of nothing nothing can be produced,' which Aristotle⁴ pretends to be the opinion of all natural philosophers, I must first observe, that this universal proposition was first framed out of particular considerations of the works of art and nature. For if we look upon all kinds of artificers⁵, we

¹ 'Nemo enim non eget eo de cuius utitur; nemo non subicitur ei cuius eget ut possit uti. Sic et nemo de alieno utendo, non minor est eo de cuius utitur; et nemo qui præstat de suo uti, non in hoc superior est eo cui præstat uti.' *Tertull. adv. Hermog.* c. 8. [p. 269 c.]

² 'Grande revera beneficium contulit, ut haberet hodie per quem Deus cognosceretur et omnipotens vocaretur: nisi quod jam non omnipotens, si non et hoc potens, ex nihilo omnia proferre.' *Ibid.* 'Quo igitur ab homine divina illa vis differret, si, ut homo, sic etiam Deus ope indigeat aliena: indiget autem si nihil moliri potest, nisi ab altero illi materia ministretur.' *Lactan.* l. ii. c. 8. [Tom. i.

p. 181.]

³ As Hierocles: Καὶ τί καταλέγω σοι τούτους, οἱ ποὺ γε καὶ τῶν Πλατωνικῶν τινὲς οὐκ ὀρθῶς τὴν περὶ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ θεοῦ διασώζουσιν ἔννοιαν; οὐ γὰρ ἱκανὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι ᾤθησαν, αὐτοτελῶς ὑποστήσαι δύνασθαι κόσμον οὐκέτι δυνάμει καὶ σοφίᾳ ἐξ ἀδίου ἐνεργούντα· ἀλλ' ἀγενήτου ὕλης συνεργεῖα, καὶ τῇ μὴ παρ' αὐτοῦ ὑποστάσει φύσει καταχρώμενον, μόνως δημιουργεῖν δύνασθαι. *De Provid.* [init. p. 246.]

⁴ Πᾶν τὸ γινόμενον ἀνάγκη γίνεσθαι ἢ ἐξ ὄντων ἢ ἐκ μὴ ὄντων· τούτων δὲ τὸ μὲν ἐκ μὴ ὄντων γίνεσθαι ἀδύνατον· περὶ γὰρ ταύτης ὁμογνωμονοῦσι τῆς δόξης πάντες ὁ περὶ φύσεως. *Physic.* l. i. c. 4. § 4.

⁵ 'Ut igitur faber, cum quid ædi-

find they cannot give any specimen of their art without materials. Being then the beauty and uniformity of the world shews it to be a piece of art most exquisite; hence they concluded that the Maker of it was the most exact artificer¹, and consequently had his matter from all eternity prepared for him. Again, considering the works of nature, and all parts of the world subject to generation and corruption, they also² observed that nothing is ever generated but out of something pre-existent, nor is there any mutation wrought but in a subject, and with a presupposed capability of alteration. From hence they presently collected, that if the whole world were ever generated, it must have been produced out of some subject, and consequently there must be a matter eternally pre-existing.

Now what can be more irrational, than from the weakness of some creature to infer the same imbecility in the Creator, and to measure the arm of God by the finger of man? Whatsoever speaketh any kind of excellency or perfection in the artificer, may be attributed unto God: whatsoever signifieth any infirmity, or involveth any imperfection, must be excluded from the notion of him. That wisdom, prescience, and pre-conception, that order and beauty of operation which is required in an artist, is most eminently contained in him, who hath *ordered all things in measure, and number, and weight*: but if the most absolute *idea* in the artificer's understanding be not sufficient to produce his design without hands to work, and materials to make use of, it will follow no more that God is necessarily tied unto pre-existing matter, than that he is really compounded of corporeal parts.

Again, it is as incongruous to judge of the production of the world by those parts thereof which we see subject to generation and corruption: and thence to conclude, that if it

Wisd. xi. 20.

ficturus est, non ipse facit materiam, sed ea utitur quæ sit parata, fictorque item e cera: sic isti providentiæ divinæ materiam præsto esse oportuit, non quam ipse faceret, sed quam haberet paratam.' *Cicero de Nat. Deorum*, iii. in *fragm. ap. Lactant.* l. ii. c. 8. [Tom. iv. p. 2. p. 929. Edit. Ernesti.] 'Ἀνευκαστέον τῷ μὲν θεῷ τὸν τεχνίτην, τῶν δὲ ἀδεδιδότα τῷ κόσμῳ. *Methodius de rebus generatis, in Phot.*

Bibl. 235. col. 937. 41.

¹ So Hierocles calls him κοσμοποιὸν καὶ ἀριστότεχνον θεόν, in *Aur. Carm.* ver. i. p. 14.

² "Ὅτι δὲ καὶ αἱ οὐσίαι, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἀπλῶς ὄντα ἐξ ὑποκειμένου τινὸς γίνεται, ἐπισκοποῦντι γένοιτ' ἂν φανερόν· ἀεὶ γὰρ ἐστὶ τι δ' ὑπόκειται, ἐξ οὗ γίνεται τὸ γιγνόμενον, οἷον τὰ φυτὰ καὶ τὰ ζῶα ἐκ σπέρματος. *Aristot. Phys.* l. i. c. 7. [§ 6.]

ever had a cause of the being which it hath, it must have been generated in the same manner which they are; and if that cannot be, it must never have been made at all. For nothing is more certain than that this manner of generation cannot possibly have been the first production even of those things which are now generated. We see the plants grow from a seed; that is their ordinary way of generation: but the first plant could not be so generated, because all seed in the same course of nature is from the pre-existing plant. We see from spawn the fishes, and from eggs the fowls receive
 55 now the original of their being: but this could not at first be so, because both spawn and egg are as naturally from precedent fish and fowl. Indeed, because the seed is separable from the body of the plant, and in that separation may long contain within itself a power of germination: because the spawn and egg are sejungible from the fish and fowl, and yet still retain the prolific power of generation; therefore some might possibly conceive that these seminal bodies might be originally scattered on the earth, out of which the first of all those creatures should arise. But in viviparous animals, whose offspring is generated within themselves, whose seed by separation from them loseth all its seminal or prolific power, this is not only improbable, but 'inconceivable. And therefore being the philosophers¹ themselves confess, that whereas now all animals are generated by the means of seed, and that the

¹ These words of Aristotle are very observable, in which he disputes against Speusippus and the Pythagoreans, who thought the rudiments of things first made, out of which they grew into perfection: "Ὅσοι δὲ ὑπολαμβάνουσιν, ὥσπερ οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι καὶ Σπείσιππος, τὸ ἀριστὸν καὶ κάλλιστον μὴ ἐν ἀρχῇ εἶναι, διὰ τὸ καὶ τῶν φυτῶν καὶ τῶν ζώων τὰς ἀρχὰς αἰτία μὲν εἶναι, τὸ δὲ καλὸν καὶ τὸ τέλειον ἐν τοῖς ἐκ τούτων, οὐκ ὁρθῶς οἰοῦνται. τὸ γὰρ σπέρμα ἐξ ἐτέρων ἐστὶ προτέρων τελείων καὶ τὸ πρῶτον οὐ σπέρμα ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τέλειον. οἷον πρότερον ἀνθρώπον ἂν φαίη τις εἶναι τοῦ σπέρματος, οὐ τὸν ἐκ τούτου γενόμενον, ἀλλ' ἕτερον ἐξ οὗ τὸ σπέρμα. *Metaph.* xi. c. 7. § 10. By which words Aristotle hath sufficiently destroyed his own argument,

which we produced before out of the first of the Physics, and is excellently urged in that philosophical piece attributed unto Justin Martyr. *Εἰ πρῶτον ἐστὶ τὸ σπεῖρον σπέρμα, καὶ ὕστερον τὸ ἐκ σπέρματος γιγνόμενον, καὶ γεννητὰ ἀμφότερα, τῇ μὲν γενέσει τοῦ κειμένου ἐκ σπέρματος γιγνομένου ὑπόκειται τὸ σπέρμα· τῇ δὲ γενέσει τοῦ σπείρατος ὑποκείσθαι τὸ σπέρμα οὐ δυνατόν. οὐκ ἄρα δὲ τὰ ζῶα καὶ τὰ φυτὰ ἐκ σπέρματος γίνεσθαι. *Aristot. Dogm. Evers. art. 1. [p. 112 D. Edit. Colon. 1686.]* "Ὅθεν οὐβελς λέγει τοῦ σπέρματος εἶναι τὸν ἀνθρώπον, οὐδὲ τοῦ οὐοῦ τὴν ἀλεκτορίδα· τῆς δὲ ἀλεκτορίδος τὸ ὦν εἶναι, καὶ τὸ σπέρμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου λέγομεν. *Plut. Sympos. 1. ii. probl. 3. [§ 3. Tom. III. p. 2. p. 637 A.]**

animals themselves must be at first before the seed proceeding from them; it followeth that there was some way of production antecedent to and differing from the common way of generation, and consequently what we see done in this generation can be no certain rule to understand the first production. Being then that universal maxim, that 'nothing can be made of nothing,' is merely calculated for the meridian of natural causes, raised solely out of observation of continuing creatures by successive generation, which could not have been so continued without a being antecedent to all such succession; it is most evident it can have no place in the production of that antecedent or first being, which we call *creation*.

Now when we thus describe the nature of *creation*, and under the name of *heaven and earth* comprehend all things contained in them, we must distinguish between things created. For some were made immediately out of nothing, by a proper, some only mediately, as out of something formerly made out of nothing, by an improper kind of creation. By the first were made all immaterial substances, all the orders of angels, and the souls of men, the heavens, and the simple or elemental bodies, as the earth, the water, and the air. *In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth; so in the beginning, as without any pre-existing or antecedent matter.*

Gen. i. 1. This earth, when so *in the beginning* made, was *without form, and void*, covered with waters likewise made, not out of it but with it, the same which, *when the waters were gathered together unto one place, appeared as dry land.* ¹By the second, all the *hosts of the earth*, the fowls of the air, and the fishes of the sea; *Let the earth*, said God, *bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed, and the fruit-tree yielding fruit after his kind....*

Gen. i. 11. *Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life, and fowl that may fly above the earth; and more*

Gen. i. 20. *expressly yet, Out of the ground [the LORD] God formed every beast of the field, and every fowl of the air.* And well may we grant these plants and animals to have their origination from such principles, when we read, [*The LORD*] *God formed man of the dust of the ground; and said unto him whom he created in his own image, Dust thou art.*

Gen. ii. 7. *Dust thou art.*

Gen. iii. 19.

Having thus declared the notion of *creation* in respect of

¹ 'Hic visibilis mundus ex materia quæ a Deo facta fuerat, factus est et ornatus.' *Gennad. c. 10.*

those things which were created, the next consideration is of that action in reference to the agent who created all things.

56 Him therefore we may look upon first as moved; secondly, as free under that motion; thirdly, as determining under that freedom, and so performing of that action. In the first we may see his goodness, in the second his will, in the third his power.

I do not here introduce any external impulsive cause, as moving God unto the creation of the world; for I have presupposed all things distinct from him to have been produced out of nothing by him, and consequently to be posterior not only to the motion but the actuation of his will. Being then nothing can be antecedent to the creature beside God himself, neither can any thing be a cause of any of his actions but what is in him; we must not look for any thing extrinsical unto him, but wholly acquiesce in his infinite goodness, as the only moving and impelling cause; *There is none good but one, that is God*¹, saith our Saviour; none originally, essentially, infinitely, independently good, but he. Whatsoever goodness is found in any creature is but by way of emanation from that fountain, whose very being is diffusive, whose nature consists in the communication of itself. In the end of the sixth day *God saw every thing that he had made, and behold it was very good*: which shews the end of creating all things thus good, was the communication of that by which they were, and appeared, so.

The ancient heathens have acknowledged this truth², but with such disadvantage, that from thence they gathered an undoubted error. For from the goodness of God, which they did not unfitly conceive necessary, infinite, and eternal³, they

¹ Ἄλλο γὰρ τὸ ἐκτίτηεν ἀγαθόν, ἄλλο τὸ καθ' ἑξὺ ἀγαθόν, ἄλλο τὸ πρῶτως ἀγαθόν. *Proclus in Timæum*, l. ii. p. 110. 30. ed. Basil. 1534. Τὸ δὲ αὐτοαγαθὸν ἐστὶ πρῶτως ἀγαθόν. *Ibid.* l. 33.

² As Plato: Λέγωμεν δὴ, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν γέσσω καὶ τὸ πᾶν τότε ὁ ξυριστὰς ξυέστηκεν. ἀγαθὸς ἦν· ἀγαθῷ δ' οὐδεὶς περὶ οὐδενὸς οὐδέποτε ἐγγίγνεται φθόνος· τούτου δ' ἐκτὸς ὢν, πάντα ὅτι μάλαιστα ἐβουλήθη γενέσθαι παραπλήσια αὐτῷ· ταύτην δὲ γενέσεως κόσμου μάλαιστ' ὡς τις ἀρχὴν κυριωτάτην παρ'

ἀνδρῶν φροσῶμεν ἀποδεχόμενος, ὁρθότατα ἀποδέχοιτ' ἄν. *In Timæo*, [Tom. ix.] p. 304. ed. Bip. Αἰτία γὰρ τῆς τῶν πάντων ποιήσεως οὐδεμία ἄλλη πρόσεστω εὐλογος, πλὴν τῆς κατ' οὐσίαν ἀγαθότητος. *Hierocl. in Aur. Carm.* [ver. i. p. 20.] Αἱ δὲ παρὰ τὴν ἀγαθότητα λεγόμεναι αἰτίαι τῆς δημιουργίας τοῦδε τοῦ παντός, ἀνθρωπίναις μᾶλλον περιστάσεσιν ἢ τῷ θεῷ πρέπουσιν. *Ibid.* [p. 22.]

³ Ἀνάγκη διὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀγαθότητα ὄντος τοῦ κόσμου, εἰ τε τὸν θεὸν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, καὶ τὸν κόσμον ὑπάρχειν

collected that whatsoever dependeth of it must be as necessary and eternal, even as light must be as ancient as the sun, and a shadow as an opacous body in that light. If then there be no instant imaginable before which God was not infinitely good, then can there likewise be none conceivable before which the world was not made. And thus they thought the goodness of the Creator must stand or fall with the eternity of the creature.

For the clearing of which ancient mistake, we must observe, that as God is essentially and infinitely good without any mixture of deficiency, so is he in respect of all external

ὡς περ ἥλιος μὲν καὶ περὶ συνφύλαται φῶς, σώματι δὲ σκιά. *Sallustius de Diis et Mundo*, c. 7. [p. 29.] Εἰ γὰρ ἀμείνον μὴ ποιεῖν, πῶς εἰς τὸ ποιεῖν μεταβέβηκε; εἰ δὲ τὸ ποιεῖν, τί μὴ ἐξ ἀδίου ἐπαρτεῖν; *Hierocles de Provid.* [p. 248.] Neither doth he mean any less, when in his sense he thus describes the first Cause of all things: 'Εστ' ἄν (so I read it, not ἐστ', ἄν, as the printed copies, or ἔως ἄν, as Curterius) ἡ τὸ πρῶτον αὐτῶν αἰτίων ἀμετάβλητων πάντη καὶ ἀτρέπτων, καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ τὴν αὐτὴν κεκτημένων, καὶ τὴν ἀγαθότητα οὐκ ἐπικτητῶν ἔχον, ἀλλ' οὐσιωμένην καθ' αὐτὴν, καὶ δι' αὐτὴν τὰ πάντα πρὸς τὸ εἶναι παράγον (so I read it, not πάντων πρὸς τὸ εἶναι, as the printed). *Hierocl. in Aur. Carm.* [ver. 1. p. 20. In Needham's Edition the last clause is, καὶ δι' αὐτῆς τὰ πάντα πρὸς τὸ εἶναι παράγον.] Συνήρηται ἄρα τῇ μὲν ἀγαθότητι τοῦ πατρὸς ἡ τῆς προσοίας ἐκτένεια· ταύτη δὲ ἡ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ διαῤῃσιος ποίησις· ταύτη δὲ ἡ τοῦ παντὸς κατὰ τὸν ἀπειρον χρόνον ἀδιότῃς γιγνομένη οὐσα, καὶ οὐχὶ ἐστῶσα διότῃς. καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς λόγος ταύτην τε ἀναρεῖ, καὶ τὴν ἀγαθότητα τοῦ πεποιηκότος. *Proclus in Timæum*, l. ii. p. III. 46. Now although this be the constant argumentation of the later Platonists, yet they found no such deduction or consequence in their master Plato: and I something incline to think, though it may seem very strange, that they received it from the Christians, I mean out of the school of Ammonius at Alexandria; whom though

Porphyrus would make an apostate, for the credit of his heathen gods, yet St Jerome hath sufficiently assured us that he lived and died in the Christian faith. The reason of my conjecture is no more than this: Proclus acknowledgeth that Plutarch and others, though with Plato they maintained the goodness of God to be the cause of the World, yet withal they denied the eternity of it: and when he quotes other expositors for his own opinion, he produceth none but Porphyrus and Iamblichus, the eldest of which was the scholar of Plotinus the disciple of Ammonius. And that he was of the opinion, I collect from him who was his scholar both in philosophy and divinity, that is, Origen, whose judgment, if it were not elsewhere apparent, is sufficiently known by the fragment of Methodius *περὶ γεννητῶν*, preserved in Photius. [*Bibliotheca*, 235. col. 933. 28.] "Ὅτι ὁ Ὀρκιγένης, ὃν κένταυρον καλεῖ, ἔλεγε συναΐδιον εἶναι τῷ μόνῳ σοφῷ καὶ ἀπροσδεεῖ θεῷ τὸ πᾶν. (Vid. p. 102. col. 1.) Being then Porphyrus and Iamblichus cited by Proclus, being Hierocles, Proclus, and Sallustius, were all either *ἐκ τῆς λεγᾶς γενεᾶς*, as they called it, that is, descended successively from the School of Ammonius (the great conciliator of Plato and Aristotle, and reformer of the ancient philosophy), or at least contemporary to them that were so; it is most probable that they might receive it from his mouth, especially considering that even Origen a Christian confirmed the same.

actions or emanations absolutely free without the least necessity. Those bodies which do act without understanding or preconception of what they do, as the sun and fire give light and heat, work always to the utmost of their power, nor are
 57 they able at any time to suspend their action. To conceive any such necessity in the divine operations, were to deny all knowledge in God, to reduce him into a condition inferior to some of the works of his own hands, and to fall under the censure contained in the Psalmist's question, *He that planted the ear, shall he not hear? he that formed the eye, shall he not see? he that teacheth man knowledge, shall he not know?* Psal. xclv. 9, 10. Those creatures which are endued with understanding, and consequently with a will, may not only be necessitated in their actions by a greater power, but also as necessarily be determined by the proposal of an infinite good: whereas neither of these necessities can be acknowledged in God's actions, without supposing a power beside and above Omnipotency, or a real happiness beside and above All-sufficiency. Indeed if God were a necessary agent in the works of creation, the creatures would be of as necessary being as he is; whereas the necessity of being is the undoubted prerogative of the first cause. *He worketh all things after the counsel of* Eph. i. 11. *his own will*, saith the apostle: and wheresoever counsel is, there is election, or else it is vain; where a will, there must be freedom, or else it is weak. We cannot imagine that the all-wise God should act or produce any thing but what he determineth to produce; and all his determinations must flow from the immediate principle of his will. If then his determinations be free, as they must be coming from that principle, then must the actions which follow them be also free. Being then the goodness of God is absolutely perfect of itself, being he is in himself infinitely and eternally happy, and this happiness as little capable of augmentation as of diminution; he cannot be thought to look upon any thing without himself as determining his will to the desire, and necessitating to the production of it. If then we consider God's goodness, he was moved; if his all-sufficiency, he was not necessitated: if we look upon his will, he freely determined; if on his power, by that determination he created the world.

Wherefore that ancient conceit of a necessary emanation of God's goodness in the eternal creation of the World will

now easily be refuted, if we make a distinction in the equivocal notion of goodness. For if we take it as it signifieth 'a rectitude and excellency of all virtue and holiness, with a negation of all things morally evil, vicious, or unholy,' so God is absolutely and necessarily good: but if we take it in another sense, as indeed they did which made this argument, that is, rather for beneficence, or communicativeness of some good to others; then God is not necessarily, but freely, good, that is to say, profitable and beneficial. For he had not been in the least degree evil or unjust, if he had never made the World or any part thereof, if he had never communicated any of his perfections by framing any thing beside himself. Every proprietary therefore being accounted master of his own, and thought freely to bestow whatever he gives; much more must that one eternal and independent Being be wholly free in the communicating his own perfections without any necessity or obligation. We must then look no farther than the determination of God's will in the creation of the World.

Rev. iv. 11.

For this is the admirable power of God, that with him to will is to effect, to determine is to perform. So the elders speak before him that sitteth upon the throne; *Thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure* (that is, by thy will) *they are and were created.* Where there is no resistance in the object, where no need of preparation, application, or instrumental advantage in the agent, there the actual determination of the will is a sufficient production. Thus God did make the heavens and the earth by willing them to be¹.

Gen. i. 4.

This was his first command unto the creatures, and their existence was their first obedience. *Let there be light*², this is the injunction; *and there was light*, that is the creation. Which two are so intimately and immediately the same, that though in our and ³other translations those words, *let there be*, which 58

¹ So Clemens Alexandrinus speaks of God: Ψιλὸν τῷ βούλεισθαι δημιουργεῖ, καὶ τῷ μόνον ἐβελήσαι αὐτὸν ἔπεται τὸ γεγενῆσθαι. *Protrept.* c. 4. fin. (p. 55. 3.)

² Γενηθήτω φῶς, καὶ τὸ πρῶταγμα ἔργον ἦν. *S. Basil. in Hexaem. Homil.* ii. § 7. [Tom. i. p. 19 c.] "Ὅταν δὲ φωνήν ἐπὶ θεοῦ καὶ ῥῆμα καὶ πρῶταγμα λέγωμεν, — τὴν ἐν τῷ θελήματι ῥοπήν — ἡγοῦμεθα ἐν εἰδὲι προστάγματος σχηματίζεσθαι. *Id. ibid.* Τίτος—ὑπου-

γίλας δέοιτο ὁ θελήματι μόνον δημιουργῶν, ὁμοῦ τῇ βουλῇσιν συνυφισταμένης τῆς κτίσεως; *Id.* l. ii. *adv. Eunom.* § 21. [Tom. i. p. 257 B.]

³ Ἀς γενηθήτω φῶς, καὶ ἐγένετο φῶς, *Fiat lux, et facta est lux:* or as Aquila, γενέσθω, καὶ ἐγένετο, as Symmachus, ἔστω, καὶ ἐγένετο, all with a difference: whereas in the Hebrew it is a most expressive and significant tautology, אור ידא אור ידא

express the command of God, differ from the other *there was*, which denote the present existence of the creature; yet in the original there is no difference at all, neither in point nor letter. And yet even in the diversity of the translation the phrase seems so expressive of God's infinite power, and immediate efficacy of his will, that it hath raised some admiration of Moses in the 'enemies of the religion both of the Jews and Christians. *God is in the heavens, he hath done whatsoever he pleased*², saith David; yea, in the making of the heavens; he therefore created them, because *he pleased*; nay, more, he thereby created them, even by willing their creation.

Psalm. cxv. 3.

Now although some may conceive the creature might have been produced from all eternity by the free determination of God's will, and it is so far certainly true, that there is no instant assignable before which God could not have made the World; yet as this is an Article of our faith, we are bound to believe the heavens and earth are not eternal. *Through* ^{Heb. xi. 3.} *faith we understand [that] the worlds were framed by the word of God.* And by that faith we are assured, that whatsoever possibility of an eternal existence of the creature may be imagined, actually it had a temporal beginning; and therefore all the arguments for this World's eternity are nothing but so many erroneous misconceptions. *The Lord possessed* ^{Prov. viii. 22, 23.} *me in the beginning of his way, before his works of old* (saith Wisdom). *I was set up from everlasting, from the beginning, or ever the earth was:* and the same Wisdom of God being made man, reflecteth upon the same priority, saying, *Now, O Father,* ^{John xvii. 5.} *glorify thou me with thine own self, with the glory which I had with thee before the World was.* Yea, in the same *Christ* are ^{Eph. i. 3, 4.} *we blessed with all spiritual blessings, according as he hath chosen us in him before the foundation of the World.* The impossibility of the origination of a circular motion, which we

¹ As Dionysius Longinus, *περί ψύχης*, Sect. 9. Ταύτη καὶ ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων θεσμοθέτης, οὐχ ὁ τυχὼν ἀνὴρ, ἐπειδὴ τῆν τοῦ θεοῦ δύναμιν κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐγνωρίσε [ἐχώρησε,] κἀξέφηγεν, εὐθὺς ἐν τῇ εἰσβολῇ γράψας τῶν νόμων, ἔλεπεν ὁ θεός, φησι· τί; γενέσθω φῶς, καὶ ἐγένετο· γενέσθω γῆ, καὶ ἐγένετο. Where observe, Longinus made use of

the translation of Aquila.

² Πάντα ὅσα ᾔθελησεν ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ· ὁρᾷς ὅτι οὐ πρὸς δημιουργίαν τῶν ἐν τῇ γῇ μόνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν κτίσιν τῶν ἀνω δυνάμεων ἤρκεσεν ἡ θέλησις αὐτοῦ μόνῃ. S. Chrysost. l. ii. περί τοῦ ἀκαταλήπτου. [§ 4. Tom. I. p. 457 B.]

are sure is either in the heaven or earth, and the impropriety of the beginning of time, are so poor exceptions, that they deserve not the least labour of refutation. The actual eternity of this World is so far from being necessary, that it is of itself most improbable; and without the infallible certainty of faith, there is no single person carries more evidences of his youth, than the World of its novelty¹.

It is true indeed, some ancient accounts there are which would persuade us to imagine a strange antiquity of the World, far beyond the annals of Moses, and account of the same Spirit which made it. The ²Egyptian priests pretended an exact chronology for some myriads of years, and the Chaldeans or ³Assyrians far outreckon them, in which they delivered not only a catalogue of their kings, but also a table of the ⁴eclipses of the sun and moon.

But for their number of years nothing is more certain 59

¹ As even Lucretius confesseth, and that out of the principles of Epicurus, l. v. 331.

'Verum, ut opinor, habet novitatem summa, recensque
Natura est mundi, neque pridem exordia cepit.'

² Plato tells us of an account which an Egyptian priest gave to Solon, in which the Athenians were nine thousand years old, and those of Sais eight thousand: [Ἐρῶ...τῆς θεοῦ χάρι, ἥ τῇ τε ὑμετέραν (πόλιν) καὶ τῇδ' ἔλαχε, καὶ ἔθρεψε, καὶ ἐπαίδευσε'] προτέραν μὲν τὴν παρ' ὑμῖν ἔτεσι χιλίοις ἐκ Γῆς τε καὶ Ἡφαιστοῦ τὸ σπέρμα παραλαβούσα ὑμῶν, τῇδε δὲ ὑστέραν τῆς δὲ ἐνθάδε διακοσμῆσεως παρ' ἡμῶν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς γράμμασιν ὀκτακισχιλίων ἐτῶν ἀριθμὸς γέγραπται. In *Τίμαιο*, [Tom. ix. p. 293, 294, Edit. Bipont.] Pomponius Mela (Lib. i. c. 10.) makes a larger account out of Herodotus: 'Ipsi vetustissimi (ut prædicant) hominum trecentos et triginta reges ante Amasim, et supra tredecim millium annorum ætates certis Annalibus, [referunt];' where, as the Egyptians much stretch the truth, so doth Mela stretch the relation of Herodotus, who makes it not thirteen thousand, but eleven thousand three hundred and forty years. [Euterpe, c. 142.] Diodorus

Siculus [Lib. i. 26. p. 23, or 15.] tells us of twenty-three thousand years from the reign of the first king of Egypt to the expedition of Alexander; and Diogenes Laertius out of other authors more than doubles that account: Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν γὰρ Νείλου γενέσθαι παῖδα Ἡφαιστον, ὃν ἀρξαι φιλοσοφίας, ἧς τοὺς προσετώτας ἱερέας εἶναι καὶ προφήτας. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου εἰς Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Μακεδόνα ἐτῶν εἶναι μυριάδας τέσσαρας, καὶ ὀκτακισχίλια ὀκτακόσια ἔτη ἐξήκοντα τρία: forty-eight thousand eight hundred and sixty-three. *Proem.* [§ 1. 2, p. 2.] [Cicero autem in libro de Divinatione l. 9. tradidit Chaldeos cccclxx millia annorum monumentis comprehensa se habere dixisse. Quos numeros haud mutandos esse ex aliis auctoribus confirmavit Davisius. *M. T. Routh.*]

³ Ἀσσύριοι δέ, φησὶν Ἰάμβελιχος, οὐχ ἐπὶ καὶ ἑκοσι μυριάδας ἐτῶν μόνας ἐτήρησαν, ὡς φησὶν Ἰππάρχος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅλας ἀποκαταστάσεις καὶ περιόδους τῶν ἐπὶ καὶ κοσμοκρατῶν μῆμη παρέδωκαν. *Proclus in Timaæum.* [Lib. i. p. 31. l. 23.]

⁴ Ἐν οἷς ἡλίου μὲν ἐκλείψεις γενέσθαι τριακοσίας ἑβδομήκοντα τρεῖς, σελήνης δὲ ὀκτακοσίους τριάκοντα δύο. *Diog. Laert. Proem.* p. 3.

than their forgery; for the Egyptians did preserve the antiquities of other nations as well as their own, and by the evident fallacy in others have betrayed their own vanity. When Alexander entered Egypt with his victorious army, the priests could shew him out of their sacred histories an account of the Persian empire, which he gained by conquest, and the Macedonian, which he received by birth, of each for eight thousand years¹; whereas nothing can be more certain, out of the best historical account, than that the Persian empire, whether begun in Cyrus or in Medus, was not then three hundred years old, and the Macedonian, begun in Coranus, not five hundred. They then which made so large additions to advance the antiquity of other nations, and were so bold as to present them to those which so easily might refute them (had they not delighted to be deceived to their own advantage, and took much pleasure in an honourable cheat), may without any breach of charity be suspected to have extended the account much higher for the honour of their own country. Beside, their catalogues must needs be ridiculously incredible, when the Egyptians make their first kings' reigns above one thousand two hundred years a-piece²; and the Assyrians theirs

¹ This fallacy appeareth by an epistle which Alexander wrote to his mother Olympias, mentioned by Athenagoras [*Legatio pro Christianis*, c. 24. p. 31 A], Minucius Felix [*Octavius*, c. 21.], St Cyprian [*de Idolorum Vanitate*, c. 2. p. 12. where Bp Fell refers to the testimony of Plutarch, in his *Life of Alexander*, Tom. II. p. 680], and St Augustin: 'Persarum autem et Macedonum imperium usque ad ipsum Alexandrum, cui loquebatur, plus quam octo et annorum millium ille constituit; cum apud Græcos Macedonum usque ad mortem Alexandri quadringenti octoginta quinque reperiantur; Persarum vero, donec ipsius Alexandri victoria finiretur, ducenti et triginta tres computentur.' *S. August. de Civ. Dei*, l. xii. c. 10. [Tom. VII. p. 235 B.]

² As Diodorus Siculus, l. i. 26. p. 22. ed. Rhod. p. 15. Steph. takes notice of the Egyptians, and Abydenus of the Chaldeans, whose ten first kings reigned one hundred and twenty Sari.

ὡς τοὺς πάντας εἶναι βασιλεῖς δέκα ὃν ὁ χρόνος τῆς βασιλείας συνήζε σάρον ἐκατὸν εἰκοσι. Now this word *σάρον* was proper to the Babylonian or Chaldean account. *Hezech. Σάρον ἀριθμὸς τις παρὰ Βαβυλωνίων* but what this number was he tells us not. In the fragment of Abydenus preserved by Eusebius, [*Chron. Lib. i. p. 5. 13.*] *Σάρον δὲ ἔστιν ἑξακόσια καὶ τρισχίλια ἔτη*, every *Σάρον* is three thousand six hundred years, and consequently the one hundred and twenty *σάροι* belonging to the reign of the ten kings, four hundred and thirty-two thousand years. Neither was this the account only of Abydenus, but also of Berosus; neither was it the interpretation only of Eusebius, but also of Alexander Polyhistor, [ap. Euseb. *Chron. Lib. i. p. 6. 37.*] who likewise expresseth: *τὸν χρόνον τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῶν σάρον ἐκατὸν εἰκοσι, ἥτοι ἐτῶν μυριάδας τεσσαράκοντα τρεῖς καὶ δύο χιλιάδας*. This seemed so highly incredible, that two ancient monks, Anianus and Panodorus,

above forty thousand: except we take the Egyptian years for months¹, the Assyrians for days; and then the account will not seem so formidable.

Again, for the calculation of eclipses, as it may be made for many thousand years to come, and be exactly true, and yet the World may end to-morrow; because the calculation must be made with this tacit condition, if the bodies of the earth, and sun, and moon, do continue in their substance and constant motion so long: so may it also be made for many millions of years past, and all be true, if the World have been so old; which the calculating doth not prove, but suppose. He then which should in the Egyptian temples see the description of so many eclipses of the sun and moon, could not be assured that they were all taken from real observation, when they might be as well described out of proleptical supposition.

Beside, the motions of the sun, which they mention together and with authority equal to that of their other observations, are so incredible and palpably fabulous, that they take off all credit and esteem from the rest of their narrations. For with this wild account of years, and seemingly accurate

interpreted those Chaldean years to be but days, so that every *σάρος* should consist of three thousand six hundred days, that is, nine years, ten months and a half, and the whole one hundred and twenty *σάροι* for the ten kings, eleven hundred and eighty-three years, six months, and odd days. This is all which Jos. Scaliger, or Jacobus Goar of late, could find concerning this Chaldean computation: and the first of these complains that none but Hesychius makes mention of this account. I shall therefore supply them not only with another author, but also with a diverse and distinct interpretation. *Σάροι μέτρον και ἀριθμὸς παρὰ Χαλδαίους* οἱ γὰρ ρκ' *σάροι* ποιοῦσι *ἐνιαυτοὺς* βεκβ' οἱ γίνονται *ιη'* *ἐνιαυτοὶ* και *μήνες* *ξξ'*: that is, according to the translation of Portus: *Sari apud Chaldaeos est mensura et numerus: nam 120 Sari faciunt annos 2222, qui sunt anni 18 et sex menses*. Well might he fix his N. L., or, *non liquet*, to these words; for, as they are in the printed books, there is

no sense to be made of them; but by the help of the MS. in the Vatican library, we shall both supply the defect in Suidas, and find a third valuation of the *σάροι*. Thus then that MS. represents the words: *Οἱ γὰρ ρκ' σάροι* ποιοῦσι *ἐνιαυτοὺς* βεκβ' *κατὰ τὴν* *Χαλδαίων ψήφον*, *εἴπερ ὁ σάρος ποιεῖ* *μήνας* *σεληνιακῶν* *σκβ'*, *οἱ γίνονται* *ιη'* *ἐνιαυτοὶ* *και* *μήνες* *ξξ'*. And so the sense is clear. *Σάρος*, according to the Chaldean account, comprehends two hundred and twenty-two months, which come to eighteen years and six months; therefore one hundred and twenty *σάροι* make two thousand two hundred and twenty years; and therefore for βεκβ', I read, leaving out the last β, βεκ', that is, two thousand two hundred and twenty.

¹ *Εἰ δὲ και ὁ φησιν Εὐδόξος ἀληθές, ὅτι Αἰγύπτῳ τὸν μήνα ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκάδουν, οὐκ ἂν ἡ τῶν πολλῶν τούτων ἐνιαυτῶν ἀπαρίθμησις ἔχοι τι θαυμαστόν.* Proclus in *Τίμαστον*, Lib. i. p. 31. l. 50.

observations of the heavens, they left it written to posterity, that the whole course of the celestial motions were four times 60 changed; so that ¹the sun hath twice risen in the east and set in the west, as now it does; and, on the contrary, twice risen in the west and set in the east. And thus these prodigious antiquaries confute themselves*.

What then are these feigned observations and fabulous descriptions for the World's antiquity, in respect not only of the infallible annals of the Spirit of God, but even of the constant testimonies of more sober men, and the real appearances and face of things, which speak them of a far shorter date?

If we look into the historians which give account of ancient times, nay, if we peruse the fictions of the poets, we shall find the first to have no footsteps, the last to feign no actions of so great antiquity. ²If the race of men had been eternal, or as

¹ *Ἐν τούτων τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τετρακίς ἔλεγον ἐξ ἡθέων τὸν ἥλιον ἀνατεῖλαι· ἔθθα τε νῦν καταδύεται, ἐπεὶ οὐτεν δις ἔπαυεῖται· καὶ ἐνθεν νῦν ἀνατέλλει, ἐπὶ αὐτὰ δις καταδύει. Herod. Euterp. c. 142. 'Mandatumque literis servavit, dum Ægyptii sunt, quater cursus suos vertisse sidera, ac Solem his jam occidisse ubi [unde] nunc oritur.' Pompon. Mela, l. i. c. 10. Whereas Aristotle more soberly: *Ἐν πᾶσι γὰρ τῷ παρεληλυθότι χρόνῳ κατὰ τὴν παραδεδομένην ἀλλήλοισι μῆτην οὐδὲν φαίνεται μεταβεβηκός, οὔτε καθ' ὅλον τὸν ἔσχατον οὐρανόν, οὔτε κατὰ μέρος αὐτοῦ τῶν οὐρανίων οὐδέν. De Cælo, Lib. i. cap. 3. Vide Simplic. ad loc.**

² As the Chaldees did affirm that they had taken observations of the celestial motions for four hundred and seventy thousand years; and withal they also affirmed, that for the same space of time they had calculated the nativity of all the children which were born. Which last is certainly false. 'Nam quod aiunt quadringenta et septuaginta millia annorum in periclitandis experiundiisque pueris, quicunque nati essent, Babylonios posuisse, fallunt: si enim esset factum, non esset desitum. Neminem autem habemus auctorem qui aut fieri dicat, aut factum sciat.' Cicero, l. ii. de Divinal. c. 97. And if the last be false,

we have no reason to believe the first is true; but rather to deny their astronomical observations by their vain ambition in astrological predictions. And indeed those observations of the Chaldees being curiously searched into by Callisthenes, appointed by Aristotle for that purpose, were found really to go no farther than one thousand nine hundred and three years before Alexander, as Porphyrius hath declared, who was no friend to the account of Moses. *Διὰ τὸ μήπω τὰς ὑπὸ Καλλισθέους ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος πεμφθείσας παρατηρήσεις ἀφικέσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους τοῦτο ἐπισκῆψαντος αὐτῷ· ὅς τις διηγείται ὁ Πορφύριος χιλίων ἐτῶν εἶναι καὶ ἑννεακοσίων τριῶν μέχρι τῶν χρόνων Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδῶνος σωζόμενας. Simplic. ad 2. Aristot. de Cælo, p. 123.*

³ This argument is therefore to me the stronger, because made by him who cannot be thought a favourer of our religion, because he was a countenancer of none, Epicurus, whose mind is thus delivered by Lucretius, l. v. 325.

'Præterea, si nulla fuit genitalis origo Terrarum et Cæli, semperque eterna fuere; Cur supra bellum Thebanum et funera Troje, Non alias alii quoque res cecidisse Poeta? Quo tot facta virum toties cecidere? neque usquam Æternis fame monumentis insula florent?'

old as the Egyptians and the Chaldees fancy it, how should it come to pass that the poetical inventions should find no actions worthy their heroic verse before the Trojan or the Theban war, or that great adventure of the Argonauts? For whatsoever all the Muses, the daughters of Memory, could rehearse before those times, is nothing but the creation of the World, and the nativity of their gods.

If we consider the necessities of life¹, the ways of freedom and commerce amongst men, and the inventions of all arts and sciences, the letters which we use, the languages which we speak, they have all known originals, and may be traced to their first authors. The first beginnings were then so known and acknowledged by all, that the inventors and authors of them were reckoned amongst their gods, and worshipped by those to whom they had been so highly beneficial: which honour and adoration they could not have obtained, but from such as were really sensible of their former want, and had experience of a present advantage by their means.

If we search into the nations themselves, we shall see none without some original: and were those² authors extant which have written of the first plantations and migrations of people, the foundations and inhabiting of cities and countries, their first rudiments would appear as evident as their later growth and present condition. We know what ways within two thousand years people have made through vast and thick woods for their habitations, now as fertile, as populous, as 61 any. The Hercynian trees, in the time of the Cæsars, occupying so great a space as to take up a journey of sixty days³, were thought even then coeval with the world⁴. We read

¹ Pliny gives a large account of these, l. vii. c. 56, and Lucretius makes use of this argument, l. v. 333.

² Quare etiam quedam nunc artes expolluntur, Nunc etiam augeantur, nunc addita navigis sunt

Multa; modo organici mellicos peperere sonores:

Denique natura hæc rerum ratioque reperta est

Nuper, et hanc primus cum primis ipse repertus

Nunc ego sum in patriâ qui possim vertere voces.

³ I mean, not only such as wrote the building of particular cities, as Apollonius Rhodius Καίου κτίσω, Xenophanes Κολοφῶνος κτίσω, Crito

Συρακουῶν κτίσω, and Philochorus Σαλαμῖνος κτίσω: but those more general, as Aristotle Κτίσεις καὶ πολιτείας, Polemo Κτίσεις πόλεων ἐν Φωκίᾳ, Charon Πόλεων κτίσεις, Callimachus Κτίσεις νήσων καὶ πόλεων, Hellanicus Κτίσεις ἐθνῶν καὶ πόλεων, and the indefinite Κτίσεις written by Dercyllus, Dionysius, Hippius, Clitophon, Trisimachus, and others.

⁴ 'Silvarum, Hercynia,—dierum sexaginta iter occupans, ut major aliis, ita et notior.' Pompon. Mela, l. iii. c. 3.

⁵ 'Hercyniæ silvæ roborum vastitas intacta ævis et congenita mundo,

without any shew of contradiction, how this western part of the world hath been peopled from the east: and all the pre-tence of the Babylonian antiquity is nothing else, but that we all came from thence. Those eight persons saved in the ark, descending from the Gordiæan mountains and multiplying to a large collection in the plain of Sinaar, made their first division at that place; and that dispersion, or rather dissemination, hath peopled all other parts of the world, either never before inhabited, or dispeopled by the flood.

These arguments have always seemed so clear and undeniable, that they have put not only those who make the world eternal, but them also who confess it made (but far more ancient than we believe it), to a strange answer, to themselves uncertain, to us irrational.

For to this they replied, that this world¹ hath suffered

prope immortali sorte miracula excedit.' *Plin.* l. xvi. c. 2. [Tom. II. p. 134.]

¹ Thus Ocellus, who maintained the World was never made, answers the argument brought from the Greek histories which began with Inachus, as the first subject, not author of history (as Negarola in his Annotations mistakes Ocellus): Διὸ καὶ τοῖς λέγουσι τῇ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἱστορίας ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ Ἰνάρχου εἶναι τοῦ Ἀργεῖου, προσεκτεῶν οὕτως, οὐχ ὡς ἀπὸ τινος ἀρχῆς πρώτης, ἀλλὰ τῆς γενομένης μεταβολῆς κατ' αὐτὴν, c. iii. § 5. [p. 31.] So that he will have Inachus to be the first not absolutely, but since the last great alteration made in Greece; and then he concludes that Greece hath often been, and will often be, barbarous, and lose the memory of all their actions: Πολλὰκις γὰρ καὶ γέγονε καὶ ἔσται βάρβαρος ἡ Ἑλλὰς, οὐχ ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων μόνον γενομένη μετέστας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς φύσεως οὐ μελῶτος οὐδὲ μελέως αὐτῆς γενομένης, ἀλλὰ γὰρ νεωτέρας δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀρχὴν λαμβανούσης. *Ocellus de Universo*, *ibid.* Thus Plato, who asserted the creation of the World, but either from eternity, or such antiquity as does not much differ from it, brings in Solon inquiring the age of the Greek histories, as of Phoroneus, and Niobe, Deucalion and Pyrrha; and an Egyptian priest answering,

that all the Greeks were boys, and not an old man amongst them, that is, they had no ancient monuments, or history of any antiquity, but rested contented with the knowledge of the time, since the last great mutation of their own country: Πολλὰ γὰρ κατὰ πολλὰ φθοραὶ γεγόνασιν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἔσονται, κυρί μὲν καὶ ὕδατι μέγισται, μυρίοις δὲ ἄλλοις ἑτεροι βραχύτεραι. *In Τίμαεω*, [Tom. ix. p. 291. Edit. Biont.] Origen of Celsus: Τὸ πολλὰς ἐκ παντὸς αἰῶνος ἐκπυρρῶσεις γεγενῆσθαι, πολλὰς δ' ἐπικλύσεις, καὶ νεώτερον εἶναι τὸν ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος κατακλυσμὸν ἑταγχοῦ γεγεννημένον, σαφῶς τοῖς ἀκούειν αὐτοῦ δυναμένοις παρίσταισι τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν τοῦ κόσμου ἀγέννητον, l. i. § 19. [Tom. i. p. 337 c.] And Lucretius the Epicurean, who thought the world but few thousand years old, as we believe, and that it should at last be consumed, as we also are persuaded, thinks this answer of theirs so far from being a refutation of the former, that he admits it as a confirmation of the latter part of his opinion. *De Rerum Natura*, l. v. 339.

'Quod si forte fuisse antehac eadem omnia credis,

Sed perisse hominum torrenti sæcla vapore,
Aut cecidisse urbem magno vexamine mundi,
Aut ex imbribus assiduè exisse rapacis
Per terras amnæs atque oppida cooperuisse:
Tanto quippe magis victus fœtare necesse est,
Exitium quoque terræ cœlique futurum.'

many alterations, by the utter destructions of nations and depopulations of countries, by which all monuments of antiquity were defaced, all arts and sciences utterly lost, all fair and stately fabrics ruined, and so mankind reduced to paucity, and the world often again returned into its infancy. This they conceived to have been done oftentimes in several ages, sometimes by a deluge of water, sometimes by a torrent of fire; and, lest any of the elements might be thought not to conspire to the destruction of mankind, the air must sweep away whole empires at once with infectious plagues, and earthquakes swallow up all ancient cities, and bury even the very ruins of them. By which answer of theirs they plainly afford two great advantages to the Christian faith. First, because they manifestly shew that they had an universal tradition of Noah's flood, and the overthrow of the old world: Secondly, because it was evident to them, that there was no way to salve the eternity or antiquity of the world, or to answer this argument drawn from history and the appearances of things themselves, but by supposing innumerable deluges and deflagrations. Which being merely feigned in themselves, not proved (and that first¹ by them, which say they are not subject themselves unto them, as the Egyptians did, who by the advantage² of their peculiar situation feared neither perishing by fire nor water), serve only for a confirmation of

¹ Ἔστωσαν δὲ τῷ Κέλσῳ τοῦ περὶ τῶν ἐκπυρώσεων καὶ ἐξυδατώσεων μύθου διδάσκαλοι οἱ κατ' αὐτὸν σοφώτατοι Αἰγύπτιοι. *Orig. adv. Celsum*, l. i. § 20. [p. 338 B.]

² So that Egyptian priest in Plato's *Timæus* tells Solon that the fable of Phaethon did signify a real conflagration of the world: but so as all they which lived in mountains or dry parts of the earth were scorched and consumed, but of those which lived near the seas or rivers in the valleys, some were preserved: ἡμῶν δέ, saith he, ὁ Νεῖλος εἰς τε τὰλλα σωτήρ, καὶ τότε ἐκ ταύτης τῆς ἀπορίας σώζει λυόμενος, [Tom. ix. p. 291. edit. Bipont.] Thus the Egyptians pretend Nilus saved them from the flames of Phaethon. Nor were they only safe from conflagrations, but from inundations also.

For when in Greece or other parts a deluge happened, then all their cities were swept away into the sea: Κατὰ δὲ τήνδε τὴν χώραν, says the priest, οὔτε τότε, οὔτε ἄλλοτε ἄνωθεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρούρας ὕδωρ ἐπιβρεῖ· τὸ δ' ἐναντίον, κάτωθεν ἐπανιέναι πέφυκεν. ὅθεν καὶ δι' αἰτίας τὰςθάδε σωζόμενα λέγεται παλαιότερα, [ibid.] p. 292. So Egypt receiving not their waters from above by clouds, but from below by springs filling the river Nile, was out of danger in a deluge, and thereby preserved the most ancient monuments and records. But, alas! this is a poor shift to them which believe that in the great and universal flood, *all the fountains of the great deep were broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened.* Gen. vii. 11.

Noah's flood so many ages past, and the surer expectation of St Peter's fire, we know not how soon to come.

- 62 It remaineth then that we stedfastly believe, not only that the "heavens and earth, and all the host of them" were Gen. ii. 1. made, and so acknowledge a *creation*, or an actual and immediate dependence of all things on God; but also that all things were created by the hand of God, in the same manner, and at the same time, which are delivered unto us in the books of Moses by the Spirit of God, and so acknowledge a novelty, or no long existence of the creature.

Neither will the novelty of the world appear more plainly unto our conceptions, than if we look upon our own successions. The vulgar accounts, which exhibit about five thousand six hundred years, though sufficiently refuting an eternity, and allaying all conceits of any great antiquity, are not yet so properly and nearly operative on the thoughts of men, as a reflection upon our own generations. The first of men was but six days younger than the being, not so many than the appearance, of the earth: and if any particular person would consider how many degrees in a direct line he probably is removed from that single person Adam, who bare together the name of man and of the earth from whence he came, he could not choose but think himself so near the original fountain of mankind, as not to conceive any great antiquity of the world. For though the ancient heathens did imagine innumerable¹ ages and generations of men past, though Origen² did fondly seem to collect so much by some misinter-

¹ So Cicero indeed speaks, *innumerable æcula*, in his book of Divination: [*De Divinatione*, Lib. ii. c. 71. § 147,] *innumerabilibus pæne sæculis*; and Socrates in Plato's *Theætetus* brings this argument against the pride of great and noble families, that they which mention a succession of their ancestors which have been rich and powerful, do it merely: *ὅτι ἀπαυδουσίας, οὐ δυναμένων εἰς τὸ πᾶν δεῖ βλέπειν, οὐδὲ λογίζεσθαι, ὅτι πάντων καὶ προγόνων μυριάδες ἐκάστῳ γεγένεσιν ἀναριθμητοί, ἐν αἷς πλοῦσι καὶ πτωχοί, καὶ βασιλεῖς καὶ δοῦλοι, βάρβαροι τε καὶ Ἕλληες πολλὰς μυρία γεγένεσιν ὁμοῦ* [Tom. II. p. 118. Edit. Bipont.], as if every person were

equally honourable, having innumerable ancestors, rich and poor, servants and kings, learned and barbarous.

² Origen did not only collect the eternity of the world from the co-existence of all God's attributes, as because he is *παντοκράτωρ* and *δημιουργός*, therefore he was always so; for how could he be *δημιουργός* *ἐν τῶν κρατουμένων*, or *παντοκράτωρ* *ἐν τῶν κρατουμένων*; but also from the ninetyeth psalm, *From everlasting to everlasting, thou art God. For a thousand years in thy sight are but as yesterday*; and that at the beginning of Ecclesiasticus, *Who can number the sand of the sea, and the drops of the rain, and the days of eternity!* But

pretations of the Scriptures; yet if we take a sober view, and make but rational collections from the chronology of the Sacred Writ, we shall find no man's pedigree very exorbitant, or in his line of generation descent of many score.

When the age of man was long, in the infancy of the world, we find ten generations extend to one thousand six hundred and fifty-six years, according to the shortest, which is thought, because the Hebrew, therefore the best account; according to the longest, which because the Septuagint's, is not to be contemned, two thousand two hundred and sixty-two, or rather two thousand two hundred and fifty-six. From the flood brought at that time upon the earth for the sins of men which polluted it, unto the birth of Abraham, the father of the faithful, not above ten generations, if so many, took up two hundred and ninety-two years according to the least, one thousand one hundred and thirty-two according to the largest account. Since which time the ages of men have been very much alike proportionably long; and it is agreed by all that there have not passed since the birth of Abraham three thousand and seven hundred years. Now by the experience of our families, which for their honour and greatness have been preserved, by the genealogies delivered in the Sacred Scriptures, and thought necessary to be presented to us by the blessed evangelists, by the observation and concurrent judgment of former ages, three generations¹ usually take up a 63

Methodius, bishop and martyr, hath well concluded that disputation: ταῦτά φησιν ὁ Ὀριγένης σπουδαίων, καὶ δὲ οἱ πατέρες.

¹ By the Greeks called *γενεαί*, which are successions of generations from father to son: as in St Matt. i. 17. Indeed sometimes they take it for other spaces of time: as Artemidorus [Lib. ii. c. 70.] observes, for seven years. Κατ' ἐπίλους μὲν ἐστὶν ἑπτὰ. ὅθεν καὶ λέγουσιν οἱ ἱατρικοὶ, τῶν δύο γενεῶν (not πρὸ τῶν, as Wolfius and Portus would correct it) μηδένα (not μὴ δὲν as Suidas) φλεβοτομεῖν, τὸν τεσσαρεσκαίδεκαετῆ (not τεσσαρεσκαίδεκατος, as Suidas transcribing him negligently) λέγουσιν. [Reiff reads λεγ. ἱατρ.; his text in other respects agreeing with the bishop's.] Sometimes

they interpret it twenty, twenty-five, or thirty years, as appears by Hesychius, [τῇ δὲ γενεᾷ ὑπάρχειται ἐτῶν οἱ μὲν κ', οἱ δὲ κέ', οἱ δὲ X.] And by that last account they reckoned the years of Nestor: Κατ' ἐπίλους δὲ X. ὅθεν καὶ τὸν Νέστορα βούλομαι εἰς ἐννεήκορτα ἐτη γεγονέναι. So Artemidorus and the Grammarians. Although I cannot imagine that to be the sense of Homer, *Il. A. 250.*

Τῷ δ' ἤδη δύο μὲν γενεαὶ μερόπων ἀνθρώπων Ἐφιδίω, οἱ οἱ πρόσθεν ἄμα τράφην ἢ δ' ἐγένοντο.

And I conceive that gloss in Hesychius, [on γενεά] Ἐπὶ διαστήματος χρόνων τῶν μὴ κατ' αὐτὸ βεβιωκότων, to be far more properly applicable to that place. But, in the sense of which we now speak, it is taken for the third

hundred years. If then it be not yet three thousand seven hundred years since the birth of Abraham, as certainly it is not; if all men which are or have been since have descended from Noah, as undoubtedly they have; if Abraham were but the tenth from Noah, as Noah from Adam, which Moses hath assured us: then is it not probable that any person now alive is above one hundred and thirty generations removed from Adam. And indeed thus admitting but the Greek account of less than five thousand years since the flood, we may easily bring all sober or probable accounts of the Egyptians, Babylonians, and Chinese, to begin since the dispersion at Babel. Thus having expressed at last the time so far as it is necessary to be known, I shall conclude this second consideration of the nature and notion of *creation*.

Now being under the terms of *heaven and earth*, we have proved all things beside God to be contained, and that the making of all these things was a clear production of them out of nothing; the third part of the explication must of necessity follow, that he which made all things is God. This truth is so evident in itself, and so confessed by all men, that none did ever assert the world was made, but withal affirmed that it was God who made it. There remaineth therefore nothing more in this particular, than to assert God so the Creator of the world as he is described in this article.

Being then we *believe in God the Father, maker of heaven and earth*, and by that God we expressed already a singularity of the Deity; our first assertion which we must make good is, that the one God did create the world. Again, being whosoever is that God, cannot be excluded from this act of creation, as being an emanation of the Divinity, and we seem by these words to appropriate it to the Father, beside whom we shall hereafter shew that we believe some other persons to be the same God; it will be likewise necessary to declare the reason why the *creation* of the world is thus signally attributed to God the Father.

The first of these deserves no explication of itself, it is so obvious to all which have any true conception of God. But

part ordinarily of a hundred years; as Herodotus, mentioning the Egyptian feigned genealogies: *Καίτοι τριηκόσια μὲν ἀνδρῶν γενεαὶ ὀφείλουται μύρια ἑρεα*: three hundred generations equal

ize ten thousand years: *γενεαὶ γὰρ τρεῖς ἀνδρῶν ἑκατὸν ἑρέα ἔστι. Euterp. c. 142.* And after him Clemens Alex. *Strom. l. i. c. 21. (p. 401. 16.)* *Εἰς τὰ ἑκατὸν ἑτη τρεῖς ἑκαταλέγονται γενεαί.*

because it hath been formerly denied (as there is nothing so senseless but some kind of heretics have embraced, and may be yet taken up in times of which we have no reason to presume better than of the former), I shall briefly declare the *creation* of the world to have been performed by that one God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Gen. I. 31.

As for the first, there is no such difference between things of the world, as to infer a diversity of makers of them, nor is the least or worst of creatures in their original, any way derogatory to the Creator. *God saw every thing that he had made, and behold it was very good*, and consequently like to come from the fountain of all goodness, and fit always to be ascribed to the same. Whatsoever is evil, is not so by the Creator's action, but by the creature's defection.

In vain then did the heretics of old, to remove a seeming 64 inconvenience, renounce a certain truth; and whilst they feared to make their own god evil', they made him partial, or but half the Deity, and so a companion at least with an evil god. For dividing all things of this world into nature substantially evil, and substantially good, and apprehending a necessity of an origination conformable to so different a condition, they imagined one God essentially good, as the first principle of the one, another god essentially evil, as the original of the other. And this strange heresy began upon the first spreading² of the Gospel; as if the greatest light could not appear without a shadow.

¹ 'Inde Manichæus, ut Deum a conditione malorum liberet, alterum mali inducit auctorem.' *S. Hier. in Nahum*, c. 3. [Tom. vi. p. 582 E.]

² For we must not look upon Manes as the first author of the heresy, though they which followed him were called from him Manichæans. Nor must we be satisfied with the relation of Socrates, [*Hist. Eccl.* i. 22. p. 45 D.] who allots the beginning of that heresy, *μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν Κωνσταντίνου χρόνων*, a little before Constantine; being Epiphanius asserts the first author of it, *σέλλεσθαι τὴν πορείαν ἐπὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα περὶ τοὺς χρόνους τῶν Ἀποστόλων*, to have gone to Jerusalem even about the Apostles' times. *Hæres.* lxvi. § 3. [Tom. i. p. 620 A.] Manes then,

formerly called Cubricus, (not Urbicus, as St Augustin,) who disseminated this heresy in the days of Aurelianus or Probus the emperor, about the year 277, had a predecessor, though not a master, called first Terebinthus, after Buddas. For this Buddas left his books and estate to a widow, who, saith Epiphanius, *ἰβιδ.* [p. 621 B.] *ἐμενε πολλὰ τῷ χρόνῳ οὕτως*, continued with his estate and books a long time, and at last bought Cubricus for her servant. This Buddas had a former master called Scythianus, the first author of this heresy. Beside these, between Scythianus and Cubricus there was yet another teacher of the doctrine, called Zaranes. *Ἦν δὲ πρὸ τούτου (Μέγιστος) καὶ ἕτερος τῆς κακίας διδάσκαλος ταύ-*

Whereas there is no nature originally sinful, no substance in itself evil, and therefore no being which may not come

της, Ζαρδης δνβουρι, δνδρων αβου δνδρων. If then we insert this Zaranes into the Manichæan pedigree, and consider the time of the widow between Buddas and Cubricus, and the age of Cubricus, who was then but seven years old, as Socrates testifies, [i. 22. p. 46 c.] when she resolved to buy him, and discover the heresy to him; there will be no reason to doubt of the relation of Epiphanius, that Scythianus began about the apostolical times. Nor need we any of the abatements in the animadversions of Petavius, much less that redargution of Epiphanius, who cites Origen as an assertor of the Christian faith against this heresy; for though he certainly died before Manes spread his doctrine, yet it was written in several books before him, not only in the time of Buddas, to whom Socrates and Suidas attribute them, but of Scythianus, whom St Cyril and Epiphanius make the author of them. Neither can it be objected that they were not Manichæans before the appearance of Manes; for I conceive the name of Manes (thought by the Greeks to be a name taken up by Cubricus, and proper to him) not to be any proper or peculiar name at all, but the general title of heretic in the Syriac tongue. For I am loath to think that Theodoret or the author in Suidas were so far mistaken, when they call Scythianus *Manes*, as to conceive Cubricus and he were the same person: when we may with much better reason conclude that both Scythianus and Cubricus had the same title. For I conceive *Manes* at first rather a title than a name, from the Hebrew מן or מנ signifying a *heretic*. And although some of the Rabbins derive their מן from *Manes*, yet others make it more ancient than he was, referring it to Tzadock and Bajethos, called זכרן *the first or chief heretics*, who lived one hundred years before Christ. Wherefore it is far more rational to assert, that he which began the heresy

of the Manichees was called מן as a heretic in the oriental tongues, and from thence Μδνς by the Greeks (to comply with *μαλα* or *madness* in their language), than that Μδνς was first the name of a man counted a heretic by the Christians; and then made the general name of all heretics, and particularly for the Christians by the Jews. Which being granted, both Scythianus and Cubricus might well at first have the name of Manes, that is, heretic. However, the antiquity of that heresy will appear in the Marcionites, who differed not in this particular from the Manichees. 'Duos Ponticus Deos adfert tanquam duas Symplegadas naufragii sui: quem negare non potuit, id est, creatorem, id est, nostrum; et quem probare non poterit, id est, suum. Passus infelix hujus præsumptionis instinctum, de simplici capitulo Dominice pronunciationis, in homines non in Deos disponentis exempla illa bonæ et malæ arboris, quod neque bona malos neque mala bonos proferat fructus.' *Tertull. adv. Marcion.* l. i. c. 2. [p. 431.] This Marcion lived in the days of Antoninus Pius, and as Eusebius testifieth, Justin Martyr wrote against him. *Hist.* l. iv. c. 11. [p. 101 c.] Irenæus relates how he spake with Polycarpus bishop of Smyrna, who was taught by the apostles, and conversed with divers which saw our Saviour, l. iii. c. 3. [p. 203. 15.] Neither was Marcion the first who taught it at Rome, for he received it from Cerdon. 'Habuit et Cerdonem quendam informatorem scandali hujus, quo facilius duos Deos [perspexisse se] cæci existimaverunt.' [Tertullian.] *adv. Marcion.* l. i. c. 2. [p. 431 c.] This Cerdon succeeded Heraclion, and so at last this heresy may be reduced to the Gnostics, who derived it from the old gentile philosophers, and might well be embraced by Manes in Persia, because it was the doctrine of the Persian Magi, as Aristotle testifieth. 'Αριστοτέλης ἐν πρώτῳ περὶ φιλοσοφίας καὶ πρῶτος

Isal. xiv. 7. from the same fountain of goodness. *I form the light, and create darkness; I make peace, and create evil; I the Lord do all these things*, saith he who also said, *I am the Lord, and there is none else, there is no god beside me*. Vain then is that conceit which framed two gods, one of them called Light, the other Darkness; one good, the other evil; refuted in the first words of the CREED, *I believe in God, maker of heaven and earth*.

But as we have already proved that one God to be the Father, so must we yet farther shew that one God the Father to be the Maker of the world. In which there is no difficulty at all: the whole Church at Jerusalem hath sufficiently declared this truth in their devotions: *Lord, thou art God which hast made heaven, and earth, and the sea, and all that in them is: against thy holy child Jesus, whom thou hast anointed, both Herod and Pontius Pilate with the Gentiles and the people of Israel were gathered together. Jesus then was the child of that God which made the heaven and the earth, and consequently the Father of Christ is the Creator of the world*. 65

We know that *Christ* is the light of the *Gentiles* by his own interpretation; we are assured likewise that his Father gave him, by his frequent assertion: we may then as certainly conclude that the Father of *Christ* is the Creator of the world, Acts iv. 24, 27. by the prophet's express prediction: For *Thus saith God the Lord, he that created the heavens, and stretched them out; he that spread forth the earth, and that which cometh out of it; I the Lord have called thee in righteousness, and will hold thine hand, and will keep thee, and give thee for a covenant of the people, for a light of the Gentiles*.

And now this great facility may seem to create the greater difficulty: for being the apostles teach us, that the Son made all things, and the prophets that by the Spirit they were produced, how can we attribute that peculiarly in the CREED unto the Father, which in the Scriptures is assigned indifferently to the Son and to the Spirit? Two reasons may

(τοὺς Μάνους) εἶναι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, καὶ δύο κατ' αὐτοὺς εἶναι ἀρχάς, ἀγαθὴν δαίμονα καὶ κακὴν δαίμονα. Laert. in Proemio, [§ 8. p. 6.] And this derivation is well observed by Timotheus,

presbyter of Constantinople, speaking thus of Manes: Παρὰ δὲ Μαρκῆνος καὶ τῶν πρὸ ἐκείνου αἰσχροποιῶν καὶ δυσσεβῶν καὶ τῶν κατὰ Περσίδα μάγων ἀφορμὰς λαβὼν δογματίζει δύο ἀρχάς.

particularly be rendered of this peculiar attributing the work of *creation* to the Father. First, in respect of those heresies arising in the infancy of the Church, which endeavoured to destroy this truth, and to introduce another Creator of the world, distinguished from the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. An error so destructive to the Christian religion, that it raseth even the foundations of the Gospel, which refers itself wholly to the promises in the Law, and pretends to no other god, but that God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob; acknowledgeth no other speaker by the Son, than him that spake by the prophets: and therefore whom Moses and the prophets call Lord of heaven and earth, of him our blessed Saviour signifies himself to be the Son, rejoicing in spirit, and saying, *I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth.* Luke x. 21. Secondly, in respect of the paternal priority in the Deity, by reason whereof that which is common to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, may be rather attributed to the Father, as the first person in the Trinity. In which respect the apostle hath made a distinction in the phrase of emanation or production: *To us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him.* 1 Cor. viii. 6. And our Saviour hath acknowledged, *The Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father do.* John v. 19. Which speaketh some kind of priority in action, according to that of the person. And in this sense the Church did always profess to believe in God the Father, Creator of heaven and earth¹.

The great necessity of professing our faith in this particular appeareth several ways, as indispensably tending to the illustration of God's glory, the humiliation of mankind, the provocation to obedience, the aversion from iniquity, and all consolation in our duty.

God is of himself infinitely glorious, because his perfections are absolute, his excellences indefective, and the splendour of this glory appeareth unto us in and through the works of his hands. *The invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the* Rom. i. 20.

¹ 'Stabat—fides semper in Creatore et Christo ejus.' *Tertull. adv. Marcion.* l. i. c. 21. [p. 444 D.] 'Non alia agnoscenda erit traditio Apostolorum,

quam quæ hodie apud ipsorum ecclesias editur. Nullam autem apostolici census ecclesiam invenias quæ non in Creatore christianizet.' *Ibid.* [p. 445 A.]

things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead. For He hath made the earth by his power, he hath established the world by his wisdom, and hath stretched out the heavens by his discretion. After a long enumeration of the wonderful works of the creation, the Psalmist breaketh forth into this

Jer. x. 12: 11. 15. *pious meditation, O Lord, how manifold are thy works! in wisdom hast thou made them all. If then the glory of God*

Psalm civ. 24. *be made apparent by the creation, if he have made all things for himself, that is, for the manifestation of his glorious* 66

Prov. xvi. 4 *attributes, if the Lord rejoiceth in his works, because his glory shall endure for ever, then is it absolutely necessary we should confess him Maker of heaven and earth, that we may sufficiently praise and glorify him. Let them praise the name of the Lord, saith David; for his name alone is excellent; his glory is above the earth and heaven. Thus did the Levites teach the children of Israel to glorify God; Stand up and bless the Lord your God for ever and ever: and blessed be thy glorious name, which is exalted above all blessing and praise. Thou, even thou, art Lord alone; thou hast made heaven, the heaven of heavens, with all their host, the earth, and all things that are therein. And the same hath St Paul taught us: For of him, and through him, and to him, are all things, to whom be glory for ever. Amen. Furthermore, that we may be assured that he which made both heaven and earth will be glorified in both, the prophet calls upon all those celestial hosts to bear their part in this hymn: Praise ye him, all his angels; praise ye him, all his hosts. Praise ye him, sun and moon; praise him, all ye stars of light. Praise him, ye heavens of heavens, and ye waters that be above the heavens. Let them praise the name of the Lord; for he commanded, and they were created. And the twenty-four elders in the Revelation of St John, fall down before him that sitteth on the throne, and worship him that liveth for ever and ever, and cast their crowns, the emblems of their borrowed and derived glories, before the throne, the seat of infinite and eternal majesty, saying, Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory, and honour, and power: for thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are and were created. Wherefore, if the heavens declare the glory of God, and all his works praise him, then shall his saints bless him, they shall speak of the glory of his kingdom, and talk of his power. And if man be silent, God will speak;*

Psalm civ. 31.

Psalm cxviii. 13.

Neh. ix. 5, 6.

Rom. xi. 36.

Psalm cxviii. 2-5.

Rev. iv. 10, 11.

Psalm xix. 1.

Psalm cxlv. 10, 11.

while we through ingratitude will not celebrate, he himself will declare it, and promulgate: *I have made the earth, the man and the beast that are upon the ground, by my great power, and by my outstretched arm.* Jer. xxvii. 5.

Secondly, The doctrine of the world's *creation* is most properly effectual towards man's humiliation. As there is nothing more destructive to humanity than pride, and yet not anything to which we are more prone than that; so nothing can be more properly applied to abate the swelling of our proud conceptions, than a due consideration of the other works of God, with a sober reflection upon our own original. *When I consider the heavens, the work of thy fingers, the moon and the stars which thou hast ordained;* Psalm. viii. 3.

when I view those glorious apparent bodies with my eye, and by the advantage of a glass find greater numbers, before beyond the power of my sight, and from thence judge there may be many millions more, which neither eye nor instrument can reach; when I contemplate those far more glorious spirits, the inhabitants of the heavens, and attendants on thy throne: I cannot but break forth into that admiration of the prophet, *What is man, that thou art mindful of him? What is that offspring of the earth, that dust and ashes? What is that son of man, that thou visitest him?* Psalm. viii. 4.

What is there in the progeny of an ejected and condemned father, that thou shouldest look down from heaven, the place of thy dwelling, and take care or notice of him? But if our original ought so far to humble us, how should our fall abase us? That of all the creatures which God made, we should comply with him who first opposed his Maker, and would be equal unto him from whom he new received his being. All other works of God, which we think inferior to us, because not furnished with the light of understanding, or endued with the power of election, are in a happy impossibility of sinning, and so offending of their Maker: the glorious spirits which attend upon the throne of God, once in a condition of themselves to fall, now by the grace of God preserved, and placed beyond
 67 all possibility of sinning, are entered upon the greatest happiness, of which the workmanship of God is capable: but men, the sons of fallen Adam, and sinners after the similitude of him, of all the creatures are the only companions of those *angels which left their own habitation, and are delivered into* Jude ver. 6.

2 Pet. ii. 4. *chains of darkness to be reserved unto judgment.* How should a serious apprehension of our own corruption, mingled with the thoughts of our creation, humble us in the sight of him, whom we alone of all the creatures by our unrepented sins drew unto repentance? How can we look without confusion of face upon that monument of our infamy, recorded by Gen. vi. 6. *Moses, who first penned the original of humanity, It repented the Lord that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart.*

Thirdly, This doctrine is properly efficacious and productive of most cheerful and universal obedience. It made the prophet call for the commandments of God, and earnestly desire to know what he should obey. *Thy hands have made me and fashioned me: give me understanding that I may learn thy commandments.* By virtue of our first production, God hath undeniably absolute dominion over us, and consequently there must be due unto him the most exact and complete obedience from us. Which reason will appear more convincing, if we consider of all the creatures which have been derived from the same fountain of God's goodness, none ever disobeyed his voice but the devil and man. *Mine hand, saith he, hath laid the foundation of the earth, and my right hand hath spanned the heavens; when I call unto them they stand up together.* The most loyal and obedient servants which stand continually before the most illustrious prince are not so ready to receive and execute the commands of their sovereign lord, as all the hosts of heaven and earth to attend upon the will of their Creator. *Lift up your eyes on high, and behold who hath created these things, that bringeth out their hosts by number: he calleth them all by names, by the greatness of his might, for that he is strong in power, not one faileth, but every one maketh his appearance, ready pressed to observe the designs of their commander-in-chief.* Thus the Lord commanded and *they fought from heaven, the stars in their courses fought against Sisera.* He commanded the ravens to feed *Elías, and they brought him bread and flesh in the morning, and bread and flesh in the evening;* and so one prophet lived merely upon the obedience of the fowls of the air. He spake to the devouring whale, and *it vomited out Jonah upon the dry land;* and so another prophet was delivered from the jaws of death by the obedience of the fishes of the sea. Do we not read of

fire and hail, snow and vapours, stormy wind, fulfilling his word? Shall there be a greater coldness in man than in the snow? More vanity in us than in a vapour? More inconsistency than in the wind? If the universal obedience of the creature to the will of the Creator cannot move us to the same affection and desire to serve and please him, they will all conspire to testify against us and condemn us, when God shall call unto them saying, *Hear, O heavens, and give ear, O earth, for the Lord hath spoken: I have nourished and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me.* Psalm cxlviii. 8. Isai. i. 2.

Lastly, The creation of the World is of most necessary meditation for the consolation of the servants of God in all the variety of their conditions. *Happy is he whose hope is in the Lord his God, which made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that therein is.* This happiness consisteth partly in a full assurance of his power to secure us, his ability to satisfy us. *The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof, the world and they that dwell therein. For he hath founded it upon the seas, and established it upon the floods.* By virtue of the first production he hath a perpetual right unto, and power to dispose of, all things; and he, which can order and dispose of all, must necessarily be esteemed able to secure and satisfy any creature. *Hast thou not known, hast thou not heard, that the everlasting God, the Lord, the Creator of the ends of the earth, fainteth not, neither is weary?* There is no external resistance or opposition where Omnipotency worketh, no internal weakness or defection of power where the Almighty is the agent; and consequently there remaineth a full and firm persuasion of his ability in all conditions to preserve us. Again, this happiness consisteth partly in a comfortable assurance, arising from this meditation, of the will of God to protect and succour us, of his desire to preserve and bless us. *My help cometh from the Lord, who made heaven and earth: he will not suffer thy foot to be moved,* saith the prophet David; at once expressing the foundation of his own expectancy and our security. *God will not despise the work of his hands,* neither will he suffer the rest of his creatures to do the least injury to his own image. *Behold (saith he), I have created the smith that bloweth the coals in the fire, and that bringeth forth an instrument for his work.* No Psalm cxlvi. 6, 7. Psalm xxiv. 1, 2. Isai. xl. 28. Job x. 3. Isai. liv. 16, 17.

weapon that is formed against thee shall prosper. This is the heritage of the servants of the Lord.

Wherefore, to conclude our explication of the first Article, and to render a clear account of the last part thereof; that every one may understand what it is I intend, when I make confession of my faith in the *Maker of Heaven and Earth*, I do truly profess, that I really believe, and am fully persuaded, that both heaven and earth and all things contained in them have not their being of themselves, but were made in the beginning; that the manner by which all things were made was by mediate or immediate creation; so that antecedently to all things beside, there was at first nothing but God, who produced most part of the World merely out of nothing, and the rest out of that which was formerly made of nothing. This I believe was done by the most free and voluntary act of the will of God, of which no reason can be alleged, no motive assigned, but his goodness; performed by the determination of his will at that time which pleased him, most probably within one hundred and thirty generations of men, most certainly within not more than six, or at farthest seven, thousand years. I acknowledge this God, Creator of the World, to be the same God who is the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ: and in this full latitude, I BELIEVE IN GOD THE FATHER ALMIGHTY, MAKER OF HEAVEN AND EARTH.

ARTICLE II.

AND IN JESUS CHRIST, HIS ONLY SON, OUR LORD.

THE second Article of the CREED presents unto us, as the object of our faith, the second person of the blessed Trinity; that as in the Divinity there is nothing intervening between the Father and the Son, so that immediate union might be perpetually expressed by a constant conjunction in our Christian confession. And that upon no less authority than of *the* Heb. xii. 2. *Author and Finisher of our Faith* who in the persons of the apostles gave this command to us, *Ye believe in God, believe* John xiv. 1. *also in me.* Nor speaketh he this of himself, but from the Father which sent him: for *this is his commandment, that we* 1 John iii. 23. *should believe on the name of his Son Jesus Christ.* According therefore to the Son's prescription, the Father's injunction, and the sacramental institution, as we are baptized, so do we¹ believe in the name of the Father, and the Son.

Our blessed Saviour is here represented under a threefold description: first, by his nomination, as *Jesus Christ*; secondly, by his generation, as the *only Son* of God; thirdly, by his dominion, as *our Lord*.

69 But when I refer *Jesus Christ* to the nomination of our Saviour, because he is in the Scriptures promiscuously and indifferently sometimes called *Jesus*, sometimes *Christ*, I would be understood so as not to make each of them equally, or in like propriety, his name. *His name was called Jesus, which* Luke ii. 21. *was so named of the angel before he was conceived in the womb: who is also called Christ,* not by² name, but by office Matt. i. 16.

¹ 'Eadem regula veritatis docet nos credere post Patrem etiam in Filium Dei, Christum Jesum, Dominum Deum nostrum, sed Dei Filium; hujus Dei qui et unus et solus est, conditor scilicet rerum omnium.' *Novat. de Trin.* c. 9. [Init p. 293, col. 1 A.] [Dr Burton observes, that the Eastern Creeds read *and in one Jesus Christ*, which was probably directed against the Gnostics, who made Jesus and Christ to be two distinct persons.]

² 'Si tamen nomen est *Christus*, et non appellatio potius; *Uctus* enim

significatur. Uctus autem non magis nomen est, quam vestitus, quam calceatus, accidens nomini res.' *Tertull. adv. Prax.* c. 28. [p. 660 D.] 'Quorum nominum alterum est proprium, quod ab Angelo impositum est; alterum accidens, quod ab unctione convenit.' *Ibid.* '*Christus* commune dignitatis est nomen: *Jesus* proprium vocabulum Salvatoris.' *S. Hieron. in Matt.* xvi. 20. (Tom. vii. p. 125 C.) '*Jesus* inter homines nominatur; nam *Christus* non proprium nomen est, sed nuncupatio potestatis et regni.' *Lac-*

and title. Which observation, seemingly trivial, is necessary for the full explication of this part of the Article: for by this distinction we are led unto a double notion, and so resolve our faith into these two propositions, 'I believe there *was* and is a man, whose name *was* actually, and is truly in the most high importance, *Jesus*, the Saviour of the world.' 'I believe the man who bare that name to be the *Christ*, that is, the *Messias* promised of old by God, and expected by the Jews.'

For the first, it is undoubtedly the proper name of our Saviour, given unto him, according to the custom of the Jews, at his circumcision: and as the Baptist was called *John*, even so the Christ was called *Jesus*. Beside, as the imposition was after the vulgar manner, so was the name itself of ordinary use. We read in the Scriptures of *Jesus which was called Justus*, a fellow-worker with St Paul; and 'of a certain sorcerer, a Jew, whose name was¹ *Bar-jesus*, that is, the son of Jesus. Josephus, in his History, mentioneth one Jesus the son of Ananus, another the son of Saphates, a third the son of Judas, slain in the temple: and many of the high-priests, or priests, were called by that name; as the son of Damnaeus, of Gamaliel, of Onias, of Phabes, and of Thebuth. Ecclesiasticus is called the Wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach, and that Sirach the son of another Jesus. St Stephen speaks of the *tabernacle of witness brought in with Jesus into the possession of the Gentiles*; and the Apostle in his explication of those words of David, *To-day if ye will hear his voice*, observeth that, *if Jesus had given them rest, then would he not afterward have spoken of another day*. Which two Scriptures being undoubtedly understood of Joshua, the son of Nun, teach us as infallibly that *Jesus* is the same name

Col. iv. 11.

Acts xiii. 6.

Acts vii. 44,
45.1st Pet. xcv. 7.1st Heb. iv. 8.

tan. de ver. Sap. [Institut.] l. iv. c. 7. [Tom. i. p. 367.] 'Dum dicitur *Christus*, commune nomen dignitatis est; dum *Jesus Christus*, proprium vocabulum Salvatoris est.' *Isidor.* [*Hieronymensis*] *Orig.* l. vii. c. 2. 'Ἰησοῦς καλεῖται φερωνόμος. *S. Cyril. Catech.* 10. [p. 201.] [ἐκ τῆς σωτηριώδους ἰδέσεως ἔχων τὴν προσηγορίαν, appearing to refer to a *Greek* etymology of the name. 'Ἰησοῦς δὲ Χριστὸς καλεῖται διωνόμος: Ἰησοῦς διὰ τὸ σώζειν' Χρισ-

τὸς δὲ τῷ ἱερατεῖ. *Cyrl. Cat.* x. p. 206. Again, 'Ἰησοῦς τοῖον ἐστὶ κατὰ μὲν Ἑβραίους σωτήρ, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν, ὁ λώμενος' ἐπειδὴ ἱατρός ἐστι ψυχῶν καὶ σωμάτων, καὶ θεραπευτὴς πνευμάτων. *Cyrl. Cat.* x. p. 209.]

¹ 'Habuit et Judæa quosdam *Jesus*, quorum vacuis gloriatur vocabulis. Illa enim nec lucent, nec pascent, nec medentur.' *Bernard.* in *Cambr. Serm.* xv. [Fol. 132 H. 17.]

with Joshua. Which being at the first¹ imposition in the full extent of pronunciation *Jehoshua*, in process of time contracted to *Jeshua*, by the omission of the last letter (strange and difficult to other languages), and the addition of the Greek termination, became *Jesus*.

Wherefore it will be necessary, for the proper interpretation of *Jesus*, to look back upon the first that bare that name, who was the son of Nun, of the tribe of Ephraim, the successor of Moses, and so named by him, as it is written, *and Moses called Oshea, the son of Nun, Jehoshua*. His

first name, then, imposed at his circumcision, was *Oshea*, or *Hoseah*, the same with the name of the son of *Azaziah*, ruler of Ephraim, of the son of *Elah*, king of Israel, of the son of *Beer*, the prophet: and the interpretation of this

70 first name *Hoseah*² is *Saviour*. Now we must not imagine this to be³ no mutation, neither must we look upon it as a total⁴

¹ First יְהוֹשׁוּעַ as generally in the books of Moses, in Joshua, Judges, Samuel, the Kings, yea, even in Haggai and Zechariah: then contracted into יְשׁוּעַ , as in the 1 Chron. xxiv. 11. 2 Chron. xxxi. 15, and constantly in Ezra and Nehemiah. Next the last letter י was but lightly pronounced, as appears by the Greek translation, 1 Chron. vii. 27, where יְשׁוּעַ is rendered in the Roman and Alexandrian copies 'Ιησοῦ, in the Aldus and Complutensian editions 'Ιωσή, and by Eusebius, [Dem. Evang. iv. 17, p. 200 A.] who expresseth it truer than those copies, 'Ιωσοῦ. At last י was totally left out both in the pronunciation and the writing, and the whole name of Joshua contracted to יְשׁוּעַ .

² 'Osee in lingua nostra *Salvatorem* sonat, quod nomen habuit etiam Josue filius Nun, antequam ei a Deo vocabulum mutaretur.' S. Hier. in Osee, cap. i. [Tom. vi. p. i. B.] et Lib. i. adv. Jovinianum, col. 474. [Lib. i. § 21. Tom. ii. p. 270 A.] I read indeed of other interpretations among the Greeks, no good expositors of the Hebrew names: as in an ancient MS. of the LXX. Translation of the Prophets, now in the library of Cardinal Barberini, at the beginning of Hosea, 'Ωσηέ, λυτουμενος, and again,

'Ωσηέ, σωσωμενος, ἢ συσκιδω. (Of which the first and last are far from the original: and the middle agreeable with the root, not with the conjugation, as being deduced from יָרַח not in Niphal, but in Hiphil.) And in another MS. of the Prophets in the King's Library at St James's, 'Ωσηέ, σκιδω, ἢ φύλαξ, and again, 'Ωσηέ, ἐρμηνεύεται σωζόμενος, which is the interpretation inserted into Hesychius; in whom for 'Ωσηρ we must read 'Ωσηέ: and so I suppose Salmasius intended it, though the Holland edition hath made his emendation 'Ωρεέ.

³ As the Samaritan Pentateuch makes it the same name, which he was first named, and which he had afterwards; as if Moses had only called *Oshea*, *Oshea*.

⁴ So Justin Martyr speaks of Hosea as μετονομασθέντος τῷ 'Ιησοῦ ὀνόματι. [ὁ ἐπονομασθεὶς τῷ 'Ιησοῦ ὀνόματι. Dialog. p. 300. (301. 10. Thirlby).] And comparing it with that alteration of Jacob's name: τὸ ἐπώνυμον 'Ιακώβ τῷ 'Ισραὴλ ἐπεκλήθητι ἐδόθη, καὶ τῷ Ἀδὰμ ὄνομα 'Ιησοῦς ἐτεκλήθη [p. 333. (365. 35. Thirlby),] where, to pass by his mistake in supposing him first named Israel, and after called Jacob, he makes the alteration of Hosea to Joshua equal to

alteration, but observe it as a change not trivial or inconsiderable¹. And being Hoseah was a name afterwards used by some, and *Jehoshua*, as distinct, by others, it will necessarily follow, there was some difference between these two names; and it will be fit to inquire what was the addition, and in what the force of the alteration doth consist.

First, therefore, we observe that all the original letters in the name *Hoseah*² are preserved in that of *Joshua*; from whence it is evident, that this alteration was not made by a verbal mutation, as when *Jacob* was called *Israel*, nor by any literal change, as when *Sarai* was named *Sarah*, nor yet by diminution or mutilation; but by addition, as when *Abram* was called *Abraham*. Secondly, it must be confessed that there is but one literal addition, and that of that letter which is most frequent in the Hebrew names: but being thus solemnly added by Moses, upon so remarkable an occasion as the viewing of the land of Canaan was, and that unto a name

that of Jacob to Israel. *Dial. cum Tryph.* p. 300. 334. 338. 340. The reason whereof was the Greek version of the name, who for Hoseah translated it Ἀδσῆς ἐπωνόμασε Μωυσῆς τὸν Ἀδσῆ υἱὸν Ναυῆ, Ἰησοῦν. *Numb.* xiii. 16. 'Dum Moysei successor destinaretur Auses filius Nave, transfertur certe de pristino nomine, et incipit vocari Jesus.' *Tertull. adv. Jud.* c. 9. [p. 218.] et *adv. Marcion.* l. iii. c. 16. [p. 491.] 'Igitur Moyses his administratis, Ausem quendam nomine præponens populo, qui eos revocaret ad patriam terram.' *Clem. Rom.* l. i. *Recogn.* § 38. [p. 502.] 'Qui cum primum Ausens vocaretur, Moses futura præsentibus jussit eum Jesum vocari.' *Laetan. de Vera Sap.* l. iv. c. 17. [Tom. i. p. 404.] Οὐ πρότερον γούν (Μωϋσῆς) τὸν αὐτοῦ διάδοχον τῇ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ κεκρημένον προσηγορίᾳ, ὀνόματι δὲ ἐτέρῳ τῷ Ἀδσῇ, ὅτερ οἱ γεννησάντες αὐτῷ τέθενται, καλούμενον, Ἰησοῦν αὐτὸς ἀναγορεύει, *Euseb. Eccl. Hist.* l. i. c. 3. [p. 7 D.] Thus was the *Hosea* something disguised by *Auses*, and was farther estranged yet by those which frequently called him *Ναυσῆς*, as *Euseb. Demonstr. Evang.* l. v. c. 17. thrice.

¹ This Justin Martyr charges upon

the Jews as neglected by them, and affirms the reason why they received not Jesus for the Christ, was their not observing the alteration of *Hosea*, into *Josua* or *Jesus*: Ἀδσῆν καλούμενον — Ἰησοῦν Μωσῆς ἐκάλεισε, τοῦτο σὺ οὐ ζῆτεῖς· δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ἐποίησε, οὐκ ἀπορεῖς, οὐδὲ φιλοπευστεῖς, τοιγαροῦν λέληθῃ σε ὁ Χριστός, καὶ ἀναγιγνώσκων οὐ συνίης. *Dial. cum Tryph.* p. 340. [377. 11. Thirlby.] And whereas they spake much of the change made in the names of Abram and Sarai, which were but of a letter, they took no notice of this total alteration of the name; so he: Διὰ τί μὲν ἐν ἀλφα πρώτῳ προσετέθη τῷ Ἀβραὰμ ὀνόματι θεολογείς, καὶ διὰ τί ἐν βῶ τῷ Σάρρας ὀνόματι ὁμοίως κομπολογεῖς; διὰ τί δὲ τὸ πατρόθεν ὄνομα τῷ Ἀδσῇ τῷ υἱῷ Ναυῆ δλον μετωνόμασται τῷ Ἰησοῦ, οὐ ζητεῖς; *ibid.* Where, to pass by the vulgar mistake of the Greeks, who generally deliver the addition of a in the name of Abraham, and p in the name of Sarah, when the first was an addition of π, the second a change of α into π, he would make that of *Hosea* into *Jesus* a far more considerable alteration than that of *Abraham*, or of *Sarah*.

² Ἰωϋστῆ Ἰωϋστῆ

already known, and after used; it cannot be thought to give any less than a present¹ designation of his person to be a Saviour of the people, and future certainty of salvation, included in his name unto the Israelites by his means. Thirdly, though the number of the letters be augmented actually but to one, yet it is not improbable that another may be virtually added, and in the signification understood. For being the first letter of *Hoseah* will not endure a duplication, and if the same letter were to be added, one of them must be absorbed; it is possible another of the same might be by Moses intended, and one of them suppressed. If then unto the name *Hoseah* we join one of the titles of God, which is *Jah*, there will result from both, by the custom of that Hebrew tongue, *Jehoshua*, and so not only the instrumental², but also the

¹ For it may well be thought that ' is added to make the name ירשע the same with the third person of the future in Hiphil, ירשע. For although ה the characteristic letter of the conjugation Hiphil be excluded in the future tense, and so the regular word be ירשע frequently in use; yet sometimes it is expressed, as it is used, 1 Sam. xvii. 47. לא בחרב ובחזק ירשע ירשע. And all the assembly shall know that the Lord saveth (or will save) not with sword and spear: and Psal. cxvi. 6. ירשע לי ירשע I was brought low, and he helped me. And although there be another ' in the future than in the name, yet being it is also found sometimes with the lesser Chiric, and so without the latter ', or without any Chiric at all, as frequently with the addition of י, ירשע, there is no reason, but ירשע, the name of the son of Nun, may be of the same force, as consisting of the same letters with the third person of the future in Hiphil. Again, being ' added to the future, as formative thereof, stands in the place of י (for the avoiding of confusion with י conjunctive), which is nothing else than the abbreviation of יהוה, we may well assign at least this emphasis to the mutation which Moses made: that whereas before there was nothing but salvation barely in his name, now there is no less than *he shall save*, in which

the יהוה or ' is a peculiar designation of the person, and the shall or tense a certainty of the futuration. Thus will the design of Moses appear to be nothing else but a prediction or confirmation of that which was not before, but by way of desire or omination; and this only by changing the imperative into the future, ירשע, *serva*, the expectation of the people, into ירשע *servabit*, the ratification of Moses.

² So did the ancients understand it: to the Greeks *Jesus* is σωτήριον Θεοῦ, to the Latina, *Salvator Dei*. So Eusebius *Demonstr. Evang.* l. iv. ad finem. [c. 17, p. 199 D.] 'Επει δὲ σωτήριον Θεοῦ εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα φωτὴν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ μεταληφθὲν ὄνομα σημαίνει. Ἰησοῦ μὲν γὰρ παρ' Ἑβραίων σωτήρια, υἱὸς δὲ Ναυῆ παρὰ τοῖς αὐτοῖς Ἰωσούε ὀνομάζεται. Ἰωσούε δὲ ἐστὶν Ἰαὼ σωτήρια, τοῦτ' ἐστι, Θεοῦ σωτήριον. Where nothing can be more certain than that Ἰαὼ is taken for the name of God, and Ἰαὼ σωτήρια, together the salvation of God. And yet Theophylact has strangely mistaken it, Matt. i. 1. [p. 4 A.] Τὸ Ἰησοῦς ὄνομα οὐχ Ἑλληνικόν ἐστίν, ἀλλ' Ἑβραϊκόν, ἐμμενέται δὲ σωτήρ, Ἰαὼ γὰρ ἡ σωτήρια παρ' Ἑβραίων λέγεται which words seem plainly to signify that *Jesus* is interpreted *Saviour*, because Ἰαὼ in the Hebrew tongue signifieth *salvation*. I confess the words may be

original cause of the Jews' deliverance will be found expressed in one word: as if Moses had said, 'This is the person by whom God will save his people from their enemies.'

Now being we have thus declared that *Jesus* is the same ⁷¹ name with *Josuah*, being the name of *Josuah* was first imposed by divine designation, as a certain prediction of the fulfilling to the Israelites, by the person which bare the name, all which was signified by the name; being *Jesus* was likewise named by a more immediate imposition from heaven, even by the ministration of an angel: it followeth, that we believe he was infallibly designed by God to perform unto the sons of men whatsoever is implied in his nomination. As therefore in *Hoseah* there was expressed salvation, in *Josuah* at least was added the designation of that single person to save, with certainty of preservation, and probably even the name of God, by whose appointment and power he was made a Saviour; so shall we find the same in *Jesus*. In the first salutation, the angel Gabriel told the blessed Virgin, she should *conceive in her womb, and bring forth a son, and should call his name Jesus*. In the dream of Joseph the angel of the Lord informed him not only of the nomination, but of the interpretation or etymology¹; *thou shalt call his name Jesus; for he shall save his people from their sins*. In which words is clearly expressed the designation of the person *He*, and the futurity

Luke i. 31.

Matt. i. 21.

strained to the same sense with those of Eusebius, but not without some force, and contrary to what he seemeth to intend. Especially considering those which followed him in the same mistake, as Moschopolus *περὶ σχεδῶν*, p. 6. [p. 7.] *Ἰησοῦς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰαὼ γίνεσθαι, ὁ δηλοῖ παρ' Ἑβραίων τὴν σωτηρίαν*. Whereas *Ἰαὼ* in Eusebius is certainly no other than *יהוה*, and *Ἰσοῦς* than *ישוע*, and so *Ἰωσοῦς* contracted of *Ἰαὼ Ἰσοῦς*, the salvation of God. Nor is this only the opinion of Eusebius, but of St Hierom, a man much better acquainted with the Hebrew language; who on the first chapter of *Hosea*, shewing that *Josua* had first the same name with that of the prophet, saith: 'Non enim (ut male in Græciis codicibus legitur et Latinis) *Ause* dictus est, quod nihil omnino intelligitur, sed *Osee*, id est,

Salvator: et additum est ejus nomini Dominus, ut Salvator Domini diceretur.' *Comment. in Osee*, c. i. 1. col. 9. [Tom. vi. p. 1 c.] What then was it but *יהוה* the *Dominus* added to his name? For as in the name of *Esaias*, St Hierom acknowledgeth the addition of the name of God: 'Interpretatur autem *Esaias*, *Salvator* [*Salvatus*] *Domini*.' *Comment. in Is.* c. i. 1. col. 2. [Tom. iv. p. 11 D.] in the same manner did he conceive it in the name of *Josua*, only with this difference, that in the one it begins, in the other concludes the name.

¹ *Jesus* Hebræo *Sermone Salvator* dicitur. Etymologiam ergo nominis ejus Evangelista signavit, dicens, *Vocabis nomen ejus Jesum, quia ipse salvum faciet populum suum.* *S. Hier. Comment. in Matt.* c. i. 21. col. 587. [Tom. vii. p. 13 B.]

of salvation certain by him, *He shall save*. Beside, that other addition of the name of God, propounded in *Josuah* as probable, appeareth here in some degree above probability, and that for two reasons. First, Because it is not barely said that *He*, but, as the original raiseth it, *He himself shall save*¹. *Josuah* saved Israel not by his own power, not of himself, but God by him; neither saved he his own people, but the people of God: whereas *Jesus* himself, by his own power, the power of God, shall save his own people, the people of God. Well therefore may we understand the interpretation of his name to be *God the Saviour*. Secondly, Immediately upon the prediction of the name of *Jesus*, and the interpretation given by the angel, the evangelist expressly observeth, *All this was done*, Matt. i. 23, 23. *that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet, saying, Behold, a virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son, and they shall call his name Emmanuel, which being interpreted is, God with us*. Several ways have been invented to shew the fulfilling of that prophecy, notwithstanding our Saviour was not called *Emmanuel*; but none can certainly appear more proper, than that the sense of *Emmanuel* should be comprehended in the name of *Jesus*: and what else is *God with us*, than *God our Saviour*? Well therefore hath the evangelist conjoined² the prophet and the angel, asserting *Christ* was therefore named *Jesus*, because it was foretold he should be called *Emmanuel*, the angelical *God the Saviour* being in the highest propriety the prophetic *God with us*.

However, the constant Scripture interpretation of this name is *Saviour*. So said the angel of the Lord to the amazed shepherds, *Unto you is born this day in the city of David a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord*. Luke ii. 11. So St Paul to the Jews ⁷² and Gentile proselytes at Antioch, *Of this man's seed hath* Acts xiii. 23. *God, according to his promise, raised unto Israel a Saviour, Jesus*. Which explication of this sacred name was not more new or strange unto the world, than was the name itself so often used before. For the ancient Grecians usually gave it at first as a title to their gods³, whom after any remarkable

¹ Ἀυτός, ἑρσε.

² Βλέπετε ἱσαΐθμον εὐαγγελιστοῦ καὶ προφήτου ῥήσεις, μεθερμηνεύμενον γὰρ τὸ μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ Θεός, ὃ ἐστὶ σωτήρ ἡ λαοῦ, τὸ μετὰ δούλων δεσπότην ἐμφιλοχερεῖν. *Andreas Cretensis in*

Circumc. p. 30. ed. Combef. 1644.

[p. 109 B.]

³ Jupiter, the chief of them, was most usually worshipped under this title. Euripides makes *Amphitryo* sitting by his altar, which *Hercules*

preservations they styled *saviours*, and under that notion built temples, and consecrated altars to them. Nor did they rest

had built: Βωμὸν καθίζω τόνδε Σωτήρος Διός. *Herc. Fur.* 48. And Aristophanes introduces Bacchus swearing Νῆ τὸν Δία τὸν Σωτήρα, *Plut.* 878. as if it were the familiar oath among the Athenians, as well it might be, he having his temple in their Piræum, as Strabo testifieth, l. ix. p. 606. al. 396. (where Demosthenes by virtue of a decree was to build him an altar. *Plut. in Vit. Demosth.* § κς'.) [26. Tom. iv. p. 435. Bryant.] and his porch in the city, which was called indeed vulgarly τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου Διὸς στοά, yet was it also named τοῦ Σωτήρος, as Harpocration and Hesychius have observed. "Ὅτι δὲ ἐπιγέγραπται μὲν Σωτήρ, ὀνομάζεται δὲ καὶ Ἐλευθέριος, δηλοῖ καὶ Μένανδρος" so the first. Τῶν Μῆδων ἐκφυγόντες ἰδρύσαντο τὸν Ἐλευθέριον Δία, τοῦτον δὲ ἔνιοι καὶ Σωτήρ᾽ αἶσι" so the latter. [on Ἐλευθέριος.] As in their oaths, so in their feasts they mentioned him always at the third cup. Τὸν μὲν πρῶτον Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου καὶ Θεῶν Ὀλυμπίων ἔλεγον, τὸν δὲ δεύτερον ἡρώων, τὸν δὲ τρίτον Σωτήρος, sub. Διός" which is omitted in Hesychius, as appears out of Athenæus, l. ii. c. 2. [p. 39 D.] and xv. c. 5. [p. 675 O.] τῷ δὲ μετὰ δέκτον κεκραμένῳ πρῶτῳ προσδοκόμενῳ ποτηρίῳ Δία Σωτήρα ἐπιλέγουσι. And especially that of Alexis the comedian:

'Ἄλλ' ἔρχεον
Αὐτὴ Διὸς γε τήνδε Σωτήρος" θεῶν
Θνητοῖς ἀπάντων χρησιμώτατος πολὺ
Ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ Σωτήρ.

Athen. l. xv. c. 14. [p. 693 A.]

Pausanias in *Corinthiacis*, [c. 20. p. 156. c. 31. p. 186.] *Messenias*, [c. 21. p. 271. c. 31. p. 357.] *Laconicis et Arcadicis*, [c. 8. p. 616. c. 30. p. 664.] mentions several statues and temples anciently dedicated to Jupiter, ἐπικλήσιν Σωτήρι. (Of which title Cornutus in his book *De natura Deorum* gives this account: Κατὰ τὸν γαστήρα ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ σώζειν ἄ γενεᾷ, καὶ τοῦ Διὸς ἐντεῦθεν Σωτήρος εἶναι λεγόμενον.) [This reference is not in the 3rd edition.] And though this title was so generally

given to Jupiter, as that Hesychius expounds Σωτήρ, ὁ Ζεὺς, yet was it likewise attributed to the other gods: as Herodotus relates how the Grecians in their naval war against the Persians made their vows Ποσειδέωνι Σωτήρι, and that they preserved the title to Neptune in his days, l. vii. c. 192. And Artemidorus takes notice that Castor and Pollux are taken for the Θεοὶ Σωτήρες, whom the poem, bearing the name of Orpheus to Musæus, calls, v. 21.

Μεγάλους σωτήρας, ὁμοῦ Διὸς ἀφῄτα τέκνα.
as the hymn of Homer, v. 6.

Σωτήρας τέκε παῖδας ἐπιχρονίον ἀνθρώπων,
Ἄκνπέρων τε νεῶν—
and Theocritus in the *Idyllion* on them, [*Idyl.* xxii. 6.]

Ἀνθρώπων σωτήρας ἐπὶ θυρῷ ἔδω ἔόντων.

Hence Lucian in *Alexandro* [Tom. i. p. 748.] useth it as their constant title, ἀλεξίκακος Ἡράκλεις, καὶ Ζεὺ ἀποτρόπαιε, καὶ Διόσκουροι σωτήρες. Neither have we mention of the title only, but of the original and occasion of it. For when Castor and Pollux thrust the sons of Theseus out of Athens, and made Menestheus king, he gave them first this name: διὰ ταῦτα πρῶτος ὁ Μενεσθεὺς ἀνακτὰς τε καὶ σωτήρας ὠνόμασε. *Ælian. Var. Hist.* l. 4. c. 5. [Tom. i. p. 315.] Beside these, we read in the ancient inscriptions: Ἀσκληπιῷ Θεῷ Σωτήρι and again: Ἀσκληπιῷ καὶ Ὑγείᾳ Σωτήρσι. For as they had their female deities, so did they attribute this title to their goddesses, and that both in the masculine and the feminine gender. As to Venus, Ἀφροδίτῃ Θεῇ Παναγίδι καὶ Σωτήρι to Diana, Ἀρτέμιδι Σωτείρι, as the same collection of inscriptions hath it. Thus Pherecrates, Ἡγούμεθα τῆς πόλεως εἶναι ταύτας Σωτήρας, and Sophocles, Τύχῃ γε τῷ Σωτήρι. *Æd. Tyr.* 80. Thus the epigram extant in Suidas, [in voce κλήρος.]

Φωσφόρος, ὃ Σώτειρ', ἐπὶ Παλλὰδος ἱσταί
κλήρων,
Ἀρτεμι—

with their mistaken piety, but made it stoop unto their baser flattery, calling those men their *saviours*¹ for whom they seemed to have as great respect and honour as for their gods.

Nor does it always signify so much as that it may not be attributed to man: for even in the Scriptures the Judges

Οὐδὲν ἦσαν κρείων σωτήρα καὶ ἀ-
λεξίκακον προσηγόρευον. *Theodoret.*
Serm. viii. [Tom. iv. p. 595 c.] of
Hercules. The Bœenses, an ancient
people in Peloponnesus, Ἀρτεμιὺς ὀνο-
μάζουσι Σώτειραν. *Paus. in Laconicis*,
c. 22. *fn.* Her temple and statue in
the city Troezen was built and named by
Theseus at his safe return from Crete.
The Megarenses preserved by her from
the Persians, ἐπὶ τῷδε σωτέρας ἀγαλ-
μα ἐποίησαντο Ἀρτέμιδος' and upon
the same occasion another of the same
bigness set up at Pagæ. *Idem.* But
this title especially was given to Mi-
nerva. Σώτειρα, ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ παρὰ τοῖς
Ἕλλησι. *Hezych.* Ἔστι γὰρ Ἀθήνησι
Σώτειρα λεγομένη, ἥ καὶ θύουσι. *Schol.*
Aristoph. in Ranas, 381. Aristotle in
his will obliged Nicanor to a dedica-
tion, Δὲ σωτήρι καὶ Ἀθηνᾷ σωτέρη.
Laert. in Vit. Aristot. l. v. [§ 16. p.
277.] And in general they invoked
God under the notion of Σωτήρ, as
Plato in *Timæo*: Θεὸν δὲ καὶ νῦν ἐπ'
ἀρχῇ τῶν λεγομένων σωτήρα ἐξ ἀνάγκης
καὶ ἀήθους διηγέσθωσι πρὸς τὸ τῶν ἐκεί-
νων δόγμα διασώζειν ἡμᾶς ἐπικαλεσά-
μενοι, πάλιν ἀρχόμεθα λέγειν. [Tom. ix.
p. 341. Edit. Bipont.]

¹ This was the constant title of the
first Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, given
to him by the Rhodians. Ὀνόματα μὲν
δὴ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ Πτολεμαῖοι σφισιν,
Ὀλλη δὲ ἐπικλησὶς Ὀλλῶν' καὶ γὰρ Φιλο-
μήτορα καλοῦσι, καὶ Φιλᾶδελφον ἕτερον,
τὸν δὲ τοῦ Ἀλέγου σωτήρα, παραδόντων
'Ροδίων τὸ ὄνομα. *Paus. Atticis*, c. viii.
6. [p. 20.] Which name first given
him by the Rhodians was no way ex-
pressed in his usage of the Syrians, as
is observed by Josephus: ὡς καὶ τὴν
Συρίαν ἀπασαν ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ
Ἀλέγου σωτήρος τότε χρηματίζοντος τὰ
ἐναντία παθεῖν αὐτοῦ τῇ ἐπικλήσει.
Antiq. Jud. l. xii. c. i. [Tom. i. p. 507.
13.] This was so familiar, that Ter-

tullian useth the title instead of the
name. 'Post Alexandrum—regnavit
illic in Alexandria Soter annis 35,'
Adv. Judæos. c. 8. [p. 214 c.] Thus
Antigonus was first called by the
Greeks their Εὐεργέτης, or benefactor,
then Σωτήρ, or Saviour: οὐ μόνον ἐκρίθη
παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν καιρὸν Εὐεργέτης, ἀλλὰ
καὶ μεταλλάξας, Σωτήρ. *Polyb.* l. v.
c. 9. [Tom. i. p. 500.] Thus we read
of Demetrius, who restored the Athe-
nians to their liberty: ἀνεκρότησαν καὶ
βοῶντες ἐκέλευον ἀποβαλεῖν τὸν Δημή-
τριον, Σωτήρα καὶ Εὐεργέτην ἀναγο-
ρεῖντες. *Plut. in Vita*, c. ix. [Tom.
v. p. 13. Bryan.] And not only so, but
numbered Demetrius and Antigonus
among their *Dii Soteres*; and instead
of their annual archon, whose name
they used in their distinction of years,
they created a priest of these *Dii So-
teres*, as the same author testifieth:
μόνοι δὲ Σωτήρας ἀνέγραψαν θεοῦ, καὶ
τὸν ἐπώνυμον καὶ πᾶτριον ἀρχόντα κατα-
πάσαντες, λερέα Σωτήρων ἐχειροτόνουν
καθ' ἑκάστον ἐνιαυτόν. c. x. Appian
relates of Demetrius that he received
his title from the Babylonians: Τιμαρ-
χον ἐπανιστάμενον ἀνελών, καὶ τὰλλα
πονηρῶς τῆς Βαβυλῶνος ἡγούμενον, ἐφ'
ὃ καὶ Σωτήρ ἀρξαμένου τῶν Βαβυλω-
νίων ὠνομάσθη. *De Bell. Syriac.* c. 47.
[p. 118.] Lucian's mistake in his *Salu-
tation* [Tom. i. p. 499.] tells us of
'Αντιόχος ὁ Σωτήρ, and Appian gives
us the routing of the Gauls as the
cause of that title: δις καὶ Σωτήρ ἐπε-
κλήθη Γαλάτας ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐς τὴν
'Ασίαν ἐμβαλόντας ἐξελάσας. *Id.* c. 65.
And in process of time this title grew
so customary and familiar, that the
Sicilians bestowed it upon Verres their
oppressor. 'Itaque eum non solum
patronum istius insule, sed etiam So-
tera inscriptum vidi Syracusis,' says
Cicero, ii. *Verr.* c. 63. [Tom. ii. P. i.
p. 227. Edit. Ernesti.]

- Judg. iii. 9. of Israel were called no less than their *saviours*. When the children of Israel cried unto the Lord, the Lord raised up a deliverer to the children of Israel, who delivered them, even
- Judg. iii. 15. Othniel the son of Kenaz. And again, When they cried unto the Lord, the Lord raised them up a deliverer, Ehud the son of Gera. Where, though in our translation we call Othniel and Ehud *deliverers*, yet in the original they are plainly termed *saviours*¹.

Now what the full import and ultimate sense of the title *saviour* might be, seemed not easy to the ancients: and the best² of the Latins thought the Greek word so pregnant

¹ Heb. Jud. iii. 9. ויקם יהודה מושע. לבני ישראל וישיעם. So the Septuagint clearly: Καὶ ἤγειρε κύριος Σωτῆρα τῷ Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ ἔσωσεν αὐτούς, τὸν Γοδομὴλ υἱὸν Κενὲς. Qui suscitavit eis Salvatorem, et liberavit eos, Othniel. Again: καὶ ἤγειρε κύριος αὐτοῖς Σωτῆρα τὸν Ἀῶδ, υἱὸν Γηρά. Qui suscitavit eis Salvatorem vocabulo Aioth, filium Gera. *Vd. Transl.* Upon which place St Augustin notes: 'Advertendum est autem quod Salvatore dicat etiam hominem, per quem Deus salvos faciat.' *Quæst.* l. vii. c. 18. [Tom. III. p. 449 A.]

² So Cicero in the place before cited, having said he saw Verres inscribed *Sotera*, goes on: 'Hoc quantum est! ita magnum, ut Latino uno verbo exprimi non possit.' But though in Cicero's time there was no Latin word used in that sense; yet not long after it was familiar. For as in the Greek inscriptions we read often dedications αὐτῷ Σωτῆρι: so in the Latin we find often *Jovi Servatori*, or *Conservatori*, sometimes *Jovi Salvatori*, or *Salutari*: all which are nothing else but the Latin expressions of the Greek inscriptions. And without question Σωτῆρ might have been rendered *Sospitator*, and even *Sospes*, as it was used in the days of Ennius. 'Sospes, salvus: Ennius tamen sospitem pro servatore posuit.' *Festus*. Neither indeed could the Sicilians mean any more of Verres, by the word *Sotera*, than Tully spake of himself, when he styled himself *Servatorem Reipublicæ*. *Pro Planc.* c. 36. [Tom.

II. P. 2. p. 961. Edit. Ernesti.] At least Tacitus did conceive that *Conservator* is as much as *Soter*: when speaking of Milichus, who detected the conspiracies to Nero, he saith: 'Milichus præmiis ditatus Conservatoris sibi nomen, Græco ejus rei vocabulo, assumpsit.' *Annal.* l. xv. c. 71. He took to himself the name of *Conservator*, in a Greek word which signifies so much: and without question that must be Σωτῆρ. However, the first Christians of the Latin Church were some time in doubt what word to use as the constant interpretation of Σωτῆρ, so frequent and essential to Christianity. Tertullian useth *Salutificator*, or, as some books read it, *Salvificator*: 'Ergo jam non unus Deus, nec unus Salutificator, si duo salutis artifices, et utique alter altero indigens.' *De carne Christi*, c. 14. [p. 370 B.] and shews it was so translated in the Philippians, iii. 20. 'Et quidem de terra in celum, ubi nostrum municipatum Philippenses quoque ab Apostolo discunt; Unde et Salutificatorem nostrum exspectamus Jesum Christum.' *De Resur. Carnis*, c. 47. [p. 415 D.] St Hilary thought *Salutaris* a sufficient interpretation: 'Est autem Salutaris ipso illo nomine quo Jesus nuncupatur. Jesus enim secundum Hebraicam linguam Salutaris est.' *In Psal.* cxviii. [Lit. xi. 2. c. 1. p. 305 C.] St Augustin is indifferent between that and *Salvator*: 'Deus salvos faciendi Dominus est Jesus, quod interpretatur Salvator, sive Salutaris.' (*De Civ. Dei*, xvii. 18. 2. Vol. VII. p. 482.) [p. 363.

and comprehensive, that the Latin tongue had no single word able to express it.

But whatsoever notion the heathen had of their gods or men which they styled *saviours*, we know this name belongeth unto *Christ* in a more sublime and peculiar manner. *Neither* Acts iv. 12. *is there salvation in any other; for there is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved.*

It remaineth therefore that we should explain how and for what reasons *Christ* truly is, and properly is called, our *Saviour*. First then, I conceive, one sufficient cause of that appellation to consist in this, that he hath opened and declared unto us the only true way for the obtaining eternal salvation, and by such patefaction can deserve no less than the name of *Saviour*. For if those apostles and preachers of the Gospel, who received the way of salvation from him, which they delivered unto others, may be said to save those persons which were converted by their preaching; in a far more eminent and excellent manner must he be said to save them, who first revealed all those truths unto them. St Paul *promoted to emulation them which were his flesh, that he might save some of them; and was made all things to all men, that he might by all means save some.* Rom. xi. 14. 1 Cor. ix. 22. He exhorted *Timothy to take heed unto himself, and unto the doctrine, and continue in them; for in doing this he should both save himself and them that heard him.* 1 Tim. iv. 16. And St James speaks in more general terms; *Brethren, if any of you do err from the truth, and one convert him; let him know, that he which converteth the sinner from the error of his way, shall save a soul from death.* James v. 19, 20. Now if these are so expressly said to save the souls of them which are converted by the doctrine which they deliver, with much more reason must *Christ* be said to save them, whose ministers they are, and in whose name they speak. *For it was he which came and preached peace to them which were afar off, and to them that were nigh.* Eph. ii. 17. The will of God concerning the salvation of

col. 1 B.] And so Lactantius. [*De vera Sapientia Instit.* l. iv. c. 12. Tom. 1. p. 384.] At last they generally used the word *Salvator*. First Tertullian: 'Christus in illo significabatur, taurus ob utramque dispositionem: aliis ferus, ut Judex, aliis mansuetus, ut Salvator.' *Adv. Marcion.* l. iii. c. 18. [p. 493 A.]

Which word of his was rather followed by his imitator St Cyprian, after whom Arnobius used it, after him his disciple Lactantius; and from thence it continued the constant language of the church, till the late innovators thrust it out of the Latin translation.

John i. 18. man was revealed by him. *No man hath seen God at any time: the only-begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him.* Being then *the Gospel of Christ is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth*, being they which preach it at the command of Christ are said to save the souls of such as believe their word, being it was

Rom. i. 16.

2 Tim. i. 10. *Christ alone who brought life and immortality to light through the Gospel*; therefore he must in a most eminent and singular manner be acknowledged thereby to save; and consequently must not be denied, even in this first respect, the title of *Saviour*.

Secondly, This Jesus hath not only revealed, but also pro- 74
cured, the way of salvation; not only delivered it to us, but

John iii. 17. also wrought it out for us: and so *God sent his Son into the world, that the world through him might be saved.* We were

Rom. vi. 23. all concluded under sin, and, being *the wages of sin is death*, we were obliged to eternal punishment, from which it was impossible to be freed, except the sin were first remitted. Now

Heb. ix. 22, 23, 26. this is the constant rule, that *without shedding of blood is no remission.* It was therefore necessary that *Christ should appear to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself.* And so he did, for

Matt. xxvi. 28. he *shed his blood for many, for the remission of sins*, as himself

1 Pet. ii. 24. professeth in the sacramental institution: he *bare our sins in his own body on the tree*; as St Peter speaks; and so in him

Col. i. 14. we have redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of

Rom. v. 8, 9. sins. And if while we were yet sinners, *Christ died for us: much more then, being now justified by his blood, we shall be saved from wrath through him.* Again, we were all enemies unto God, and having offended him, there was no possible way of salvation, but by being reconciled to him. If then we ask the question, as once the Philistines did concerning David,

1 Sam. xxi. 4. *wherewith should we reconcile ourselves unto our master?* We

2 Cor. v. 19. have no other name to answer it but *Jesus*. For *God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them.* And as under the law the blood of the

Lev. vi. 30. sin-offering was brought into the tabernacle of the congregation to reconcile withal in the holy place; so it pleased the Father

Col. i. 20. through the Son, *having made peace by the blood of his cross, by him to reconcile all things unto himself.* And thus it comes

Ibid. 21, 22. to pass, that us, *who were enemies in our mind by wicked works, yet now hath he reconciled in the body of his flesh through*

death. And upon this reconciliation of our persons must necessarily follow the salvation of our souls. *For if when we* Rom. v. 10.
were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son:
much more being reconciled, we shall be saved by his life.
 Furthermore, we were all at first enslaved by sin, and brought into captivity by Satan, neither was there any possibility of escape but by way of redemption. Now it was the Law of Moses, that if *any were able, he might redeem himself:* but Lev. xxv. 49.
 this to us was impossible, because absolute obedience in all our actions is due unto God, and therefore no act of ours can make any satisfaction for the least offence. Another law gave yet more liberty, that he *which was sold might be redeemed* Lev. xxv. 48.
again; one of his brethren might redeem him. But this in respect of all the mere sons of men was equally impossible, because they were all under the same captivity. Nor could they satisfy for others, who were wholly unable to redeem themselves. Wherefore there was no other brother, but that Son of man, which is the Son of God, who was like unto us in all things, sin only excepted, which could work this redemption for us. And what he only could, that he freely did perform. *For the Son of man came to give his life a ransom* Matt. xx. 28.
for many: and as he came to give, so he *gave himself a ransom* 1 Tim. ii. 6.
for all. So that in him *we have redemption through his blood,* Eph. i. 7.
the forgiveness of sins. For we are *bought with a price:* for 1 Cor. vii. 23.
we are redeemed, not with corruptible things, as silver and gold; 1 Pet. i. 18, 19.
but with the precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot. He then which hath obtained for us remission of sins, he who through himself hath reconciled us unto God, he who hath given himself as a ransom to redeem us, he who hath thus wrought out the way of salvation for us, must necessarily have a second and a far higher right unto the name of *Jesus*, unto the title of our *Saviour*.

Thirdly, beside the promulging and procuring, there is yet a farther act, which is, conferring of salvation on us. All which we mentioned before was wrought by virtue of his death, and his appearance in the Holy of holies: but we must still believe he *is able also to save them to the utter-* Heb. vii. 25.
 75 *most that come unto God by him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them.* For now being set down at the right hand of God, he hath received all power both in heaven and earth; and the end of this power which he hath received

is, to confer salvation upon those which believe in him. For
 John xvii. 2 the Father gave the Son *this power over all flesh, that he
 should give eternal life to as many as he hath given him:*
 that he should raise our bodies out of the dust, and cause our
 corruptible to put on incorruption, and our mortal to put on
 immortality: and upon this power we are to expect salvation
 Phil. iii. 20, from him. For we must *look for the Saviour, the Lord Jesus*
 21. *Christ, from heaven, who shall change our vile body, that it
 may be fashioned like unto his glorious body, according to the
 working whereby he is able even to subdue all things unto him-*
 Heb. ix. 28. *self. And unto them that thus look for him shall he appear
 the second time, without sin unto salvation.* Being then we
 are all to endeavour that our *spirits may be saved in the day*
 1 Cor. v. 5. *of the Lord Jesus;* being St Peter hath taught us, that *God*
 Acta v. 31. *hath exalted Christ with his right hand to be a Prince and a
 Saviour;* being the conferring of that upon us which he pro-
 mised to us, and obtained for us, is the reward of what he
 suffered: therefore we must acknowledge that the actual giv-
 ing of salvation to us is the ultimate and conclusive ground
 of the title *Saviour.*

Thus by the virtue of his precious blood Christ hath ob-
 tained remission of our sins, by the power of his grace hath
 taken away the dominion of sin, in the life to come will free
 us from all possibility of sinning, and utterly abolish death,
 the wages of sin; wherefore well said the angel of the Lord,
 Matt. i. 21. *Thou shalt call his name Jesus, for he shall save his people*
 Luke i. 69. *from their sins;* well did Zacharias call him *an horn of sal-*
 Luke ii. 80. *vation;* Simeon, *the salvation of God;* St Paul, *the Captain*
 Heb. ii. 10; *and Author of eternal salvation;* St Peter, *a Prince and a*
 v. 9. *Saviour,* correspondent to those Judges of Israel, raised up
 Acta v. 31. by God himself to deliver his people from the hands of their
 Neh. ix. 27. enemies, and for that reason called *saviours.* *In the time of
 their trouble (say the Levites), when they cried unto thee, thou
 heardest them from heaven, and according to thy manifold mer-*
cies thou gavest them saviours, who saved them out of the hand
of their enemies.

The correspondency of *Jesus* unto those temporal *saviours*
 will best appear, if we consider it particularly in Josuah, who
 bare that salvation in his name, and approved it in his ac-
 tions. For, as the son of Sirach saith, *Jesus the son of Nave*
 Ecclus. xlv. *was valiant in the wars, and was the successor of Moses in pro-*
 1.

phacies, who, according to his name, was made great for the saving of the elect of God. Although therefore Moses was truly and really a ruler and deliverer, which is the same¹ Acts vii. 35. with saviour; although the rest of the judges were also by their office rulers and deliverers, and therefore styled saviours, as expressly Othniel and Ehud are; yet Josuah, far more particularly and exactly than the rest, is represented as a type of our *Jesus*, and that typical singularity manifested in his name². For first, he it was alone, of all which passed out of Egypt, who was designed to lead the children of Israel into Canaan, the land of promise flowing with milk and honey. Which land as it was a type of the heaven of heavens, the inheritance of the saints, and eternal joys flowing from the right hand of God; so is the person which brought the Israelites into that place of rest³ a type of him who only can bring us into the presence of God, and there prepare our mansions for us, and assign them to us, as Josuah divided the land for an inheritance to the tribes. Besides, it is farther observable, not only what Josuah did, but what Moses could not do. The hand of Moses and Aaron brought them out of Egypt, but left them in the wilderness, and could not seat them in Canaan. Josuah, the successor, only could effect that in which Moses failed. Now nothing is more frequent in the phrase of
76 the Holy Ghost, than to take Moses for the doctrine delivered, or the books written by him, that is, the Law⁴; from whence

¹ Ρύστης, σωτήρ, λυτρωτής. And again: Σωτήρ,—καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς, καὶ ὁ ἐλευθέριος ἢ λυτρωτής. *Heeyck.*

² 'Quantum attinet ad propheticum apparatus, nec geri nec dici aliquid posset insignius, quandoquidem res perducta est usque ad nominis expressionem.' *S. August. contra Faust.* l. xvi. c. 19. (Vol. viii. p. 294.) [Tom. viii. p. 210 A.]

³ 'Ὁν τρόπον ἐκεῖνος εἰσέγαγεν εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν γῆν τὸν λαόν, οὐχὶ Μωσῆς, καὶ ὡς ἐκεῖνος ἐν κλήρῳ διένειμαν αὐτὴν τοῖς ἐσελθούσι μετ' αὐτοῦ· οὕτως καὶ Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς τὴν διασπορὰν τοῦ λαοῦ ἐπιστρέψει, καὶ διαμεριεῖ τὴν ἀγαθὴν γῆν ἐκάστῳ. *Justin. Dial. cum Tryph.* p. 340. [377. 35. Thirlby.]

⁴ As Luke xvi. 29, 31, xxiv. 27; John v. 45, 46; Acts vi. 11, collated with the thirteenth verse. Acts xv. 21,

xxi. 21; 2 Cor. iii. 15. Μωσῆς νοητέον τὸν νόμον, Ἰησοῦν τὸν ὁμώνυμον ἐκείνῳ σωτήρᾳ.—ὡς περ τοῖνον κατὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν, Μωσῆ τέτελευτηκότος, Ἰησοῦς τὸν λαόν εἰς τὴν ἐπηγγελμένην εἰσέγαγε γῆν, οὕτω μετὰ τὸ τοῦ νόμου τέλος ὁ ἡμέτερος ἐπιφανεῖς Ἰησοῦς ἀνέφωε τῷ εὐσεβεῖ λαῷ τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν. *Theodoret. in Jos. Proem.* T. i. p. 194 c. 'Dum Moysi successor destinaretur Auses filius Nave, transfertur certe de pristino nomine, et incipit vocari *Jesus*. Certe, inquis. Hanc prius dicimus figuram futuri fuisse. Nam quia *Jesus* Christus secundum populum, quod sumus nos, nationes in sæculi deserto commorantes antea, introducturus esset in terram repromissionis melle et lacte manantem, id est, in vitæ æternæ possessionem, qua nihil dulcius, idque non per Moysen, id est, non per legis

it followeth, that the death of Moses and the succession of
 Acts xiii. 39. Josuah presignified the continuance of the Law till *Jesus*
 came, by whom all that believe are justified from all things,
 Luke xvi. 16. from which we could not be justified by the Law of Moses. The
 Law and the prophets were until John: since that time the king-
 dom of God is preached. Moses must die, that Josuah may
 succeed. By the deeds of the Law there shall no flesh be justi-
 Rom. iii. 20-22. fied (for by the Law is the knowledge of sin); but [now] the
 righteousness of God without the Law is manifested, even the
 righteousness of God which is by faith of *Jesus Christ* unto all
 and upon all them that believe. Moses indeed seems to have
 Exod. xxiv. 13. taken Josuah with him up into the mount: but if he did, sure
 it was to enter the cloud which covered the mount where the
 glory of the Lord abode: for without *Jesus*¹, in whom are hid
 Col. ii. 3. all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, there is no looking
 into the secrets of heaven, no approaching to the presence
 of God. The command of circumcision was not given unto
 Moses, but to Josuah; nor were the Israelites circumcised in
 the wilderness, under the conduct of Moses and Aaron, but in
 the land of Canaan, under their successor. For at that time
 the Lord said unto Josuah, *Make thee sharp knives, and cir-
 cumcise again the children of Israel the second time.* Which
 Joa. v. 2. speaketh *Jesus*² to be the true circumciser, the author of an-

disciplinam, sed per *Jesum*, id est, per
 novæ legis gratiam, provenire habebat,
 circumcisiis nobis petrina acie, id est,
 Christi præceptis (petra enim Christus
 multis modis et figuris prædicatus est),
 ideo is vir qui in hujus Sacramenti ima-
 ginem parabatur, etiam nominis Domi-
 nici inauguratus est figura, ut *Jesus*
 nominaretur.' *Tertull. adv. Judæos*, c.
 9. [p. 218 O.] et *adv. Marcion*. l. iii.
 c. 16. [p. 491 A.] Idcirco etiam Moysi
 successit, ut ostenderet novam legem,
 per Christum *Jesum* datam, veteri legi
 successuram, quæ data per Moysen
 fuit.' *Lactan. de vera Sap.* l. iv. c. 17.
 [Tom. I. p. 405.] 'In cujus compara-
 tione (Moyses) improbatum est, ut non
 ipse introduceret populum in terram
 promissionis; ne videlicet Lex per
 Moysen, non ad salvandum, sed ad
 convincendum peccatorem data, in reg-
 num coelorum introducere putaretur,
 sed gratia et veritas per *Jesum Chris-
 tum* facta.' *S. August. contra Faustum*,

l. xvi. c. 19. (Vol. VIII. p. 294.) [Tom.
 VIII. p. 209 D.] '*Jesus* dux qui popu-
 lum eduxerat de *Ægypto*, *Jesus* dux
 qui interpretatur *Salvator*, *Mose* mor-
 tuo et sepulto in terra Moab, in terra
 Arabiæ, hoc est, Lege mortua, in Evan-
 gelium cupit inducere populum suum.
S. Hieron. in Psal. lxxxvi. [Breviarium
 in Psalterium. Inter Spuria Hiero-
 nymi, Tom. VII. Appendix, p. 230.]

¹ '*Moyses*—in nubem intravit, ut
 operta et occulta cognosceret, adha-
 rente sibi socio *Jesu*, quia nemo sine
 vero *Jesu* potest incerta sapientia, et
 occulta comprehendere. Et ideo in
 specie *Jesu Nave* veri Salvatoris signi-
 ficabatur ei adspiratura præsentia, per
 quem fierent omnes docibiles Dei, qui
 Legem aperiret, Evangelium revela-
 ret.' *S. Ambros. in Psal. xlvii.* [ver.
 12. Tom. II. p. 822 H.] (Vol. I. p.
 944.)

² 'Non enim propheta sic ait, Et
 dixit Dominus ad me; sed ad *Jesum*

other circumcision than that of the flesh commanded by the Law, even the *circumcision of the heart, in the spirit, and not in the letter*; that which is *made without hands, in putting off the body of the sins of the flesh*, which is therefore called the *circumcision of Christ*. Rom. ii. 29.
Col. ii. 11.
Ibid.

Thus if we look upon Josuah as the *minister of Moses*, he is even in that a type of *Christ*, the *minister of the circumcision for the truth of God*. If we look on him as the successor of Moses, in that he representeth *Jesus*, inasmuch as *the law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ*. If we look on him as now judge and ruler of Israel, there is scarce an action which is not clearly predictive of our Saviour. He begins his office at the banks of Jordan¹, where *Christ* is baptized, and enters upon the public exercise of his prophetic office. He chooseth there twelve men out of the people, to carry twelve stones over with them; as our *Jesus* thence began to choose his twelve² apostles, those foundation-stones in the Church of God, whose names are in the twelve foundations of the wall of the holy city, the new Jerusalem. It hath been observed³, that the saving Rahab the harlot alive, foretold what *Jesus* once should speak to the Jews, *Verily I say unto you, that the publicans and the harlots go into the kingdom of God before you. He said in the sight of Israel, Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon: and [so] the sun stood still in the midst of heaven, and hasted not to go down about a whole day*. Which great miracle was not only wrought by the power of him whose name he bare, but did also signify⁴ that, Exod. xxiv. 13.
Josh. i. 1
Rom. xv. 8.
John i. 17.
Rev. xxi. 14.
Matt. xxi. 31.
Josh. x. 12, 13.

ut ostenderet quod non de eo loqueretur, sed de Christo, ad quem tunc Deus loquebatur. Christi enim figuram gerebat ille *Jesus*. *Lactant. de vera Sap.* l. iv. c. 17. [Tom. I. p. 405.]

¹ Τόπον δὲ ἔφεραν αὐτοῦ δ τοῦ Ναυῆ Ἰησοῦς κατὰ πολλὰ. ἀρχόμενος γὰρ ἀρχεῖν τοῦ λαοῦ ἤρξατο ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ὄθεν καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς βαπτισθεὶς ἤρξατο εὐαγγελίζεσθαι. *S. Cyril. Hieros. Catech.* 10. [p. 209].

² St Cyril addeth that he divided the land by twelve men: Δώδεκα δὲ διαιροῦντας τὴν κληρονομίαν καθίστησιν ὁ τοῦ Ναυῆ υἱός, καὶ δώδεκα τοὺς Ἀποστόλους κήρυκας τῆς ἀληθείας εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀποστέλλει ὁ Ἰησοῦς. *Ibid.*

³ By the same St Cyril: Πιστεύσασαν Ἐὰδ τὴν πόρνην ἔσωσεν ὁ τυπικὸς ὁ δὲ ἀληθὴς φησιν, Ἰδοὺ οἱ τελῶναι καὶ αἱ πόρναι προδύουσι ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ. *Ibid.*

⁴ 'Stetit (Sol,) quia in *Jesu* et typum futuri agnoscebat et nomen. Neque enim in sua virtute *Jesus Nave*, sed in Christi mysterio coelestibus luminibus imperabat. Designabatur enim Dei filium in hoc sæculum esse venturum, qui mundani luminis concidentis, et jam vergentis tenebras, virtute divina differret occasum, lucem redderet, invehret claritatem.' *S. Ambros. Apolog. David. poster. c. 4.* (Vol. I. p. 714.) [Tom. I. p. 407 B.] 'Ille imperavit Soli ut staret, et stetit; et istius

Mal. iv. 2.

John i. 9.

in the latter days, toward the setting of the sun, when the light of the world was tending unto a night of darkness, *the Sun of righteousness should arise with healing in his wings*, and, giving a check to the approaching night, become *the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world*.

Acts v. 31.
John xviii.
86.Luke i. 69,
71.

But to pass by more particulars, Josuah smote the Amalekites, and subdued the Canaanites; by the first making way to enter the land, by the second giving possession of it. And *Jesus our Prince and Saviour*, whose *kingdom was not of this world*, in a spiritual manner goeth in and out before us against our spiritual enemies, subduing sin and Satan, and so opening and clearing our way to heaven; destroying the last enemy, death, so giving us possession of eternal life. Thus¹ do we believe the man called *Jesus* to have fulfilled in the highest degree imaginable, all which was but typified in him who first bare the name, and in all the rest which succeeded in his office, and so to be the *Saviour* of the world; *whom God hath raised up, an horn of salvation for us, in the house of his servant David, that we should be saved from our enemies, and the hand of all that hate us*.

1 John iii.
23, 24.

1 Tim. ii. 5.

The necessity of the belief of this part of the Article is not only certain, but evident: because there is no end of faith without a Saviour, and no other name but this by which we can be saved, and no way to be saved by him but by believing in him. For *this is his commandment, that we should believe on the name of his Son Jesus Christ: and he that keepeth his commandments dwelleth in him, and he in him*. From him then, and from him alone, must we expect salvation, acknowledging and confessing freely there is nothing in ourselves which can effect or deserve it for us, nothing in any other creature which can promerit or procure it to us. For *there is but one God, and one Mediator between God and men, the man*

typo ille magnus erat. Ille imperabat, sed Dominus efficiebat.' *S. Hieron. in Psal. lxxvi.* [Inter Spuria Hieronymi, Tom. vii. Appendix, p. 197.]

¹ Τι λέγει πάλιν Μωσής τῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ τοῦ Ναυῆ υἱῷ, ἐπιθεὶς αὐτῷ τοῦτο ὄνομα ὅτι προφήτης; ὅτι μόνον ἀκούσῃ πᾶς λαός, ὅτι πάντα ὁ πατήρ φανεροί περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ (αὐτοῦ) Ἰησοῦ (ἐκράζε Μωσής) τῷ υἱῷ Ναυῆ· καὶ ἐπιθεὶς τοῦτο

ὄνομα ὅποτε ἐπεμψε κατὰσκοπον τῆς γῆς. (Καὶ εἶπεν) Λάβε βιβλίον εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου, καὶ γράψον ἃ λέγει Κύριος. Ὅτι ἐκ ριζῶν ἐκκόψει πάντα τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Ἀμαλήκ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ (Ἰησοῦς) ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν. Οἱ δὲ (ἰσ. ἰδὲ) πάλιν Ἰησοῦς οὐχ ὁ υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου, (Ναυῆ,) ἀλλ' ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, τύπῳ δὲ ἐν σαρκὶ φανερωθεὶς. *Barnabæ Epist. c. 9. al. 12. [p. 40.]*

Christ Jesus. It is only *the beloved Son, in whom God is well pleased*; he is clothed with a vesture dipped in blood; he hath trodden the wine-press alone. *We like sheep have gone astray, and the Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all. By him God hath reconciled all things to himself; by him, I say, whether they be things in earth or things in heaven. By him alone is our salvation wrought: for his sake then only can we ask it, from him alone expect it.*

Matt. iii. 17.

Rev. xix. 13.

Isai. lxxiii. 8.

Isai. liii. 6.

Col. i. 20.

Secondly, this belief is necessary, that we may delight and rejoice in the name of *Jesus*, as that in which all our happiness is involved. At his nativity an angel from heaven thus taught the shepherds, the first witnesses of the blessed incarnation; *Behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people. For unto you is born this day in the city of David, a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord.* And what the angel delivered at present, that the prophet Isaiah, that old evangelist, foretold at distance. When *the people which walked in darkness should see a great light*; when *unto us a child should be born, unto us a son should be given*; then *should they joy before God, according to the joy of [in] harvest*, and as men rejoice when they divide the spoil. When *God shall come with recompence, when he shall come and save us*; then *the ransomed of the Lord shall return, and come to Sion with songs, and everlasting joy upon their heads.*

Luke ii. 10, 11.

Isai. ix. 2, 6, 8.

Isai. xxxv. 4, 10.

Thirdly, the belief in *Jesus* ought to inflame our affection, to kindle our love toward him, engaging us to hate all things in respect of him, that is, so far as they are in opposition to him, or pretend to equal share of affection with him. *He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me, and he that loveth son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me*, saith our Saviour; so forbidding all prelation of any natural affection, because our spiritual union is far beyond all such relations. Nor is a higher degree of love only debarred us, but any equal pretension is as much forbidden. *If any man come to me (saith the same Christ), and hate not his father, and mother, and wife and children, and brethren and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple.* Is it not this *Jesus* in whom the love of God is demonstrated to us, and that in so high a degree as is not expressible by the pen of man? *God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son.* Is it not he who shewed his own love to us far

Matt. x. 37.

Luke xiv. 26.

John iii. 16.

- John xv. 13. beyond all possibility of parallel? For *greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends;*
- Rom. v. 8. but *while we were yet sinners* (that is, enemies), *Christ died for us*, and so became our *Jesus*. Shall thus the Father shew his love in his Son? Shall thus the Son shew his love in himself? And shall we no way study a requital? or is there any proper return of love but love? The voice of the Church, in the language of Solomon, is, *my love*: nor was that only the expression of a spouse, but of Ignatius¹, a man, after the apostles, most remarkable. And whosoever considereth the infinite benefits to the sons of men flowing from the actions and sufferings of their Saviour, cannot choose but conclude with St Paul, *If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be Anathema, Maran-atha.*
- Cant. ii. 7; iii. 6; viii. 4.
- 1 Cor. xvi. 22.

- Lastly, the confession of faith in *Jesus* is necessary to breed in us a correspondent esteem of him, and an absolute obedience to him, that we may be raised to the true temper of St Paul, who *counted all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus our Lord, for whom he suffered the loss of all things, and counted them but dung, that he might win Christ*. Nor can we pretend to any true love of *Jesus*, except we be sensible of the readiness of our obedience to him: as knowing what language he used to his disciples, *If ye love me, keep my commandments*; and what the apostle of his bosom spake, *This is the love of God, that we keep his commandments*. His own disciples once marvelled, and said, *What manner of man is this, that even the winds and the sea obey him?* How much more should we wonder at all disobedient Christians, saying, *What manner of men are these, who refuse obedience unto him, whom the senseless creatures, the winds and the sea, obeyed?* Was the *name of Jesus* at first sufficient to cast out devils? and shall man be more refractory than they? Shall the *exorcist say to the evil spirit, I adjure thee by the name of Jesus*, and the devil give place? Shall an apostle speak unto us in the same name, and we refuse? Shall they obey that name which signifieth nothing unto them; for *he took not on him the nature of angels*, and so is not their Saviour? And can we deny obedience unto him, who *took on him the seed of Abraham, and became obedient to death,*
- Phil. iii. 8.
- John xiv. 15.
- 1 John v. 8.
- Matt. viii. 27.
- Mark ix. 38.
Luke ix. 49.
- Acts xix. 13.
- Heb. ii. 16.
- Ibid.

¹ Ὁ ἐπὶς ἐπὶς ἐταράχεται. *Epist. ad Roman. c. 7.*

even the death of the cross, for us, that he might be raised to Phil. II. 8.
full power and absolute dominion over us, and by that power
be enabled at last to save us, and in the mean time to rule
and govern us, and exact the highest veneration from us?
For God hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which Phil. II. 9, 10.
is above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee should
bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under
the earth.

79 Having thus declared the original of the name *Jesus*, the means and ways by which he which bare it expressed fully the utmost signification of it; we may now clearly deliver, and every particular Christian easily understand, what it is he says, when he makes his confession in these words, *I believe in Jesus*: which may be not unfitly in this manner described. I believe not only that there is a God, who made the World; but I acknowledge and profess that I am fully persuaded of this, as of a certain and infallible truth, that there was and is a man, whose name by the ministry of an angel was called *Jesus*, of whom, particularly Josuah, the first of that name, and all the rest of the judges and saviours of Israel, were but types. I believe that *Jesus*, in the highest and utmost importance of that name, to be the Saviour of the world; inasmuch as he hath revealed to the sons of men the only way for the salvation of their souls, and wrought the same way out for them by the virtue of his blood, obtaining remission for sinners, making reconciliation for enemies, paying the price of redemption for captives; and shall at last himself actually confer the same salvation, which he hath promulged and procured, upon all those which unfeignedly and steadfastly believe in him. I acknowledge there is no other way to heaven beside that which he hath shewn us, there is no other means which can procure it for us but his blood, there is no other person which shall confer it on us but himself. And with this full acknowledgment, I BELIEVE IN JESUS.

AND IN JESUS CHRIST.

HAVING thus explained the proper name of our Saviour, *Jesus*, we come unto that title of his office usually joined with his name, which is therefore the more diligently to be

examined, because the Jews¹, who always acknowledged him to be *Jesus*, ever denied him to be *Christ*, and agreed together, *that if any man did confess that he was Christ, he should be put out of the synagogue.*

John ix. 22.

For the full explication of this title, it will be necessary, First, to deliver the signification of the word; Secondly, to shew upon what grounds the Jews always expected a *Christ* or *Messias*; Thirdly, to prove that the *Messias* promised to the Jews is already come; Fourthly, to demonstrate that our *Jesus* is that *Messias*; and Fifthly, to declare in what that unction, by which *Jesus* is *Christ*, doth consist, and what are the proper effects thereof. Which five particulars being clearly discussed, I cannot see what should be wanting for a perfect understanding that *Jesus is Christ*.

John iv. 25.

John i. 41.

For the first, We find in the Scriptures two several names, *Messias* and *Christ*, but both of the same signification; as appeareth by the speech of the woman of Samaria, *I know that Messias cometh, which is called Christ*; and more plainly by what Andrew spake unto his brother Simon, *We have found the Messias, which is, being interpreted, the Christ*. *Messias* in the Hebrew tongue, *Christ* in the Greek². *Messias*³, the lan-

¹ Ἰουδαῖοι γὰρ καταδέχονται τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν Ἰησοῦν· τὸ δὲ καὶ Χριστὸν εἶναι, τοῦτον οὐκ ἐτί. *S. Cyril. Hieros. Catech.* 10. (§ 14. p. 143.) [p. 210.]

² Σύγγονε, Μεσσίαν σοφὸν εὐρομεν, ὃς θεὸς ἀληθὺς Χριστὸς Ἰουδαίοισιν ἀκούεται Ἑλλήδι φωνῇ.

Nonnus, Joh. c. i. v. 157.

³ From משיח *unai*; in the Hebrew משיח and משיח *unctus*; in the Syriac משיח: in the Greek, by changing *ψ* into *σσ*, by omitting π a guttural not fit for their pronunciation, and by adding *s*, as their ordinary termination, משיח is turned into Μεσσίας. That this was the Greek Χριστός, and the Latin *Christus*, is evident; and yet the Latins living at a distance, strangers to the customs of the Jews, and the doctrine of the Christians, mistook this name, and called him *Chrestus*, from the Greek Χρηστός. So Suetonius in the life of Claudius, c. 25. [12. Tom. II. p. 87. Edit. Pitiscii.] 'Judæos impulsore *Chresto* assidue tumultuantes

Roma expulit.' Which was not only his mistake, but generally the Romans at first, as they named him *Chrestus*, so they called us *Chrestiani*. 'Sed et cum perperam Chrestianus pronunciat a vobis (nam nec nominis certa est notitia penes vos) de suavitate vel benignitate compositum est.' *Tertull. adv. Gentiles*, c. 3. [p. 5 A.] 'Sed exponenda hujus nominis ratio est propter ignorantium errorem, qui eum immutata litera Chrestum solent dicere.' *Lactan. de vera Sap.* l. iv. c. 7. [Tom. I. p. 367.] Upon which mistake Justin Martyr justifies the Christians of his time: 'Ἐπεὶ ὅσων γε ἐκ τοῦ κατηγορουμένου ἡμῶν ὀνόματος, χρηστότατοι ὀνόμαζομεν. p. 54. [8. 1. Thirlby]. And again: Χριστιανοί (or rather Χρηστιανοί) γὰρ εἶναι κατηγοροῦμεθα· τὸ δὲ χρηστὸν μισείσθαι οὐ δίκαιον. *Apol.* 1. p. 55. [8. 20. Thirlby.] It was then the ignorance of the Jewish affairs which caused the Romans to name our Saviour *Chrestus*, and the true title is certainly *Christus*. Χριστὸς μὲν, κατὰ

guage of Andrew and the woman of Samaria, who spake in Syriac; *Christ*, the interpretation of St John, who wrote his

τὸ κεχρίσθαι, saith Justin. *Apol.* i. p. 44. [115. 10. Thirlby.] Τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὄνομα πρῶτον Μωσῆς τοῖς χριστένοις ἐπιθεῖναι, says Euseb. *Dem. Evang.* i. iv. c. 15. [p. 172 A. Compare Euseb. *Hist.* i. 3.] 'Quoniam Græci veteres χρίσθαι dicebant ungi, quod nunc ἀλειφεσθαι—ob hanc rationem nos eum *Christum* nuncupamus, id est, unctum, qui Hebraice *Messias* dicitur.' *Lactan. de ver. Sap.* i. iv. c. 7. [Tom. i. p. 368.] So the Latins generally *Christus* a *Chrismate*: and without question *Χριστός* is from *κρίσθαι*. Yet I conceive the first signification of this word among the Greeks hath not been hitherto sufficiently discovered. The first of the ancients in whom I meet with the word *Χριστός* is *Æschylus* the tragedian, and in him I find it had another sense than now we take it in; for in his language that is not *χριστός* which is anointed, but that with which it is anointed; so that it signifieth not the subject of unction, but the ointment as diffused in the subject. The place is this in his *Prometheus Vinculus*, ver. 478.

Οὐκ ἦν ἀλέχημι' οὐδέν, οὐδὲ βρώσιμον,
Οὐ χριστόν, οὐδὲ πιστόν, ἀλλὰ φάρμακον
Χρεῖα κατεσκέλλοντο—

Prometheus shews himself to be the inventor of the art of physic, that before him therefore there was no medicine, neither to be taken internally by eating or by drinking, nor externally by way of inunction, as the Scholiast very well expounds it: Οὐκ ἦν οὐδὲν βοήθημα θεραπείας οὐδὲ διὰ βρώσεως προσφερόμενον (which is οὐδὲ βρώσιμον in *Æschylus*) οὐτε δὲ δι' ἐπιχρίσεως ἐξωθεν, (which is οὐ χριστόν) οὐδὲ διὰ πίσεως (τοῦτο δὲ δηλοῖ τὸ πιστόν). So Eustathius: Τρεῖς φαρμάκων ἰδέαι παρ' Ὀμήρῳ, ἐπίπαστα, ὡς νῦν ἐπὶ Μενελάου, ὥπερ ἦτια φάρμακα εἰδὼς πάσσειν ὁ Μαχῶν· καὶ χριστά, ὡς ἰοὺς χρίσθαι· καὶ πιστά κατὰ τὸν Διοσκόριον, τουτέστι, ποτὰ ἡ πόσιμα. *Ad Il.* Δ. 218. As therefore from πῶ πῶσω, πιστόν, so from χρίω χρίσω, χριστόν. And as

πιστόν is not that which receiveth drink, but that drink which is received, not *quod potat*, but *quod potabile est*: so χριστόν is not that which receiveth oil, but that which is received by inunction. So the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes*, *Plut.* v. 717. Τῶν φαρμάκων τὰ μὲν ἐστί καταπαστά, τὰ δὲ χριστά, τὰ δὲ ποτά. And the Scholiast of Theocritus: Ἰστέον, ὅτι τῶν φαρμάκων τὰ μὲν εἰσι χριστά, ἦγουν, ἅπερ χρίμεθα εἰς θεραπείαν· τὰ δὲ ποτά, ἦγουν, ἅπερ πίνομεν· τὰ δὲ ἐπίπαστα, ἦγουν, ἅπερ ἐπιπίντομεν. *Idyl.* xi. 1. So that χριστόν in his judgment is the same with ἐγχριστόν in Theocritus. *Idyl.* xi. 1.

Οὐδὲν ποττὸν ἔρωτα πεφύκει φάρμακον ἄλλο,
Νικία, οὐτ' ἐγχριστὸν, ἐμὲν δοκεῖ, οὐτ' ἐπί-
παστον,
*Ἡ τὰι Πιερίδες—

In the same sense with *Æschylus* did *Euripides* use χριστόν φάρμακον in *Hippolyto*, v. 516.

Πότερα δὲ χριστόν ἢ ποτόν τὸ φάρμακον; and not only those ancient poets, but even the later orators; as *Dion Chrysostomus*: Πολλὴ γὰρ χεῖρον καὶ διεφθαρμένον σώματος καὶ νοσοῦντος ψυχὴ διεφθαρμένη, μὰ Δῖ, οὐχ ὑπὸ φαρμάκων χριστῶν ἢ ποτῶν. *Orat.* 78. [Sub finem p. 663 A.] And the LXX. have used it in this sense, as when the Hebrew speaks of *ἡπρω* ἡπρω *oleum unctionis*, they translate it τοῦ ἐπικεχυμένου ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ ἐλαίου τοῦ χριστοῦ. *Lev.* xxi. 10. and again ver. 12. ἡπρω ἡπρω ὅτι τὸ δῆλον ἐλαίον τὸ χριστόν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπ' αὐτῷ. *Oleum unctionis* then is ἐλαίον χριστόν, which in *Exodus* xxix. 7. xxxv. 15. xl. 9. the same translators, correspondent to the Hebrew phrase, call ἐλαίον χρίσματος, and more frequently ἐλαίον χρίσεως. The place of *Sophocles* is something doubtful, *Trachin.* 662.

*Ὅθεν μῶλοι πανήμερος
Τῶς πειθοῦς παγχρίστῳ
Συγκραθεῖς, ἐπὶ προφάσει θηρός·

for though the Scholiast take it in the ordinary sense, παγχρίστῳ] λείπει τῷ

Gospel in the Greek, as the most general language in those days; and the signification of them both is, *the Anointed*. St Paul and the rest of the apostles, writing in that language, used the Greek name, which the Latins did retain, calling him constantly *Christus*; and we in English have retained the same, as universally naming him *Christ*.

Nor is this yet the full interpretation of the word, which 80 is to be understood not simply according to the action only, but as it involveth the design in the custom of anointing. For in the Law whatsoever was anointed was thereby set apart, as ordained to some special use or office: and therefore under the notion of unction we must understand that promotion and ordination. *Jacob poured oil on the top of a pillar*, and that anointing was the consecration of it. Moses anointed the tabernacle and all the vessels, and this anointing was their dedication. Hence *the priest that is anointed* signifieth, in the phrase of Moses, the high-priest, because he was in-

Gen. xxviii.
18.

Lev. iv. 3.

πέπλω, ἤγουν τῷ χρυσθέντι πέπλω, συγκεκραμένους καὶ ἀρμυροῦσι τῇ πειθοῖ τοῦ θηρός· yet both τὰς πειθοὺς before it, and συγκεραβέλις after, seem to incline to the former sense, and in the next page ἀντίχριστον is clearly attributed to the ointment, v. 687.

Τὸ φάρμακον τοῦ ἄντρον, ἀκύνος ἢ αἰθέρης ἄδουκτον, ἐν μυχοῖς σίζειν ἐμέ,
Ἵως ἂν ἀντίχριστον ἀρμύσαιμι πού,

from whence Deianira says presently, v. 691. *ἐχρῖσα*—μαλλῶ. But though it appear from hence that the first use of the word *χριστός* among the Greeks was to signify the act or matter used in inunction, not the subject or person anointed: yet in the vulgar acception of the LXX. it was most constantly received for the person anointed, of the same validity with *χρισθείς* or *κεχρισμένος* (Suidas, *χριστός*, ὁ κεχρισμένος ἐν ἐλαίῳ), as also with *ἡλειμμένος*. For though Lactantius in the place fore-cited seem to think that word an improper version of the Hebrew מָשִׁחַ 'Unde in quibusdam Græcis scripturis, quæ male de Hebraicis interpretatæ sunt, *ἡλειμμένος*, id est, *unguento curatus*, scriptum invenitur, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀλειφῆσθαι· yet the LXX. have so translated it, Numb. iii. 3. *οἱ λεπίς οἱ ἡλειμ-*

μένοι. And although Athenæus hath observed, l. xv. c. 39. [p. 689 c.] τῶν μύρων ἃ μὲν ἐστί χρίματα, ἃ δ' ἀλειμματα· yet in the vulgar use of the words there is no difference, as he himself speaks a little after: Τὸ δὲ χρῖσθαι τῷ τοιοῦτῳ ἀλείμματι μυρίσασθαι εἰρηκεν. [c. 43. p. 691 B.] And Plutarch. *Sympos.* l. iii. [prob. 4. § 3. Tom. III. p. 2. p. 651 B.] Πύθου παρὰ τῶν ἐτι συνασπασανόμενων γυναιξὶν ἡ μύρον ἀλημιμέναις ἢ ελαιον· ἀνατίμπτανται γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ χρίματος ἐν τῷ συγκαθεύειν. So Hesych. 'Ἀλείψαι, ἐλαίῳ χρίσαι· Κεχρισμένα, ἡλειμμένα. 'Ἀλοιφή, χρίσις. ['Ἀλοιφή, τιμηλή. Hesychius.] *Schol. Hom.* *Χρισόμεναι, ἀλειψόμεναι.* Od. Z. 96. And Suidas, 'Ἠλημιμνη, ἐχρίμνη. Hence Eustathius: Ἵστέον καὶ ὅτι ἰσοδυναμοῦσιν κατὰ τοῦν τοῦ τε χρίω, καὶ τοῦ ἀλειφῶ· τὸ μὲν χρίω παρὰ τὸν χρόνον ἐρήθη δὲ χρίεται, τὸ δὲ ἀλειφῶ παρὰ τὸ ἀλέω. Od. Z. 227. So Eusebius: Τρίτη τάξις χριστὸν αὐτὸν γεγενῆσθαι ἐλαίῳ, οὐ τῷ ἐξ ὅλης σωμάτων, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἐνθένε τῆς γαλλιδίσεως ἡλειμμένον παρίστανται. *Hist. Eccl.* l. i. c. 3. [p. 9 d.] *Χριστός* then in the vulgar sense of the LXX. is a person anointed, and in that sense is our Saviour called *Christ*.

vested in that office at and by his unction. When therefore *Jesus* is called the *Messias* or *Christ*, and that so long after the anointing oil had ceased, it signified no less than a person set apart by God, anointed with most sacred oil, advanced to the highest office, of which all those employments under the Law, in the obtaining of which oil was used, were but types and shadows. And this may suffice for the signification of the word.

That there was among the Jews an expectation of such a
 81 *Christ* to come, is most evident. The woman of Samaria could speak with confidence, *I know that Messias cometh.* John iv. 25. And the unbelieving Jews, who will not acknowledge that he is already come, expect him still. Thus we find *all men musing in their hearts of John, whether he were the Christ or not.* Luke iii. 15. When Jesus taught in the Temple, those which doubted said, *When Christ cometh, no man knoweth whence he is;* those which believed said, *When Christ cometh, will he do more miracles than these which this man hath done?* John vii. 27. Whether therefore they doubted, or whether they believed in *Jesus*, they all expected a *Christ* to come; and the greater their opinion was of him, the more they believed he was that *Messias*. *Many of the people said, Of a truth this is the prophet: others said, This is the Christ.* John vii. 40. As soon as John began to baptize, *the Jews sent priests and Levites from Jerusalem, to ask him, Who art thou?* John i. 19. that is, whether he were the *Christ* or no, as appeareth out of his answer, *And he confessed and denied not, but confessed, I am not the Christ.* John i. 20. For as they asked him after, *What then, art thou Elias?* and he said, *I am not: Art thou that prophet?* and he answered, *No:* so without question their first demand was, *Art thou the Christ?* and he answered, *I am not:* from whence it clearly appeareth that there was a general expectation among the Jews of a *Messias* to come; nor only so, but it was always counted amongst them an article of their faith¹, which all were obliged to believe who professed the Law of Moses, and whosoever denied that, was thereby interpreted to deny the Law and the Prophets. Wherefore it will be worth our inquiry to look into the grounds upon which they built that expectation.

¹ So Nonnus hath expressed, what in the evangelist is to be understood:

Μυστικῶς δ' ἔδεικνεν ἀνέλεως ὅτι μὴθε, Τίς σὺ τέλει; μὴ Χριστὸς ἔσθαι;
 Joh. c. i. v. 65.

² Auctor Sopher Ikkarim, l. iv. c. ult. Maimon. Tract. de Regibus. c. 11. [Vide *Opuscula ad Philologiam*, &c. p. 181. Vol. IX. Rotterdam. 1699. H. J. R.]

It is most certain that the *Messias* was promised by God, both before and under the law. God said unto Abraham, *In Isaac shall thy seed be called*; and we know that was a promise of a *Messias* to come, because St Paul hath taught us, *Now to Abraham and his seed were the promises made. He saith not, unto seeds, as of many; but as of one, and to thy seed, which is Christ.* The Lord said unto Moses, *I will raise them up a prophet from among their brethren like unto thee.* And St Peter hath sufficiently satisfied us, that this prophet promised to Moses is *Jesus the Christ*. Many are the prophecies which concern him, many the promises which are made of him: but yet some of them very obscure; others, though plainer, yet have relation only to the person, not to the notion or the word *Messias*. Wheresoever he is spoken of as the Anointed, it may well be first understood of some other person; except one place in Daniel, where *Messiah* is foretold to be cut off: and yet even there the Greek translation hath not the *Messiah*, but the *Uction*. It may therefore seem something strange, how so universal an expectation of a Redeemer under the name of the *Messias* should be spread through the church of the Jews.

But if we consider that in the space of seventy years of the Babylonish captivity the ordinary Jews had lost the exact understanding of the old Hebrew language before spoken in Judea, and therefore when the Scriptures were read unto them, they found it necessary to interpret them to the people in the Chaldee language, which they had lately learned: as when Ezra the Scribe brought the book of the law of Moses before the congregation, the Levites are said to have caused the people to understand the Law, because *they read in the book, in the Law of God distinctly, and gave the sense, and caused them to understand the reading.* Which constant interpretation begat at last a Chaldee translation of the Old Testament to be read every sabbath in the synagogues: and that being not exactly made word for word with the Hebrew, but with a liberty of a brief exposition by the way, took in, together with the text, the general opinion of the learned Jews. 82 By which means it came to pass that not only the doctrine, but the name also, of the *Messias* was very frequent and familiar with them. Insomuch that even in the Chaldee paraphrase now extant, there is express mention of the *Messias* in

above seventy places, beside that of Daniel. The Jews then, informed by the plain words of Daniel¹, instructed by a constant interpretation of the Law and the Prophets read in their synagogues every sabbath-day, relying upon the infallible predictions and promises of God, did all unanimously expect out of their own nation, of the tribe of Judah, of the family of David, a *Messias* or a *Christ*, to come.

Now this being granted, as it cannot be denied, our next consideration is of the time in which this promise was to be fulfilled: which we shall demonstrate out of the Scriptures to be past, and consequently that the promised *Messias* is already come. The prediction of Jacob on his death-bed is clear and pregnant, *The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come; and unto him shall the gathering of the people be.* But the sceptre is departed from Judah, neither is there one lawgiver left between his feet. Therefore *Shiloh*, that is, the *Messias*, is already come. That the Jewish government hath totally failed, is not without the greatest folly to be denied: and therefore that *Shiloh* is already come, except we should deny the truth of divine predictions, must be granted. There remains then nothing to be proved, but that by *Shiloh* is to be understood the *Messias*: which is sufficiently manifest both from the consent of the ancient Jews, and from the description immediately added to the name. For all the old paraphrasts call him expressly the *Messias*², and the words which follow, *unto him shall the gathering of the people be*, speak no less; as giving an explication of his person, office, or condition, who was but darkly described in the name of *Shiloh*.

¹ Celsus the Epicurean acknowledged that both the Jews and Christians did confess that the prophets did foretell a Saviour of the world. *Ολεται μηδεν σεμνον ειναι εν τη Ιουδαίω και Χριστιανων προς αλληλους ζητησει πιστευοντων μεν αμφοτερω, οτι απο θελου Πνευματος προεφητευθη τις επιδημησης Σωτηρ τω γένει των ανθρωπων.* *Orig. adv. Celsum*, l. iii. § 1. [Tom. I. p. 448 A.] And this Saviour, saith Origen, was to be called, *κατα τα Ιουδαίων πατρια, Χριστός.*

² For instead of *עד כי יבא שילה* Onkelos renders it *עד ריימי מלכא משיחא*

[the word מלכא is omitted in Walton's Polyglot,] and Jonathan and the Jerusalem Targum, *עד וזמן ריימי מלכא משיחא*. Beside the Cabalists did generally so interpret it, because *בא שילה* according to their computation, make the same number with the letters of *משיח* and in the Talmud, *cod. Sanhedrin*. [fol. 98. col. 2. Amsterdam, 1645.] Rabbi Johanan asking what was the name of the *Messias*, they of the school of R. Schila answer, *שילה שמו*, *his name is Shiloh*, according to that which is written, *until Shiloh come*.

For this is the same character by which he was signified unto Abraham: *In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed*: by which he is deciphered in Isaiah: *In that day there shall be a root of Jesse, which shall stand for an ensign of the people; to it shall the Gentiles seek, and his rest shall be glorious*: and in Micah, *The mountain of the house of the Lord shall be established on [in] the top of the mountains, and it shall be exalted above the hills, and people shall flow unto it*.
 Gen. xxi. 18. And thus the blessing of Judah is plainly intelligible: *Judah, thou art he whom thy brethren shall praise; thy hand shall be in the neck of thine enemies; thy father's children shall bow down before thee*. Thou shalt obtain the primogeniture of thy brother Reuben, and by virtue thereof shalt rule over the rest of the tribes: the government shall be upon thy shoulders, and all thy brethren shall be subject unto thee. And that you may understand this blessing is not to expire until it make way for a greater, know that this government shall not fail, until there come a son out of your loins, who shall be far greater than yourself: for whereas your dominion reacheth only over your brethren, and so is confined unto the tribes of Israel; his kingdom shall be universal, and all nations of the earth shall serve him. Being then this *Shiloh* is so described in the text, and acknowledged by the ancient Jews to be the *Messias*: being God hath promised by Jacob the government of Israel should not fail until *Shiloh* came; being that government is visibly and undeniably already failed, it followeth inevitably that the *Messias* is already come.

In the same manner the prophet Malachi hath given an express signification of the coming of the *Messias* while the Temple stood: *Behold, I will send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before me; and the Lord, whom ye seek, shall suddenly come to his temple, even the messenger of the covenant whom ye delight in*¹. And Haggai yet more clearly, *Thus saith the Lord of hosts, Yet once, it is a little while, and I will shake the heavens, and the earth, and the sea, and the dry land; and I will shake all nations, and the desire of all nations shall come; and I will fill this house with glory, saith the Lord of hosts. The glory of this latter house shall be greater than the glory of the former, saith the Lord of hosts*. It is then most

¹ והוא מלך המשיח Kimchi on the place.

evident from these predictions, that the *Messias* was to come while the second Temple stood. It is as certain that the second Temple is not now standing. Therefore, except we contradict the veracity of God, it cannot be denied but the *Messias* is already come. Nothing can be objected to enervate this argument, but that these prophecies concern not the *Messias*; and yet the ancient Jews confessed they did, and that they do so cannot be denied. For, first, those titles, '*the angel of the covenant*,' '*the delight of the Israelites*,' '*the desire of all nations*,' are certain and known characters of the *Christ* to come. And, secondly, it cannot be conceived how the glory of the second Temple should be greater than the glory of the first, without the coming of the *Messias* to it. For the Jews themselves have observed that five signs of the divine glory were in the first Temple, which were wanting to the second: as the Urim and Thummim, by which the high-priest was miraculously instructed of the will of God; the ark of the covenant, from whence God gave his answers by a clear and audible voice; the fire upon the altar, which came down from heaven, and immediately consumed the sacrifice; the divine presence or habitation with them, represented by a visible appearance, or given, as it were, to the king and high-priest by anointing with the oil of unction; and, lastly, the spirit of prophecy, with which those especially who were called to the prophetic office were endued. And there was no comparison between the beauty and glory of the structure or building of it, as appeared by the tears dropped from those eyes which had beheld the former; for *many of the priests and Levites*, Ezra iii. 12. *and chief of the fathers, who were ancient men, that had seen the first house, when the foundation of this house was laid before their eyes, wept with a loud voice;* and by those words which God commanded Haggai to speak to the people for the introducing of this prophecy, *Who is left among you that saw this* Hag. ii. 3. *house in her first glory? And how do ye see it now? Is it not in your eyes in comparison of it as nothing?* Being then the structure of the second Temple was so far inferior to the first, being all those signs of the divine glory were wanting in it with which the former was adorned; the glory of it can no other way be imagined greater, than by the coming of Him into it in whom all those signs of the divine glory were far more eminently contained: and this person alone is the *Messias*.

For he was to be the glory of the people Israel, yea, even of the God of Israel; he the Urim and Thummim, by whom the will of God, as by a greater oracle, was revealed; he the true ark of the covenant, the only propitiatory by his blood; he which was to baptize with the Holy Ghost and with fire, the true fire which came down from heaven; he which was to take up his habitation in our flesh, and to dwell among us that we might behold his glory; he who received the Spirit without measure, and from whose fulness we do all receive. In him were all those signs of the divine glory united, which were thus divided in the first Temple; in him they were all more eminently contained than in those: therefore his coming to the second Temple was, as the sufficient, so the only means by which the glory of it could be greater than the glory of the first. If then the *Messias* was to come while the second Temple stood, as appeareth by God's prediction and promise; if that Temple many ages since hath ceased to be, there being not one stone left upon a stone; if it certainly were before the destruction of it in greater glory than ever the former was; if 84 no such glory could accrue unto it but by the coming of the *Messias*: then is that *Messias* already come.

Having thus demonstrated out of the promises given to the Jews, that the *Messias* who was so promised unto them must be already come, because those events which were foretold to follow his coming are already past; we shall proceed unto the next particular, and prove that the man *Jesus*, in whom we believe, is that *Messias* who was promised. First, it is acknowledged, both by the Jew and Gentile, that this *Jesus* was born in Judea, and lived and died there, before the commonwealth of Israel was dispersed, before the second Temple was destroyed; that is, at the very time when the prophets foretold the *Messias* should come. And there was no other beside him, that did with any show of probability pretend to be, or was accepted as, the *Messias*. Therefore we must confess he was, and only he could be, the *Christ*.

Secondly, All other prophecies belonging to the *Messias* were fulfilled in *Jesus*, whether we look upon the family, the place, or the manner of his birth; neither were they ever fulfilled in any person beside him: he then is, and no other can be, the *Messias*. That he was to come out of the tribe of Judah and family of David, is every where manifest. The

Jews, which mention *Messias* as a son of Joseph or of Ephraim, do not deny, but rather dignify, the Son of David, or of Judah, whom they confess to be the greater *Christ*¹. *There shall come forth a rod² out of the stem of Jesse, and a branch shall grow out of his roots, and the Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, saith the prophet Isaiah.* And again, *In that day there shall be a root of Jesse, which shall stand for an ensign of the people: to it shall the Gentiles seek; and his rest shall be glorious.* Now who was it but *Jesus* of whom the elders spake, *Behold the lion of the tribe of Judah, the root of David?* Who but he said, *I am the root and offspring of David, and the bright and morning star?* The Jews did all acknowledge it, as appears by the question of our Saviour, *How say the scribes that Christ is the Son of David? What think ye of Christ? whose son is he?* They say unto him, *The Son of David:* and that of the people, amazed at the seeing of the blind, and speaking of the dumb, *Is not this the Son of David?* The blind cried out unto him, *Jesus, thou Son of David, have mercy on us;* and the multitude cried, *Hosanna to the Son of David.* The genealogy of *Jesus* shews his family: the first words of the Gospel, are *The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the Son of David.* The prophecy therefore was certainly fulfilled in respect of his lineage; *for it is evident that our Lord sprang out of Judah.*

Beside if we look upon the place where the *Messias* was to be born, we shall find that *Jesus* by a particular act of Providence was born there. When Herod gathered all the chief priests and scribes of the people together, he demanded of them where *Christ* should be born. And they said unto him, *In Bethlehem of Judea.* The people doubted whether *Jesus* was the *Christ*, because they thought he had been born in Galilee,

¹ The Jews have invented a double *Messias*: to one they attribute all those places which mention his low estate and sufferings; to the other such as speak of his power and glory. The one they style משיח בן יוסף, the other משיח בן דוד. The son of Joseph they name also the son of Ephraim, and the Son of David the son of Judah: as the Targum, Cant. iv. 5. "Thy two breasts are like two young roes," ורין

פריקין [דעודין למפרקין] משיח בר דוד : ומשיח בר אפרים Two are thy Redeemers [who are about to come to redeem thee], *Messias the Son of David, and Messias the son of Ephraim.*

² Which the Chaldee paraphrase thus translates, יפיק מלכא מבנוי דיש, ומשיחא מבני בנוי דירבא A king shall come out of the sons of Jesse, and the *Messias* out of his son's sons. So Rabbi Solomon and Kimchi.

- John vii. 41, 42. where Joseph and Mary lived; wherefore they said, *Shall Christ come out of Galilee? Hath not the Scripture said, that Christ cometh of the seed of David, and out of the town of Bethlehem, where David was?* That place of Scripture which they meant was cited by the scribes to Herod, according to the interpretation then current among the Jews, and still preserved in the Chaldee paraphrase¹. For thus it is written in [by] the prophet, *And thou, Bethlehem, in the land of Judah, art not the least among the princes of Judah: for out of thee shall come a governor that shall rule my people Israel.* This 85 prediction was most manifestly and remarkably fulfilled in the birth of *Jesus*, when by the providence of God it was so ordered, that Augustus should then tax the world, to which end every one should go up into his own city. Whereupon Joseph and Mary his espoused wife left Nazareth of Galilee, their habitation, and went unto Bethlehem of Judea, the city of David, there to be taxed, *because they were of the house and lineage of David.* And, while they were there, as the days of the Virgin Mary were accomplished, so the prophecy was fulfilled; for there she brought forth her first-born son; and so unto us was born that day *in the city of David, a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord.*
- Luke ii. 4.
- Luke ii. 11.

But if we add, unto the family and place, the manner of his birth also foretold, the argument must necessarily appear conclusive. The prophet Isaiah spake thus unto the house of David; *The Lord himself shall give you a sign: Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel.* What nativity could be more congruous to the greatness of a *Messias* than that of a virgin, which is most miraculous? What name can be thought fitter for him than that of Immanuel, *God with us*, whose land Judea is said to be? The Immanuel then thus born of a virgin was without question the true *Messias*. And we know *Jesus* was thus born of the blessed Virgin Mary, *that it might be fulfilled which was thus spoken of the Lord by the prophet.* Wherefore being all the prophecies concerning the family, place, and manner of the birth of the *Messias* were fulfilled in *Jesus*, and not so much

Isai. vii. 14.

Isai. viii. 8.

Matt. i. 22.

¹ Which expressly translateth it thus: מֶלֶךְ דָּוִד יֵצֵא מִבֵּית עֲבִיר מִן כְּרִמִּי יֵצֵא מִשִּׁמּוֹן לִמְדִּי עֲבִיר Out of thee shall come before me the *Messias*, that he may

exercise domination in Israel. So Rabbi Solomon, מֶלֶךְ לִי יֵאֵר מִשִּׁמּוֹן בֵּן דָּוִד So Kimchi and Abarbanel, דָּוִד מִן כְּרִמִּי וְיֵצֵא מִבֵּית עֲבִיר

as pretended to be accomplished in any other; it is again from hence apparent, that this *Jesus* is the *Christ*.

Thirdly, he which taught what the *Messias* was to teach, did what the *Messias* was to do, suffered what the *Messias* was to suffer, and by suffering obtained all which a *Messias* could obtain, must be acknowledged of necessity to be the true *Messias*. But all this is manifestly true of *Jesus*. Therefore we must confess he is the *Christ*. For, first, it cannot be denied but the *Messias* was promised as a prophet and teacher of the people. So God promised him to Moses; *I will raise them up a Prophet from among their brethren like unto thee.* Deut. xviii. 18. So Isaiah, Ezekiel, and Hoseah, have expressed him, as we shall hereafter have further occasion to shew. And, not only so, but as a greater prophet, and more perfect doctor, than ever any was which preceded him, more universal than they all: *I have put my Spirit upon him, (saith God): he shall bring forth judgment to the Gentiles, and the isles shall wait for his law.* Isai. xlii. 1, 4. Now it is as evident that *Jesus* of Nazareth was the most perfect Prophet, the Prince¹ and Lord of all the prophets, doctors, and pastors, which either preceded or succeeded him. For he hath revealed unto us the most perfect will of God both in his precepts and his promises. He hath delivered the same after the most perfect manner, with the greatest authority; not like Moses and the prophets, saying, *Thus saith the Lord*; but *I say unto you*; nor like the interpreters of Moses, Matt. v. often. for he taught them as one having authority, and not as the scribes: with the greatest perspicuity, not, as those before him, under types and shadows, but plainly and clearly; from whence both he and his doctrine is frequently called *light*: with the greatest universality, as preaching that Gospel which is to unite all the nations of the earth into one Church, that there might be one Shepherd and one flock. Whatsoever then that great Prophet the *Messias* was to teach, that *Jesus* taught; and whatsoever works he was to do, those *Jesus* did. Matt. vii. 29.

When John the Baptist *had heard the works of Christ, he sent two of his disciples with this message to him, Art thou he that should come, or do we look for another?* And *Jesus* returned this answer unto him, shewing the ground of that message, *the works of Christ*, was a sufficient resolution of the

¹ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος. 1 Pet. v. 4. ὁ ποιῶν τῶν προβάτων ὁ μέγας. Heb. xiii.

20. ὁ ποιῶν καὶ ἐπισκοπος τῶν ψυχῶν. 1 Pet. ii. 25.

- question sent; *Go and shew John again those things which ye do hear and see: the blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, and the dead are raised up.* And as *Jesus* alleged the works which he wrought to be a sufficient testimony that he was the *Messias*; so did those Jews acknowledge it who said, *When Christ cometh, will he do more miracles than these which this man doth?* And Nicodemus, a ruler among them, confessed little less: *Rabbi, we know that thou art a teacher come from God; for no man can do these miracles that thou doest, except God be with him.* Great and many were the miracles which Moses and the rest of the prophets wrought for the ratification of the Law, and the demonstration of God's constant presence with his people; and yet all those, wrought by so many several persons, in the space of above three thousand years, are far short of those which this one *Jesus* did perform within the compass of three years. The ambitious diligence of the Jews hath reckoned up seventy-six miracles for Moses, and seventy-four for all the rest of the prophets: and supposing that they were so many (though indeed they were not), how few are they in respect of those which are written of our Saviour! How inconsiderable, if compared with all which he wrought! when St John testifieth with as great certainty of truth as height of hyperbole, that *there are many other things which Jesus did, the which, if they should be written every one, he supposed that even the world itself could not contain the books that should be written.* Nor did our Saviour excel all others in the number of his miracles only, but in the power of working. Whatsoever miracle Moses wrought, he either obtained by his prayers, or else, consulting with God, received it by command from him; so that the power of miracles cannot be conceived as immanent or inhering in him. Whereas this power must of necessity be in *Jesus, in whom dwelt all the fulness of the Godhead bodily*, and to whom the Father had given to have life in himself. This he sufficiently shewed by working with a word, by commanding the winds to be still, the devils to fly, and the dead to rise: by working without a word or any intervenient sign; as when the woman which *had an issue of blood twelve years touched his garment, and straightway the fountain of her blood was dried up*, by the virtue which flowed out from the greater fountain of his power. And, lest this example
- Matt. xli. 4, 5.
- John vii. 31.
- John iii. 2.
- John xxi. 25.
- Col. ii. 9.
- John v. 26.
- Mark v. 26, 29.

should be single, we find that *the men of Gennesaret, the people out of all Judea and Jerusalem, and from the sea-coast of Tyre and Sidon, even the whole multitude sought to touch him; for there went virtue out of him, and healed them all.* Once indeed *Christ* seemeth to have prayed, before he raised Lazarus from the grave, but even that was done *because of the people which stood by;* not that he had not power within himself to raise up Lazarus, who was afterward to raise himself, but that they might believe the Father had sent him. The immanency and inherency of this power in *Jesus* is evident in this, that he was able to communicate it to whom he pleased, and actually did confer it upon his disciples: *Behold, I give unto you power to tread on serpents and scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy.* Upon the apostles: *Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead, cast out devils; freely ye have received, freely give.* Upon the first believers: *These signs shall follow them that believe; in my name they shall cast out devils. He that believeth on me, the works that I do shall he do also; and greater works than these shall he do.* He then which did more actions divine and powerful than Moses and all the prophets ever did, he which performed them in a manner far more divine than that by which they wrought, hath done all which can be expected the *Messias*, foretold by them, should do.

Nor hath our *Jesus* only done, but suffered, all which the *Messias* was to suffer. For we must not with the Jews 87 deny a suffering *Christ*, or fondly of our own invention make a double *Messias*, one to suffer, and another to reign. It is clear enough by the prophet *Isaias* what his condition was to be, whom he calls the *servant of God*; and the later Jews cannot deny but their fathers constantly understood that place of the *Messias*¹.

¹ For, first, instead of those words, *Behold, my servant shall deal prudently*, the Targum hath it plainly, *והנה עבדי משיח ירוח עבדי משיח Behold, my servant the Messias shall prosper.* And Solomon Jarohi on the place: *רבותינו מוקמי לו במשיח Our rabbins understand this of the Messias.* And the reason which he renders of their interpretation is very observable. For they say (says he), that the *Messias* is stricken, as it is written, *He took our*

infirmities, and bare our griefs; which are the words of the 4th verse of the 53d chapter. From whence we may perceive how the ancient Jews did join the latter part of the 53d chapter with the 53d, and expound them of the same person. Besides he cites a certain Midrash, or gloss, which attributes the same verse to the *Messias*, and that is to be found in Bereshit Rabba upon Gen. xxviii. 10. where, falling upon that place in Zech. iv. 7,

Now the sufferings of *Christ* spoken of by the prophet may be reduced to two parts: one in respect of contempt, by which he was despised of men; the other in respect of his death, and all those indignities and pains which preceded and led unto it. For the first, the prophet hath punctually de-

What art thou, O great mountain, before Zerubbabel? he answers, *הר גדול זה משיח* *that great mountain is the Messiah.* Then asking again, *Why doth he call the Messiah a great mountain?* he gives this answer, *שמה גדול מן האבות שנ' הזה ישכיל עבדי זה משיח* *Because he is greater than the fathers, as it is written, Behold, my servant shall understand, that is, the Messiah:* which are the words of the verse before cited. And the same Bereshit Rabba upon Gen. xxiv. 67, saith: *Messiah the king was in the generation of the wicked; that he gave himself to seek for mercies for Israel, and to fasting and humbling himself for them, as it is written; and so produceth the words of Isa. liii. 5.* From whence it appears again, that the author thereof interpreted both the chapters of the same *Messias*. And farther it is observable that the Midrash upon Ruth ii. 14, expounds the same verse in the same manner. And Rabbi Moses Alshech speaks yet more fully of the consent of the ancient Jewish doctors upon this place *הנה רנ"ל פה אחד קיימו וקבלו כי על מלך לרבר המשיח* *Behold our doctors of happy memory conclude with one mouth, as they have received from their ancestors, that this is spoken of the Messiah.* From hence it appears, that it was originally the general sense of the Jews, that all that piece of Isaiah is a description of the *Messias*, and consequently that the Apostles cannot be blamed by them now, for applying it to *Christ*; and that the modern Jews may well be suspected to frame their contrary expositions out of a wilful opposition to Christianity. [The passage here cited from Solomon Jarchi on Is. lii. 13, is not found either in Bomberg's or Buxtorf's *Biblia Rab-*

binica, in that place; neither is it found in an ancient MS. of Jarchi, now in the Library of St John's College, Cambridge. The note now printed in Jarchi, in these editions of the *Biblia Rabbinica*, is simply this: *הנה באחרית הימים יצליח עבדי יעקב צדיקים שבו:*

"Behold in the latter days my servant Jacob shall flourish, (that is) the righteous that are in him."

The MS. of St John's agrees with this, except that for *שבו* it reads *שבוה*, "that are in them," that is, in Jacob, or in the nation of Israel; a variation which does not alter the sense at all. The translation of Breithaupt is taken from a text agreeing with these; but in his notes he adds,

"Cf. hic Nizzach. p. 195. apud D. Wagenseil et R. Nachman Disput. p. 32. ap. eundem. it. R. Isaac Munim. Fidei, p. 199 et p. 211. apud eund. D. Wagenseil. item. Raym. Martini Pug. Fid. Part 3. Dist. 1. cap. 10. n. 3. fol. 535. ed. Lips. ubi ex glossa R. Salomonis ad hunc locum satis multa adducta sunt, quæ in hodiernis codicibus non leguntur. Confer et ejusdem Martini Pug. Fid. Part 3. Dist. 3. c. 1. No. 12."

The passages which Bp Pearson has quoted from Bereshith Rabba will be found quoted by Raymond Martin in the above portions of the *Pugio Fidei*. In the Disputation of R. Nachman (ap. Wagenseil, *Tela Ignea Satanae*) p. 32. there is an admission that the older Jewish commentators explained this passage as referring to the *Messiah*: but R. Nachman endeavours to break the force of this argument. The other passages in Wagenseil give the Jewish interpretations of the passage in question, that is, Isaiah lii. 13. H. J. R.]

scribed his condition, saying, *He hath no form nor comeliness*, Isai. lili. 2, 3.
and when we shall see him, there is no beauty that we should desire him. He is despised and rejected of men. He seems to describe a personage no way amiable, an aspect indeed rather uncomely¹: and so the most ancient writers have interpreted 88 Isaias², and confessed the fulfilling of it in the body of our

¹ The first לֹא צֶלֶם seems to signify no less, as being from the root צָלַם which signifieth to form, figure, fashion, or delineate; from whence the noun attributed to any person signifieth the feature, complexion, shape, or composition of the body: as Rachel was צֶלֶם יָפֶה, *forma pulchra*, Gen. xxix. 17. and so Joseph צֶלֶם יָפֶה, Gen. xxxix. 6. so Abigail and Esther, and in general, Deut. xxi. 11. with an addition of fair added to צֶלֶם; whereas David is called, without such addition, צֶלֶם יָפֶה, but with the full signification ὁ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς τῷ εἶδει, in Judges viii. 18. בְּנִי כִדְמָר תִּהְיֶה לְךָ *els ὁμοιωμα νιού βασιλέως*, so the Roman; but the Aldus and Complutensian better, ὡς εἶδος νιῶν βασιλέως according to that verse of Euripides [*Æolus*] cited by Athenæus [xiii. c. 2. p. 566. b. Stobæus Sermon. lxiii.] and Porphyrius,

Πρώτον μὲν εἶδος ἄξιον τυραννίδος.

The Messias was to be a king, whose external form and personage spake no such majesty.

² As Justin Martyr: Οἱ μὲν εἰρηναῖοι εἰς τὴν πρώτην παρουσίαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἄνθρωπος, καὶ αἰδέτης, καὶ θνητὸς φανήσεται κεκηρυγμένους ἑσθίν. *Dial. cum Tryph.* p. 232. § 14. [166. 1. Thirlby.] Ἐλθόντος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰορδάνην, καὶ νομιζομένου Ἰωσήφ τοῦ τέκτονος νιὸς ὑπάρχειν, καὶ αἰδέους, ὡς αἱ γραφαὶ ἐκήρυσσον, φανομένου. *Ibid.* p. 316. § 88. [332. 31.] Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οἱ ἐν οὐρανῷ ἀρχόντες ἑώραν αἰδέτη καὶ ἄνθρωπον τὸ εἶδος καὶ ἀδοξον ἐχόντα αὐτόν, οὐ γνωρίζοντες αὐτόν, ἐκυνθάνοντο. Τίς ἐστὼ οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης; *Ibid.* p. 225. § 36. [211. 23.] And Clemens Alex. Τὸν δὲ Κύριον αὐτὸν τὴν ὁψιν αἰσχυρὸν γεγενῆσθαι διὰ Ἡσαίου τὸ Πνεῦμα μαρτυρεῖ. Καὶ εἰ-

δομεν αὐτόν, καὶ οὐκ εἶχεν εἶδος, &c. *Pæd.* 3. c. 1. [p. 252. 8.] Ὅπου γε καὶ αὐτὸς ἡ κεφαλὴ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἐν σαρκὶ μὲν αἰδέτης διεληλυθε καὶ ἀμορφος. *Strom.* 3. c. 17. p. 202. [p. 559. 25.] And Celsus impiously arguing against the descent of the Holy Ghost upon our Saviour, says: It is impossible that any body in which something of the Divinity were should not differ from others; Τοῦτο δὲ (the body of Christ) οὐδὲν ἄλλου διέφερεν, ἀλλ', ὡς φασι, μικρόν, καὶ δυσειδές, καὶ ἀγεννές ἦν. This which Celsus by his ὡς φασι seems to take from the common report of Christians in his age, Origen will have him take out of Isaias, and upon that acknowledgeth τὸ δυσειδές, but the other two, μικρόν and ἀγεννές, he denies: Ὁμολογουμένως τοίνυν γέγραπται τὰ περὶ τοῦ δυσειδούς γεγενῆσθαι τὸ Ἰησοῦ σώμα, οὐ μὲν ὡς ἐκτέθειται, καὶ ἀγεννές, οὐδὲ σαφῶς δηλοῦνται, ὅτι μικρόν ἦν· ἔχει δὲ ἡ λέξις οὕτω παρὰ τῷ Ἡσαίᾳ ἀναγεγραμμένη, &c. l. vi. § 75. [Tom. i. p. 689 A. B.] and then cites this place, and so returns it as an answer to the argument of Celsus, that because he was foretold to be as he was, he must be the Son of God: Μεγὰλῃ κατασκευῇ ἐστὶ τοῦ τὸν ἀμορφον εἶναι δοκοῦντα Ἰησοῦν, νιὸν εἶναι Θεοῦ, τὸ πρὸ πολλῶν ἐτῶν τῆς γενέσεως αὐτοῦ πεπορηγεῖσθαι καὶ περὶ τοῦ εἶδους αὐτοῦ. *Ibid.* § 76. [p. 690 B.] In the same sense did St Cyril take these words of the prophet; who, speaking of that place of the Psalmist, 'speciosus forma præ filiis hominum,' observes this must be understood of his Divinity: Κένωσις γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ ταπεινωσις τῆς μετὰ σαρκὸς οἰκονομίας διον ἐστὶ τὸ μυστήριον· γράφει δὲ πον καὶ ὁ Προφήτης Ἡσαίας περὶ αὐτοῦ, [Καὶ εἴδομεν αὐτόν, καὶ] οὐκ εἶχεν εἶδος, οὐδὲ

Phil. II. 6, 7.

Saviour. But what the aspect of his outward appearance was, because the Scriptures are silent, we cannot now know: and it is enough that we are assured, the state and condition of his life was in the eye of the Jews without honour and inglorious. For though, *being in the form of God he thought it not robbery to be equal with God; yet he made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant.* For

καλλος, &c. [Cyril Alex. *Glaphyrorum in Exodum*, Lib. 1. p. 250 c.] And again: 'Εν ελθει πέφηνεν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ λαοῦ ἀκαλλεστῶν. Tertullian speaks plainly as to the prophecy, and too freely in his way of expression: 'Sed carnis terrenæ non mira conditio, ipsa erat quæ cætera ejus miranda faciebat, cum dicerent, *Unde huic doctrina et signa ista!*—Adeo nec humanæ honestatis corporis fuit, nedum cœlestis claritatis. Tacentibus apud nos quoque prophetis (Isa. liii. 2.) de ignobili aspectu ejus, ipse passionibus ipsæque contumeliæ loquuntur. Passiones quidem humanam carnem, contumeliæ vero inhonestam. An ausus esset aliquis ungue summo perstringere corpus novum, sputaminibus contaminare faciem nisi merentem?' *De carne Christi*, c. 9. [p. 366 D.] And that we may be sure he pointed at that place in Isaiah, he says, that Christ was: 'Ne aspectu quidem honestus: Annunciavimus enim, inquit, de illo, sicut puerulus, sicut radix in terra sitiienti, et non est species ejus neque gloria.' *Adv. Marcion.* l. iii. c. 17. [p. 491 D.] and *Adv. Judæos*, c. 14. [p. 228 A.] This humility of Christ, in taking upon him the nature of man without the ordinary ornaments of man, at first acknowledged, was afterwards denied, as appears by St Hierome, on Isaiah [lii. Tom. iv. p. 612 E.] 'Inglorius erit inter homines aspectus ejus, non quo formæ significet fœditatem, sed quod in humilitate venerit et paupertate.' And *Epist.* 140. [65. § 8. Tom. i. p. 377 A.] 'Absque passionibus crucis, universis pulchrior est. Virgo de virgine, qui non ex voluntate Dei, sed ex Deo natus est. Nisi enim habuisset et in vultu quiddam oculisque side-

reum, nunquam eum statim secuti fuissent Apostoli, nec qui ad comprehendendum eum venerant, corruissent.' So St Chrysostom interprets the words of Isaiah of his Divinity, or humility, or his passion; but those of the Psalmist, of his native corporal beauty: Οὐδὲ γὰρ θαυματουργῶν ἦν θαυμαστός μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ φαινόμενος ἀπλῶς πολλῇς ἔγεμε χάριτος· καὶ τοῦτο ὁ προφήτης δηλῶν ἔλεγεν, Ὁραῖος κάλλει παρὰ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων. *Homil.* 28. in *Matt.* [§ 2. Tom. vii. p. 328 A.] Afterwards they began to magnify the external beauty of his body, and confined themselves to one kind of picture or portraiture, with a zealous pretence of a likeness not to be denied, which eight hundred years since was known by none, every several country having a several image. Whence came that argument of the Iconoclastæ, by way of query, which of those images was the true: Πότερον ἡ παρὰ Ῥωμαίους, ἡ ἥντιον Ἰσίδο γράφουσιν, ἡ ἡ παρὰ Ἕλλησι, ἡ ἡ παρὰ Αἰγυπτίους; οὐχ ὅμοιοι ἀλλήλους αὐταί. *Photius Epist.* 64. [p. 115.] And well might none of these be like another, when every nation painted our Saviour in the nearest similitude to the people of their own country. Ἕλλησι μὲν αὐτοῖς ὅμοιον ἐπὶ γῆς φανῆναι τὸν Χριστὸν νομίζουσι, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ μάλλον αὐτοῖς ἐοικότα· Ἰσίδο δὲ πάλιν μορφῇ τῇ αὐτῶν, καὶ Αἰθίοπες δὴλον ὡς αὐτοῖς. *Photius ibid.* [p. 117.] And the difference of opinions in this kind is sufficiently apparent out of those words in Suidas: [In voce εἰκῶ. Tom. ii. p. 23.] Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι φασὶν οἱ ἀκριβέστατοι τῶν ἱστορικῶν, ὡς τὸ ὁδόν καὶ διγυρόντων οἰκειότερόν ἐστι γράφειν ἐπὶ τῆς εἰκόνος τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

thirty years he lived with his mother Mary and Joseph his reputed father, of a mean profession, and was *subject to them*. Luke ii. 51. When he left his mother's house, and entered on his prophetic office, he passed from place to place, sometimes received into a house, other times lodging in the fields: for while the *foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests, the Son of man had not where to lay his head*. From this low estate of life and condition, seemingly inglorious, arose in the Jews a neglect of his works, and contempt of his doctrine. *Is not this the carpenter's son?* nay, farther, *Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary?*¹ and they were offended at him. Thus was it fulfilled in him, *he was despised and rejected of men, and they esteemed him not*. Matt. vii. 20. Matt. xiii. 55. Mark vi. 3. Isai. liii. 3.

This contempt of his personage, condition, doctrine and works, was by degrees raised to hatred, detestation, and persecution, to a cruel and ignominious death. All which if we look upon in the gross, we must acknowledge it fulfilled in him to the highest degree imaginable, that he was *a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief*. But if we compare the particular predictions with the historical passages of his sufferings; if we join the prophets and evangelists together, it will most manifestly appear the *Messias* was to suffer nothing which *Christ* hath not suffered. If Zachary say, *they weighed for my price thirty pieces of silver*; St Matthew will shew that Judas sold Jesus at the same rate; for the chief priests *covenanted with him for thirty pieces of silver*. If Isaiah say, that *he was wounded*; if Zachary, *they shall look upon me whom they have pierced*; if the prophet David, yet more particularly, *they pierced my hands and my feet*; the evangelists will shew how he was fastened to the cross, and Jesus himself, *the print of the nails*. If the Psalmist tell us, *they should laugh him to scorn, and shake their head, saying, He trusted on the Lord that he would deliver him, let him deliver him, seeing he delighted in him*; St Matthew will describe the same action, and the same expression; for *they that passed by reviled him, wagging their heads, and saying, He trusted in God, let him deliver him now, if he will have him; for he said, I am the Son of God*. Let David say, *My God, my God, why hast thou for-* Matt. xxvi. 15. Isai. liii. 5. Zech. xii. 10. Psal. xxii. 16. John xx. 25. Psal. xxii. 7, 8. Matt. xxvii. 39, 43. Psal. xxi. 1.

¹ Καὶ τέκτονος νομιζομένου ταῦτα γὰρ τὰ τεκτονικὰ ἔργα ἐργάζετο ἐν ἀνθρώποις ὢν, ἀπορτα καὶ ἰσχυρά. *Just.*

Mart. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 316. § 88.
[333. 3. Thirlby.]

saken me? and the Son of David will shew in whose person the Father spake it, *Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani?* Let Isaiah foretell, *he was numbered with the transgressors*; and you shall find him *crucified between two thieves, one on his right hand, the other on his left.* Read in the Psalmist, *in my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink*; and you shall find in the evangelist, *Jesus, that the Scripture might be fulfilled, said, I thirst: and they took a sponge, and filled it with vinegar, and put it on a reed, and gave him to drink.* Read farther yet, *they part my garments among them, and cast lots upon my vesture*; and, to fulfil the prediction, the soldiers shall make good the distinction, *who took his garments, and made four parts, to every soldier a part, and also his coat: now the coat was without seam, woven from the top throughout. They said therefore among themselves, Let us not rend it, but cast lots for it, whose it shall be.* Lastly, let the prophets teach us, that *he shall be brought like a lamb to the slaughter, and be cut off out of the land of the living*; all the evangelists will declare how like a lamb he suffered, and the very Jews will acknowledge, that he was cut off. And now may we well conclude, *Thus it is written, and thus it behoved the Christ to suffer*; and what it so behoved him to suffer that he suffered.

Neither only in his passion, but after his death, all things were fulfilled in *Jesus* which were prophesied concerning the *Messias*. *He made his grave with the wicked, and with the rich in his death*, saith the prophet of the Christ to come: and as the thieves were buried with whom he was crucified, so was *Jesus*, but laid in the tomb of *Joseph of Arimathea, an honourable counsellor.* *After two days will he revive us, in the third day he will raise us up*, saith Hoseah, of the people of Israel; in whose language they were the type of *Christ*; and the third day *Jesus* rose from the dead. *The Lord said unto my Lord* (saith David), *Sit thou at my right hand.* Now *David* is not ascended into the heavens, and consequently cannot be set at the right hand of God; but *Jesus* is already ascended, and set down at the right hand of God: and so *all the house of Israel might know assuredly, that God hath made that same Jesus, whom they crucified, both Lord and Christ.* For he who taught whatsoever the *Messias*, promised by God, foretold by the prophets, expected by the people of God, was to teach; he who did all which that *Messias* was by virtue of that office to

do; he which suffered all those pains and indignities which that *Messias* was to suffer; he to whom all things happened after his death, the period of his sufferings, which were according to the divine predictions to come to pass; he, I say, must infallibly be the true *Messias*. But Jesus alone taught, did, suffered, and obtained all these things, as we have shewed. Therefore we may again infallibly conclude, that our *Jesus* is the *Christ*.

Fourthly, If it were the proper note and character of the *Messias*, that all nations should come in to serve him; if the doctrine of *Jesus* hath been preached and received in all parts of the world, according to that character so long before delivered; if it were absolutely impossible that the doctrine revealed by *Jesus* should have been so propagated as it hath been, had it not been divine; then must this *Jesus* be the *Messias*; and when we have proved these three particulars, we may safely conclude he is the *Christ*.

That all nations were to come in to the *Messias*, and so the distinction between the Jew and Gentile to cease at his coming, is the most universal description in all the prophecies. God speaks to him thus, as to his Son; *Ask of me, and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession.* Psalm ii. 8. It was one greater than Solomon of whom these words were spoken, *All kings shall fall down before him, all nations shall serve him. It shall come to pass in the last days, (saith Isaiah,) that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow unto it.* Psalm lxxii. 11. And again, *In that day there shall be a root of Jesse, which shall stand for an ensign of the people; to it shall the Gentiles seek.* Isaiah li. 2. Micah iv. 1. And in general all the prophets were but instruments to deliver the same message, which Malachi concludes, from God: *From the rising of the sun, even unto the going down of the same, my name shall be great among the Gentiles; and in every place incense shall be offered unto my name, and a pure offering: for my name shall be great among the heathen, saith the Lord of Hosts.* Mal. i. 11. Now being the bounds of Judea were settled, being the promise of God was to bring all nations in at the coming of the *Messias*, being this was it which the Jews so much opposed, as loath to part from their

ancient and peculiar privilege; he which actually wrought this work must certainly be the *Messias*: and that *Jesus* did it, is most evident.

That all nations did thus come in to the doctrine preached 90
 by *Jesus*, cannot be denied. For although he *were not sent but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel*; although of those many Israelites, which believed on him while he lived, very few were left immediately after his death; yet when the apostles had received their commission from him to *go teach all nations*, and were *endued with power from on high* by the plentiful effusion of the Holy Ghost; the first day there was an accession of *three thousand souls*; immediately after we find *the number of the men*, beside women, *was about five thousand*; and still *believers were the more added to the Lord, multitudes both of men and women*. Upon the persecution at Jerusalem, they went through the *regions of Judea, Galilee, and Samaria*, and so the Gospel spread; insomuch that St James the bishop of Jerusalem spake thus unto St Paul, *Thou seest, brother, how many thousands* (or rather how many myriads¹, that is, ten thousands) *of Jews there are which believe*. Beside, how great was the number of the believing Jews, strangers scattered through Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, Bithynia, and the rest of the Roman provinces, will appear out of the epistles of St Peter, St James, and St John. And yet all these are nothing to the fulness of the Gentiles which came after. First, those which were before Gentile worshippers, acknowledging the same God with the Jews, but not receiving the Law; who had before abandoned their old idolatry, and already embraced the true doctrine of one God, and did confess the Deity which the Jews did worship to be that only true God; but yet refused to be circumcised, and so to oblige themselves to the keeping of the whole Law. Now the apostles preaching the same God with Moses whom they all acknowledged, and teaching that circumcision and the rest of the legal ceremonies were now abrogated, which those men would never admit, they were with the greatest facility converted to the Christian faith. For being present at the synagogues of the Jews, and understanding much of the Law, they were of all the Gentiles readiest to

¹ Πόσαι μυριάδες.

hear, and most capable of the arguments which the apostles produced out of the Scriptures to prove that *Jesus was the Christ*. Thus many of the *Greeks which came up to worship* John xii. 20. at Jerusalem, *devout men out of every nation under heaven*, not Acts ii. 5. *men of Israel*, but yet *fearing God*, did first embrace the Christian faith. After them the rest of the Gentiles left the idolatrous worship of their heathen gods, and in a short time in infinite multitudes received the Gospel. How much did *Jesus* work by one St Paul to the *obedience of the Gentiles by word and deed*? How did he pass from Jerusalem round about through Phœnice, Syria, and Arabia, through Asia, Achaia, and Macedonia, even to Illyricum, *fully preaching the Gospel of Christ*? Rom. xv. 18. 19. How far did others pass beside St Paul, that he should speak even of his time, that the *Gospel was preached to every creature under heaven*? Col. i. 23. Many were the nations, innumerable the people, which received the faith in the apostles' days: and in not many years after, notwithstanding millions were cut off in their bloody persecutions, yet did their numbers equalize half the Roman empire¹: and little above two ages after the death of the last apostle, the emperors of the world gave in their names to *Christ*, and submitted their sceptres to his laws, that the *Gentiles might come to his light, and kings to the brightness of his rising*; that *kings* Isai. lx. 3. Isai. xlix. 22.

¹ 'Visa est mihi res digna consultatione, maxime propter periclitantium numerum. Multi enim omnis ætatis, omnis ordinis, utriusque sexus etiam, vocantur in periculum et vocabuntur. Neque enim civitates tantum, sed viços etiam atque agros, superstitionis iustus contagio pervagata est.' *Plin. Epist. ad Trajanum*, l. x. ep. 97. 'Tanta hominum multitudo, pars pene major civitatis cujusque, in silentio et modestia agimus.' *Tertull. ad Scapul.* c. 2. [p. 86 B.] 'Si et hostes exsertos, non tantum vindices occultos agere vellemus, deesset nobis vis numerorum et copiarum! Plures nimirum Mauri et Marcomanni, ipsique Parthi, vel quantæcunque unius tamen loci et suorum finium gentes, quam totius orbis. Hesterni sumus, et vestra omnia implevimus, urbes, insulas, castella, municipia, conciliabula, castra ipsa, tribus, decurias, palatium, sena-

tum, forum.' *Id. Apolog.* c. 37. [p. 33 D.] 'Potuimus et inermes, nec rebelles, sed tantummodo discordes, solius divortii invidia adversus vos dimicasse. Si enim tanta vis hominum in aliquem orbis remoti sinum abruptissemus a vobis, suffudisset utique dominationem vestram tot qualiumcumque amissio civium, imo etiam et ipsa destitutione punisset: proculdubio expavissetis ad solitudinem vestram, ad silentium rerum, et stuporem quandam quasi mortui orbis; quæsiassetis quibus in ea imperaretis.' *Id. ibid.* And Irenæus, who wrote before Tertullian, and is mentioned by him, speaks of the Christians in his time living in the Court of Rome: 'Quid autem et hi qui in regali aula sunt fideles! nonne ex eis, quæ Cæsaris sunt, habent utensilia, et his, qui non habent, unusquisque eorum secundum suam virtutem præstat?' [Lib. iv. c. 49. p. 351. col. i. 28.]

might become *the nursing fathers, and queens the nursing mothers*, of the Church.

From hence it came to pass, that, according to all the predictions of the prophets, the one God of Israel, the Maker of heaven and earth, was acknowledged through the world for the only true God: that the Law given to Israel was taken for the true Law of God, but as given to that people, and so to cease when they ceased to be a people; except the moral part thereof, which, as an universal rule common to all people, is still acknowledged for the Law of God, given unto all, and obliging every man: that all the oracles of the heathen gods, in all places where Christianity was received, did presently cease, and all the idols or the gods themselves were rejected and condemned as spurious. For the Lord of Hosts had spoken concerning those times expressly, *It shall come to pass in that day, that I will cut off the names of the idols out of the land, and they shall no more be remembered: also I will cause the prophets and the unclean spirit to pass out of the land.*

Zech. xiii. 2.

Now being this general reception of the Gospel was so anciently, so frequently foretold, being the same was so clearly and universally performed; even this might seem sufficient to persuade that *Jesus is Christ*. But lest any should not yet be fully satisfied, we shall farther shew, that it is impossible *Jesus* should have been so received for the true *Messias*, had he not been so; or that his doctrine, which teacheth him to be the *Christ*, should be admitted by all nations for divine had it not been such. For whether we look upon the nature of the doctrine taught, the condition of the teachers of it, or the manner in which it was taught, it can no way seem probable, that it should have had any such success, without the immediate working of the hand of God, acknowledging *Jesus* for his Son, the doctrine for his own, and the fulfilling by the hands of the apostles what he had foretold by the prophets.

As for the nature of the doctrine, it was no way likely to have any such success. For, first, it absolutely condemned all other religions, settled and corroborated by a constant succession of many ages, under which many nations and kingdoms, and especially at that time the Roman, had signally flourished. Secondly, it contained precepts far more ungrateful and trouble-

some to flesh and blood, and contrariant to the general inclination of mankind; as the abnegation of ourselves, the mortifying of the flesh, the love of our enemies, and the bearing of the cross. Thirdly, it enforced those precepts seemingly unreasonable, by such promises as were as seemingly incredible and unperceivable. For they were not of the good things of this world, or such as afford any complacency to our sense; but of such as cannot be obtained till after this life, and necessarily presuppose that which then seemed as absolutely impossible, the resurrection. Fourthly, it delivered certain predictions which were to be fulfilled in the persons of such as should embrace it, which seem sufficient to have kept most part of the world from listening to it, as dangers, losses, afflictions, tribulations; and, in sum, *all that would live godly in Christ* 1 Tim. III. 12. *Jesus should suffer persecution.*

If we look upon the teachers of this doctrine, there appeared nothing in them which could promise any such success. The first revealer and promulger bred in the house of a carpenter, brought up at the feet of no professor, despised by the high-priests, the Scribes and Pharisees, and all the learned in the religion of his nation; in the time of his preaching apprehended, bound, buffeted, spit upon, condemned, crucified; betrayed in his life by one disciple, denied by another; at his death distrusted by all. What advantage can we perceive toward the propagation of the Gospel in this author of it, *Christ crucified, unto the Jews a stumblingblock, and unto the* 1 Cor. I. 23. *Greeks foolishness?* What in those which followed him, sent
92 by him, and thence called apostles, men by birth obscure, by education illiterate, by profession low and inglorious? How can we conceive that all the schools and universities of the world should give way to them, and the kingdoms and empires should at last come in to them, except their doctrine were indeed divine, except that *Jesus*, whom they testified to be the *Christ*, were truly so?

If we consider the manner in which they delivered this doctrine to the world, it will add no advantage to their persons, or advance the probability of success. For in their delivery they used no such rhetorical expressions, or ornaments of eloquence, to allure or entice the world; they affected no such subtilty of wit, or strength of argumentation, as thereby to persuade and convince men; they made

1 Cor. ii. 4.

use of no force or violence to compel, no corporal menaces to affright mankind unto a compliance. But in a plain simplicity of words they nakedly delivered what they had seen and heard, *preaching, not with enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit*. It is not then rationally imaginable, that so many nations should forsake their own religions, so many ages professed, and brand them all as damnable, only that they might embrace such precepts as were most unacceptable to their natural inclinations, and that upon such promises as seemed not probable to their reason, nor could have any influence on their sense, and notwithstanding those predictions which did assure them, upon the receiving of that doctrine, to be exposed to all kind of misery: that they should do this upon the authority of him who for the same was condemned and crucified, and by the persuasion of them who were both illiterate and obscure: that they should be enticed with words without eloquence, convinced without the least subtilty, constrained without any force. I say, it is no way imaginable how this should come to pass, had not the doctrine of the Gospel, which did thus prevail, been certainly divine; had not the light of the Word, which thus dispelled the clouds of all former religions, come from heaven; had not that *Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith*, been the true *Messias*.

Heb. xii. 2.

To conclude this discourse. He who was in the world at the time when the *Messias* was to come, and no other at that time or since pretended; he who was born of the same family, in the same place, after the same manner, which the prophets foretold of the birth of the *Messias*; he which taught all those truths, wrought all those miracles, suffered all those indignities, received all that glory, which the *Messias* was to teach, do, suffer, and receive; he whose doctrine was received in all nations, according to the character of the *Messias*: he was certainly the true *Messias*. But we have already sufficiently shewed that all these things are exactly fulfilled in *Jesus*, and in him alone. We must therefore acknowledge and profess, that this *Jesus* is the promised *Messias*, that is, the *Christ*.

Having thus manifested the truth of this proposition, *Jesus is the Christ*, and shewed the interpretation of the word *Christ* to be *anointed*: we find it yet necessary, for the expli-

cation of this Article¹, to inquire what was the end or immediate effect of his unction, and how or in what manner he was anointed to that end.

For the first, as the *Messias* was foretold, so was he typified: nor were the actions prescribed under the Law less predictive than the words of the prophets. Nay², whosoever were then anointed, were therefore so, because he was to be anointed. Now it is evident, that among the Jews they were wont to anoint those which were appointed as kings over them³: so *Samuel said unto Saul, The Lord sent me to anoint thee to be king over his people, over Israel*. When Saul was rejected, and David produced before Samuel, *the Lord said,*
 93 *Arise, anoint him; for this is he*. And some may have contented themselves with this⁴, that the *Messias* was to be a king. But not only the kings, but beside and long before them, the high-priests were also anointed; insomuch as the *anointed*⁵, in their common language, signified their high-priest. And because these two were most constantly anointed, therefore divers have thought it sufficient to assert, that the

¹ 'In Christi—nomine subauditur qui unxit, et ipse qui unctus est, et ipsa unctio in qua unctus est.' *Iren.* l. iii. c. 20. [p. 246. 25.]

² *Οι βασιλεῖς πατέρες καὶ οἱ χριστοὶ ἀπὸ τοῦτον μετέσχον καὶ βασιλεῖς καλεῖσθαι καὶ χριστοὶ.* *Just. Mart. Dial. cum Tryph.* p. 313. § 86. [326. 34. Thirlby.]

³ '*Christus a chrismate dicitur: quia sicut antiqui reges a sacerdotibus oleo sacro profundebantur, sic Dominus noster Jesus Christus Spiritus Sancti infusione repletus est.*' *Auctor Serm.* 131. *de Temp.* [Inter Augustini Op. Append. Serm. 242. § 3. Tom. v. p. 281 B.]

⁴ 'Sicut nunc Romanis indumentum purpuree insignie est regie dignitatis assumptæ: sic illis unctio sacri unguenti nomen ac potestatem regiam conferebat.' *Lactan.* l. iv. c. 7. [Tom. i. p. 368.]

⁵ For though at the first the sons of Aaron were anointed as well as Aaron, as appears, *Exod.* xl. 15. 'Thou shalt anoint them as thou didst anoint their father, that they may ad-

minister to me in the priest's office:' yet they were not after anointed, but the successors of Aaron only: for, saith the text, 'Their anointing shall surely be an everlasting priesthood throughout their generations:' and, therefore, after this first anointing they shall need no more, only the successors in the high-priesthood shall reiterate the unction: from whence the *priest that is anointed* afterwards signified the high-priest, as *Lev.* iv. 3. רבֹּחַן הַמִּשְׁחָה LXX. ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ὁ κεχρισμένος, by way of explanation; whereas, verse the 5th and the 16th of the same chapter, and vi. 22. they render it by a bare translation, ὁ λεπεὺς ὁ χριστός: which by the vulgar Latin is translated, *Sacerdos qui jure patri succederet*, because no other but the son, which succeeded the father in the office of the high-priest, was afterwards anointed: as the Arabic, *Et similiter sacerdos successor de filiis suis*. For in the anointing of Aaron and his sons, נִמְשְׁחוּ כָּל הַבָּיִים אַחֲרָיו לַיהוָה כְּהֹנִים וְלוֹהֵ לֹא הָרַבְּנוּ לַמִּשְׁחָה אַחֵר וְהָיָה כִּי לֵוִי בֶן גֵּרְשֹׁן, 1 Kings i. 34.

Messias was to be a king and a priest¹. But being not only the high-priests and kings were actually anointed (though they principally and most frequently); for *the Lord said unto Elias, Go anoint Hazael to be king over Syria, and Jehu the son of Nimshi shalt thou anoint to be king over Israel, and Elisha the son of Shaphat shalt thou anoint to be prophet in thy room*: therefore hence it hath been concluded that the three offices of prophet, priest, and king, belonged to *Jesus* as the *Christ*², and that upon good reason. For the commonwealth of Israel was totally ordered and disposed, both in the constitution and administration of it, for and with respect unto the *Messias*. The constitution of that people was made by a sejunction and separation of them from all other nations on the earth: and this began in Abraham, with a peculiar promise of a seed in whom all the nations should be blessed, and be united into one religion. That promised seed was the *Messias*, the type of whom was Isaac. This separation was continued by the administration of that commonwealth, which was a *royal priesthood*: and that administration of the people did consist in three functions, prophetic, regal, sacerdotal; all which had respect unto the *Messias*³, as the scope of all

¹ Kings xix. 15, 16.

² Pet. ii. 9.

¹ As Lactantius: 'Erat Judæis ante præceptum, ut sacrum conficerent unguentum, quo perungi possent ii, qui vocabantur ad sacerdotium vel ad regnum.' l. iv. c. 7. And St Augustin: 'Prioribus Veteris Testamenti temporibus ad duas solas personas pertinebat unctio.' *Enarr.* 2. *Psal.* xxvi. § 2. 'Christus vel Pontificale vel Regium nomen est. Nam prius et Pontifices unguento chrismatis consecrabantur et Reges.' *Ruff. in Symb.* § 6. (p. 19.)

² Τοῦτο τὸ χρίσμα μὴ μόνον Ἀρχιερεῖσι παραδοθῆναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα προφῆταις καὶ βασιλεῦσι, οἷς καὶ αὐτοῖς τούτῳ χρῆσθαι μόνοις ἐξὸν ἦν τῷ μύστῳ. *Euseb. Demonst. Evang.* l. iv. c. 15. and *Hist.* l. i. c. 3. [p. 172 A.] Wherefore St Augustin, recollecting a place, in his eighty-three questions, in which he had taught the two fishes in the Gospel, 'duas illas significare personas (quibus populus ille regebatur, ut per eas conciliorum moderamen acciperet,) regiam scilicet

et sacerdotalem, ad quas etiam sacrosancta illa unctio pertinebat,' makes this particular retraction: 'Dicendum potius fuit, maxime pertinebat, quoniam unctos aliquando legimus et prophetas.' *Retract.* l. i. c. 26. [Tom. i. p. 29 A.]

³ Οὐ μόνους δὲ ἄρα τοὺς ἀρχιερωσύνην τετιμημένους—τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ κατεκόσμηται παρ' Ἑβραίοις ὄνομα· ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς βασιλέας, οὓς καὶ αὐτοὺς, πνεύματι θεῷ προφῆται χρίοντες, εἰκονικοῦς τινας χριστοὺς ἀπειργάζοντο· ὅτι δὴ καὶ αὐτοί, τῆς τοῦ μόνου καὶ ἀληθοῦς Χριστοῦ, τοῦ κατὰ πάντων βασιλεύοντος θεοῦ λόγου, βασιλικῆς καὶ ἀρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τοὺς τύπους δι' ἐαυτῶν ἔφερον· ἥδη δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν προφητῶν τινὰς διὰ χρίσματος χριστοὺς ἐν τύπῳ γεγενῆσθαι παρελήφμεν. ὥς τούτους πάντας τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀληθῆ Χριστὸν, τὸν ἐνθεον καὶ οὐράνιον λόγον, ἀναφορὰν ἔχειν, μόνον ἀρχιερεῖα τῶν ὄλων, καὶ μόνον ἀπάσης τῆς κτίσεως βασιλεῖα, καὶ μόνον προφητῶν ἀρχιερωφῆτην τοῦ πατρὸς τυγχάνοντα. *Euseb. Hist. Eccl.* l. i. c. 3. [p. 8 c.]

the prophets, and the complement of their prophecies, as the Lord of the Temple, and the end of all the sacrifices for which the Temple was erected, as the heir of an eternal priesthood *after the order of Melchizedek*, and of the throne of Psalm cx. 4. David, or an everlasting kingdom. Being then the separation was to cease at the coming of the *Messias*, being that could not cease so long as the administration of that people stood, being that administration did consist in those three functions, it followeth that those three were to be united in the person of the *Messias*, who was to make all one, and consequently, that the *Christ* was to be Prophet, Priest, and King.

Again, the redemption or salvation which the *Messias* was to bring, consisteth in the freeing of a sinner from the state of sin and eternal death, into a state of righteousness and eternal life. Now a freedom from sin in respect of the guilt could not be wrought without a sacrifice propitiatory, and therefore there was a necessity of a priest; a freedom from sin in respect of the dominion could not be obtained without a revelation of the will of God, and of his wrath against all ungodliness, therefore there was also need of a
94 prophet; a translation from the state of death into eternal life is not to be effected without absolute authority and irresistible power, therefore a king was also necessary. The *Messias*, then, the Redeemer of Israel, was certainly *anointed* for that end, that he might become Prophet, Priest, and King. And if we believe him whom we call *Jesus*, that is, our Saviour and Redeemer, to be *Christ*, we must assert him by his unction sent to perform all these three offices.

That *Jesus* was anointed to the prophetic office, though we need no more to prove it than the prediction of Isaiah, *The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed* Isai. lxi. 1. *me to preach the Gospel to the poor*; the explication of our Saviour, *This day is this Scripture fulfilled in your ears*; and Luke iv. 21. the confession of the synagogue at Nazareth, who *all bare* Luke iv. 22. *him witness, and wondered at the gracious words which proceeded out of his mouth*: yet we are furnished with more ample and plentiful demonstrations; for whether we consider his preparation, his mission, or his administration, all of them speak him fully to have performed it. To Jeremiah indeed God said, *Before thou camest forth out of the womb, I sanctified* Jer. i. 5. *thee, and I ordained thee a prophet unto the nations*; and of

Luke i. 15. John the Baptist, *He shall be filled with the Holy Ghost, even from his mother's womb.* And if these became singular prophets by their preparative sanctification, how much more eminent must his prophetic preparation be, to whose mother it is said, *The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee?* If the Levites must be

Numb. iv. 47. *thirty years old, every one that came to do the service of the ministry,* Jesus will not enter upon the public administration

Luke iii. 23. of this office *till he begin to be about thirty years of age.* Then

Luke iii. 22. doth the *Holy Ghost descend in a bodily shape like a dove upon him:* then must a voice come from heaven, saying, *Thou art my beloved Son, in thee I am well pleased.* Never such preparations, never such an inauguration of a prophet.

As for his mission, never any was confirmed with such letters of credence, such irrefragable testimonials, as the formal testimony of John the Baptist, and the more virtual testimony of his miracles. Behold, *I will send you Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord,* saith God by Malachy. And John went *before him in the spirit of Elias,* saith another Malachy, even an angel from heaven. This John, or Elias, saw the Spirit descend on

John i. 34. *Jesus, and bare record, that this is the Son of God.* The Jews

John iii. 26. took notice of this testimony, who said unto him, *Rabbi, he that was with thee beyond Jordan, to whom thou barest witness, behold, the same baptizeth, and all men come unto him;* and

John v. 33. *Jesus himself puts them in mind of it, Ye sent unto John, and he bare witness unto the truth;* nay, they themselves confessed

John x. 41. his testimony to be undeniable, *John did no miracle, but all things that John spake of this man were true.* But though the witness of John were thus cogent, yet the testimony of miracles was far more irrefragable; *I have greater witness than that of John,* saith our Saviour; *for the works which my Father hath given me to finish, the same works that I do, bear witness of me, that the Father hath sent me.* Notwithstanding the precedent record of John, Jesus requireth not an absolute

John x. 37. assent unto his doctrine without his miracles: *If I do not the works of my Father, believe me not.* But upon them he challengeth belief: *But if I do, though ye believe not me, believe the works; that ye may know and believe that the Father is in me, and I in him.* If then Moses and other prophets, to whom God gave the power of miracles, did assert their mission to be

from God by the divine works which they wrought; much more efficacious to this purpose must the miracles of *Jesus* appear, who wrought more wonders than they all. Never, therefore, was there so manifest a mission of a prophet.

95 · Now the prophetical function consisteth in the promulgation, confirmation, and perpetuation of the doctrine containing the will of God for the salvation of man. And the perfect administration of this office must be attributed unto *Jesus*. For *No man hath seen God at any time; the only-begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him.* He gave unto the apostles the words which his Father gave him. Therefore he hath revealed the perfect will of God. The confirmation of this doctrine cannot be denied him, who lived a most innocent and holy life to persuade it; for *he did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth:* who wrought most powerful and divine works to confirm it, and was thereby known to be *a teacher come from God;* who died a most painful and shameful death to ratify it, *witnessing a good confession before Pontius Pilate;* which in itself unto that purpose efficacious, was made more evidently operative in the raising of himself from death. The propagation and perpetual succession of this doctrine must likewise be attributed unto *Jesus*, as to no temporary or accidental prophet, but as to him who instituted and instructed all who have any relation to that function. For *the Spirit of Christ was in the prophets:* and when he ascended up on high, he gave gifts unto men. For he gave some apostles, and some prophets, and some pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ. It is then most apparent that *Jesus* was so far *Christ*, as that he was anointed to the prophetical office, because his preparation for that office was most remarkable, his mission unto that office was undeniable, his administration of that office was infallible.

Now as *Jesus* was anointed with the unction of Elizeus to the prophetical, so was he also with the unction of Aaron to the sacerdotal office. Not that he was called after the order of Aaron; for it is evident that our Lord sprang out of *Judah*, of which tribe *Moses* spake nothing concerning priesthood: but after a more ancient order, according to the prediction of the Psalmist, *The Lord hath sworn, and will not repent,*

- Heb. vii. 21. *Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek.* But though he were of another order, yet whatsoever Aaron did as a priest was wholly typical, and consequently to be fulfilled by the *Messias*, as he was a priest. For the priesthood did not begin in Aaron, but was translated and conferred upon his family before his consecration. We read of the priests which came near the Lord; of young men of the children of Israel which offered burnt-offerings, and sacrificed peace-offerings of oxen unto the Lord: which without question were no other than the first-born¹, to whom the priesthood did belong. *Jesus*, therefore, as the first-begotten of God, was by right a priest, and being anointed unto that office, performed every function, by way of oblation, intercession, and benediction.
- Exod. xix. 22. *which came near the Lord;* of young men of the children of Israel which offered burnt-offerings, and sacrificed peace-offerings of oxen unto the Lord: which without question were no other than the first-born¹, to whom the priesthood did belong. *Jesus*, therefore, as the first-begotten of God, was by right a priest, and being anointed unto that office, performed every function, by way of oblation, intercession, and benediction.
- Heb. viii. 3. *Every high-priest is ordained to offer gifts and sacrifices: wherefore it is of necessity that this man, Jesus, if he be a high-priest, have somewhat also to offer.* Not that he had anything beside himself, or that there was any peculiar sacrifice allowed to this priest; to whom, *when he cometh into the world, he saith, Sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not, but a body hast thou prepared me:* and, *by the offering of this body of Jesus Christ are we sanctified.* For he who is our priest hath given himself an offering and a sacrifice to God for a sweet-smelling savour².
- Heb. x. 5. *allowed to this priest; to whom, when he cometh into the world, he saith, Sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not, but a body hast thou prepared me:* and, *by the offering of this body of Jesus Christ are we sanctified.* For he who is our priest hath given himself an offering and a sacrifice to God for a sweet-smelling savour².
- Heb. x. 10. *hath given himself an offering and a sacrifice to God for a sweet-smelling savour².*
- Eph. v. 2. *hath given himself an offering and a sacrifice to God for a sweet-smelling savour².*

Now when *Jesus* had thus given himself a propitiatory sacrifice for sin, he ascended up on high, and entered into the Holy of Holies not made with hands, and there appeared before God as an atonement for our sin. Nor is he prevalent only in his own oblation once offered, but in his constant intercession. *Who is he that condemneth?* saith the apostle; *it is Christ that died, yea rather, that is risen again, who is even at the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us.* 96

- Rom. viii. 34. *Who is he that condemneth? saith the apostle; it is Christ that died, yea rather, that is risen again, who is even at the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us.* 96
- Heb. vii. 25. *Upon this foundation be buildeth our persuasion, that he is able also to save them to the uttermost that come unto God by him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them.* Nor must we look upon this as a servile or precarious³, but rather

¹ For the Hebrew נָעֲרִים signifying juvenes, by all the Targums is rendered בְּכֹרִים, that is, *primogeniti*: and so the Arabic and Persian translations.

² 'Unus ipse erat qui offerebat et quod offerebat.' *S. August.* 'Ut—ipse—unum cum illo maneret cui

offerebat, unum in se faceret pro quibus offerebat; unus ipse esset qui offerebat et quod offerebat.' *Id. De Trin.* [Lib. iv. § 19. Tom. VIII. p. 583 D.]

³ Παράκλητον ἔχομεν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, οὐχ ὡς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν προκαλυνδοῦ-

as an efficacious and glorious intercession, as of him to whom all power is given both in heaven and earth. Beside these offerings and intercedings, there was something more required of the priest, and that is, blessing. *Aaron was separated, that he should sanctify the most holy things, he and his sons for ever, to burn incense before the Lord, to minister unto him, and to bless in his name for ever.* We read of no other sacerdotal act performed by Melchizedek the priest of the most high God, but only that of blessing, and that in respect both of God and man: First, *He blessed man, and said, Blessed be Abram of the most high God, possessor of heaven and earth:* then, *Blessed be the most high God, which hath delivered thine enemies into thine hand.* Now it is observable what the Rabbins have delivered, that at the morning sacrifice the priests under the law did bless the people with the solemn form of benediction, but at the evening sacrifice they blessed them not; to shew that in the evening of the world, the last days, which are the days of the *Messias*, the benediction of the law should cease, and the blessing of the *Christ* take place. When Zachariah the priest, the father of John Baptist the forerunner of our Saviour, *executed his office before God in the order of his course, and the whole multitude of the people waited for him, to receive his benediction, he could not speak unto them, for he was dumb; shewing the power of benediction was now passing to another and far greater priest, even to Jesus, whose doctrine in the mount begins with Blessed; who, when he left his disciples, lift up his hands, and blessed them.* And yet this function is principally performed after his resurrection, as it is written, *Unto you first, God, having raised up his Son Jesus, sent him to bless you, in turning every one of you from his iniquities.* It cannot then be denied that *Jesus*, who offered up himself a most perfect sacrifice and oblation for sin, who still maketh continual intercession for us, who was raised from the dead, that he might bless us with an everlasting benediction, is a most true and most perfect priest.

The third office belonging to the *Messias* was the regal,

μενω τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ προσπίπτοντα δουλικῶς. ἀπαγε τὴν δούλην ὡτως ὑπόνοιαν καὶ ἀναξίαν τοῦ πνεύματος· οὐτε γὰρ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦτο ἐπικύησεν, οὐτε τοῦ υἱοῦ πάσχειν, ἢ ὡς περὶ θεοῦ διανο-

εῖσθαι δοκιμὸν· ἀλλ' οἷς πέπονθεν ὡς ἄνθρωπος, πείθει καρτερεῖν ὡς λόγος καὶ παραινέτης. τοῦτο νοεῖται μοι ἢ παράκλησις. *S. Greg. Naz. Orat. 36. (30. § 14. Tom. I. p. 550 c.)*

as appeareth by the most ancient tradition of the Jews¹, and by the express predictions of the prophets. Yet have I set my king, saith the psalmist, upon my holy hill of Sion. Unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given, and the government shall be upon his shoulder, saith the prophet Isaiah, who calleth him the *Prince of peace*, shewing the perpetuity of his power, and particularly of his seat. Of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end, upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, to order it, and to establish it with judgment and with justice, from henceforth even for ever. All which most certainly belongs unto our *Jesus*, by the unerring interpretation of the angel Gabriel, who promised the blessed virgin that the Lord God should give unto her son the throne of his father David, and he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever, and of his kingdom there shall be no end. He acknowledgeth himself this office, though by a strange and unlikely representation of it, the riding on an ass; but by that it was fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, Tell ye the daughter of Sion, Behold, thy King cometh unto thee, meek, and sitting on an ass. He made as strange a confession of it unto Pilate; for when he said unto him, Art thou a king, then? Jesus answered, Thou sayest that I am a king. To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth. The solemn inauguration into this office was at his ascension into heaven, and his session at the right hand of God: not but that he was by right a king before, but the full and public execution was deferred till then, when God raised him from the dead, and set him at his own right hand in the heavenly places, far above all principality, and power, and might, and dominion. Then he, whose name is called the Word of God, had on his vesture and on his thigh a name written, King of kings, and Lord of lords.

This regal office of our Saviour consisteth partly in the ruling, protecting, and rewarding of his people; partly in the coercing, condemning, and destroying of his enemies. First, he ruleth in his own people, by delivering them a law by which they walk: by furnishing them with his grace, by which they are enabled to walk in it. Secondly, he pro-

¹ For the Chaldee paraphrase, in the most places where it mentioneth

the Messias, doth it with the addition of king, מלכא משיחא.

tecteth the same, by helping them to subdue their lusts, which reign in their mortal bodies; by preserving them from the temptations of the world, the flesh, and the devil; by supporting them in all their afflictions; by delivering them from all their enemies. Thirdly, whom he thus rules and protects here, he rewards hereafter in a most royal manner, making them *kings and priests unto God and his Father*. On Rev. i. 6. the contrary, he sheweth his regal dominion in the destruction of his enemies, whether they were temporal or spiritual enemies. Temporal, as the Jews and Romans, who joined together in his crucifixion. While he was on earth he told his disciples, *There be some standing here, which shall not taste of death, till they see the Son of man coming in his kingdom:* Matt. xvi. 28. and in that kingdom he was then seen to come, when he brought utter destruction on the Jews by the Roman armies, not long after to be destroyed themselves. But beside these visible enemies, there are other spiritual, those which hinder the bringing in of his own people into his Father's kingdom, those which refuse to be subject unto him, and consequently deny him to be their king; as all wicked and ungodly men, of whom he hath said, *These mine enemies, which would not that I should reign over them, bring hither, and slay them before me.* Luke xix. 27. Thus sin, Satan, and death, being the enemies to his kingdom, shall all be destroyed in their order. *For he must reign till he hath put all enemies under his feet: and the last enemy that shall be destroyed is death.* 1 Cor. xv. 26, 28. Thus is our *Jesus* become the *Prince of the kings of the earth*; thus is the *Lamb* Rev. i. 6. acknowledged to be *Lord of lords, and King of kings.* Rev. xvii. 14.

Wherefore, seeing we have already shewed that the prophetic, sacerdotal, and regal offices were to belong unto the promised *Messias*, as the proper end and immediate effect of his unction; seeing we have likewise declared how *Jesus* was *anointed* to these offices, and hath, and doth actually perform the same in all the functions belonging to them: there remaineth nothing for the full explication of this particular concerning the *Christ*, but only to shew the manner of this unction, which is very necessary to be explained. For how they were anointed under the law, who were the types of the *Messias*, is plain and evident, because the manner was prescribed, and the materials were visible: God appointed an oil to be made, and appropriated it to that use; and the pouring

that oil upon the body of any person was his anointing to that office for which he was designed. But being that oil so appropriated to this use was lost many hundred years before our Saviour's birth, being the custom of anointing in this manner had a long time ceased, being howsoever we never read that *Jesus* was at all anointed with oil; it remaineth still worthy of inquiry, how he was anointed, so as to answer to the former unctions; and what it was which answered to that oil, which then was lost, and was at the first but as a type of this which now we search for.

The Jews¹ tell us, that the anointing oil was hid in the days of Josiah, and that it shall be found and produced again when the *Messias* comes, that he may be anointed with it, and the kings and high-priests of his days. But though the loss of that oil bespake the destruction of that nation, yet the *Christ* which was to come needed no such unction for his consecration; there being as great a difference between the typical and correspondent oil, as between the representing and represented *Christ*. The prophet David calleth it not by the vulgar name of oil of unction, but the *oil of gladness*. For though that place may in the first sense be understood of Solomon, whom when Zadok the priest anointed, *They blew the trumpet, and all the people said, God save king Solomon. And all the people came up after him, and the people piped with pipes, and rejoiced with great joy, so that the earth rent with the sound of them;* though from thence it might be said of him, *Thy God hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows:* yet being those words are spoken unto God, as well as of God, (*therefore* [o] *God, thy God*²) the oil with

Psal. xlv. 7.

1 Kings i. 39, 40.

Psal. xlv. 7.

¹ בימות המשיח עתיד הקדוש ברוך הוא להחזיר לעמו אורח שמן המזרח שעשה משה שמנו עם הארון ובו ימשיח המלכים והכהנים In the days of the *Messias* God will restore unto his people the oil of unction which Moses made, which was hidden with the Ark; and the kings and high-priests shall be anointed with it in those days. Abarbanel Comment. ad 30 Exodi. [ver. 22. seq. art. B.] Now the loss of that oil, which they call the hiding of it, may well be thought to foretell the period of the Mosaic administration, being, they confess, that after that they never

had any priests anointed, because they had no power to make the same oil. So plainly confesseth the same Abarbanel [fol. 166. r. col. 2.]: לא היה כוח: משה בבית שני לפי שכבר היה נטון שמן המעודה שנמו יאשיהו עם שאר הדברים הקדושים ולא היה להם רשות לעשות:

² 'Duae personas, ejus qui unctus est Dei, et qui unxit, intellige. Unde et Aquila *Elohim* אלוהים verbum Hebraicum non nominativo casu, sed vocativo, interpretatur, dicens Θεε: et nos propter intelligentiam Deo posuimus, quod Latina lingua non recipit, ne quis perverse putet Deum dilecti et

which that God is anointed must, in the ultimate and highest sense, signify a far greater gladness than that at Solomon's coronation was, even the fountain of all joy and felicity in the Church of God.

The ancients¹ tell us that this oil is the Divinity itself, and in the language of the Scriptures it is the Holy Ghost. St Peter teacheth us, *how God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost, and with power.* Now though there can be no question but the Spirit is the oil, yet there is some doubt, when *Jesus* was anointed with it. For we know the angel said unto the blessed Virgin, *The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee: therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God.* From whence it appeareth, that from the conception, or at the incarnation, *Jesus* was sanctified by the Holy Ghost, and the power of the Highest; and so consequently, as St Peter spake, he was *anointed then with the Holy Ghost, and with power*². Again, being we read that after he was thirty years of age, the Spirit *like a dove descended and lighted upon him*; and he, descending in the power of the Spirit into Galilee, said unto them of Nazareth,

amantissimi et Regis bis Patrem nominari.' *S. Hieron. Epist.* 140 (65. § 13. Tom. I. p. 380 E.) 'Quod sequitur, *Unxit te, Deus, Deus tuus*, primum nomen Dei vocativo casu intelligendum est, sequens nominativo; quod satis miror cur Aquila non, ut coeperat in primo versiculo, vocativo casu interpretatus sit, sed nominativo, bis nominans Deum, qui supradictum unxerit Deum.' *Idem. Ibid.* [p. 381 E.]

¹ So Gregory Nazianzenus expounds the place: "Ὁν ἔχρισεν ἑλαῖον ἀγαλλιάσεως παρὰ τοὺς μετόχους αὐτοῦ, χρίσας τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα τῇ θεότητι, ὥστε ποιῆσαι τὰ ἀμφοτέρω ἐν. [*Orat.* 10. § 4, Tom. I. p. 241 B.] And again: *Χριστὸς δὲ διὰ τὴν θεότητα* (not that his Divinity was anointed, or Christ anointed in respect of his Divinity; but that he was anointed in his humanity by his Divinity) *χρίσας γὰρ αὐτὴ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος οὐκ ἐνεργεία, κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους χριστοὺς ἀγιάζουσα, παρουσίᾳ δὲ θίου τοῦ χρίσματος* ἥς ἐρ-

γοῦ, ἀνθρώπων ἀκοῦσαι τὸ χρίσας, καὶ ποιῆσαι θεὸν τὸ χρίσματον. *Orat.* 2. de *Filiō*, (30. § 21. Tom. I. p. 555 D.)

² *Χριστὸς ἐχρίσθη ὡς βασιλεὺς καὶ ἱερεὺς τῷ χρίσματι τῆς σαρκώσεως. Germanus Constant. Rer. Eccl. Contempl. Biblioth. Patr. Gr. Vol. II. p. 132. [Galland. Tom. XIII. p. 204 A.]* *Κεχρίσθαι δὲ οὐχ ἑτέρως φαμέν τὸν υἱόν, ἢ ὅτι κατὰ σάρκα γενόμενος, θελωσὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσας. Titus Bostrensis. ad Luc. iv. 18. ibid. Bib. Patr. p. 783 (B.)* 'Deus est qui ungit, et Deus qui secundum carnem ungitur Dei Filius. Denique quos habet unctionis suae *Christus* nisi in carne consortes? Vides igitur, quia Deus a Deo unctus, sed in assumptione naturae unctus humanæ Dei Filius designatur.' *S. Ambros. de Fide*, l. i. c. 3. (Vol. II. p. 448.) [2. Tom. IV. p. 116 B.] 'Hæc omnia carni conveniunt, cui piissimum et gloriosissimum Verbum unitum est pro salute cunctorum.' *Cassiodorus in Psal. xlv. 9. p. 152.*

Luke iv. 14,
21.
Isa. lxi. 1.

*This day is this Scripture fulfilled in your ears, (meaning that of Isaiah,) The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel; hence hath it been also collected, that his unction was performed at his baptism¹. Nor need we to contend which of these two was the true time of our Saviour's unction, since neither is destructive of the other, and consequently both may well consist together. David, the most undoubted type of the *Messias*, was anointed at Bethlehem; for there *Samuel took the horn of oil, and anointed him in the midst of his brethren: and the Spirit of the Lord came upon David from that day forward*. Of which unction those words of God must necessarily be understood, *I have found David my servant; with my holy oil have I anointed him*. And yet he was again anointed at Hebron; first, *over the house of Judah*, then *over all the tribes of Israel*. 99 As therefore David at his first unction received the Spirit of God, and a full right unto the throne of Israel, which yet he was not to exercise till the death of Saul and acceptance of the tribes; and therefore when the time was come that he should actually enter upon his regal office, he was again anointed: so our *Jesus*, the son of David, was first sanctified and anointed with the Holy Ghost at his conception, and thereby received a right unto, and was prepared for, all those offices which belonged to the Redeemer of the world: but when he was to enter upon the actual and full performance of all those functions which belonged to him, then doth the same Spirit which had sanctified him at his conception visibly descend upon him at his inauguration. And that most properly upon his baptism; because, according to the customs of those ancient nations, washing was wont to precede their unctions²: wherefore *Jesus when he was baptized, went up straight-**

1 Sam. xvi.
12.

Psal. lxxix.
20.

2 Sam. ii. 4.
3 Sam. v. 8.

Matt. iii. 16.

¹ St Jerome, mentioning that place of the Psalm: [xlv. 7.] 'Quando consortes nominantur, naturam carnis intellige; quia Deus consortes substantiæ suæ non habet. Et quia erat unctio spiritualis et nequaquam humani corporis, (ut fuit in sacerdotibus Judæorum) idcirco præ consortibus, id est, cæteris sanctis, unctus esse memoratur. Cujus unctio illo expleta est tempore quando baptizatus est in Jordane, et Spiritus Sanctus in specie

columbæ descendit super eum, et mansit in illo.' *Comment. in Eosiam*, c. 61. (Tom. IV. p. 731 E.) 'In illa columna quæ super ipsum post baptismam descendit, ipse cum sacramento baptismatis, et veri sacerdotii jura suscepit, fuso videlicet super eum oleo exultationis, de quo Psalmista canit; *Unxit te, inquit, Deus, Deus tuus oleo lætitiæ præ consortibus tuis*.' *Petrus Damianus*, *Opuscul. vi. c. 4*.

² As appears by those entertain-

way out of the water: and lo, the heavens were opened unto him, and he saw the Spirit of God descending like a dove. As David sent Solomon to be anointed at Gihon: from whence ^{1 Kings i. 38.} arose that ancient observation of the Rabbins, that kings were not to be anointed but by a fountain¹.

Now as we have shewed that *Jesus* was anointed with the Holy Ghost, lest any should deny any such descension to be a proper or sufficient unction, we shall farther make it appear, that the effusion, or action of the Spirit, eminently containeth whatsoever the Jews have imagined to be performed or signified by those legal anointings. Two very good reasons they render why God did command the use of such anointing

ments so frequently mentioned by Homer in his *Odyssees*; as when Telemachus is entertained by Nestor:

Τόφρα δὲ Τηλέμαχον λούσεν καλὴ Πολυκράστη,
Νέστορος ἐπιορώτη θυγάτηρ Νηλεΐδαο·
Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ λούσεν τε καὶ ἔχρυσεν λίπ' ἐλαίῳ.

Od. I. 464.

And Telemachus and Pisistratus are invited to the court of Menelaus;

Ἐξ ῥ' ἀσπιδόφρου βάτης εὐθέστας λούσαντο·
Τοὺς δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν ἑμαί λούσαν καὶ χρίσαν
ἐλαίῳ.

Od. Δ. 48.

Thus Ulysses is entertained, *Od. Θ.* thus Pyrræus and Telemachus, *Od. Π.* And Venus returning to Paphus, is so ordered by the Charites;

Ἐνθα δὲ μιν Χάριτες λούσαν καὶ χρίσαν ἐλαίῳ
Ἀμβρότιον, ὅα θεοὺς ἐπενήροθεν αἰὲν ἰόντας.

Od. Θ. 364.

So Helena speaks of her entertaining Ulysses in a disguise;

Ἄλλ' ὅτε δὲ μιν ἐγὼν ἐλέεν καὶ χρίον ἐλαίῳ.

Od. Δ. 252.

It is apparent that this was the custom of the ancient Greeks. Of which Eustathius [on *Od. I. 467.*] gives this reason; Ἐλαίῳ ἐχρυστο οἱ λουσάμενοι ἐμπλάττοντες τοὺς σωματικούς πόρους, ὡς δὲ μετὰ λουτρῶν στέγειον τὴν ὑγρότητα. This custom was so ancient and general, that the Greeks had one word to express this anointing with oil after washing with water, which they called *χύτλα* and *χυτλώσαι*. *Etymol.* *Χυτλώσαι*, ὅχ' ἀπλῶς τὸ ἀλείψαι, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐπὶ λουτρῷ ἀλείψασθαι. *Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. v. 506.* *Χύτλα* δὲ

κυρίως, τὸ ὑγροῦ εἶναι ἀπὸ ὕδατος ὅτος τοῦ σώματος ἀλείψασθαι. *Hezych.* *Χύτλα*, τὸ ἐφ' ὕδατος ἐλαίου· and, *χυτλώσαι*, τὸ ἀλείψαι μετὰ τὸ λούσασθαι. Hence, when Nausicaa went unto the pools to wash, her mother gave her a box of oil. *Od. Ζ. 79:*

Δῶκε δὲ χρυσεῖν ἐν λεκίσθῳ ὑγρὸν ἐλαίου,
Εἴως χυτλώσαιοι σὺν ἀμφιπέλοισι γυναιξίν.

Where the old Scholiast, *χυτλώσαιτε*, *λουσαμένη ἀλείψαιτο*· and Eustathius, *Εἴως χυτλώσαιοι*, ἀπὸ τοῦ, ὅπως μετὰ λουτρῶν *χυτλώσεται ἀλειψαμένη*· which exposition is warranted by the performance aftermentioned,

Αἱ δὲ λουσάμεναι καὶ χρυσάμεναι λίπ' ἐλαίῳ.
v. 96.

[Eustathius in his commentary has

Αἱ δὲ λουσάμεναι καὶ ἀλειψάμεναι—.]

And as this was the ancient custom of the Greeks, so was it also the common custom of the Jews, as appears by the words of Naomi to Ruth, *Wash thyself, therefore, and anoint thee, and put thy raiment upon thee.* *Ruth iii. 3.*

¹ They say in the Gemara, that this is a maxim of the doctors, אמרו חכמינו רבנן אין מרחצין את המלכה אלא על המים. *Abarbanel in 30 Ezod. art. II.* [fol. 166. i. col. i.] The end of which ceremony was to shew the prolonging of his kingdom, who was so anointed; and the original is referred to the anointing of Solomon, *1 Kings i. 39.* For so it followeth in the Talmud, כיון שהיה מלכותו נמשכה עליו (ע' *Keliv*) כ' *Abarbanel ibid.*

oil, as in respect of the action. First, that it might signify the divine election of that person, and designation to that office: from whence it was necessary that it should be performed by a prophet, who understood the will of God. Secondly, that by it the person anointed might be made fit to receive the divine influx. For the first, it is evident there could be no such infallible sign of the divine designation of *Jesus* to his offices, as the visible descent of the Spirit attended with a voice from heaven, instead of the hand of a prophet, saying, *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased*. For the second, this spiritual unction was so far from giving less than an aptitude to receive the divine influx, that it was that divine influx, nay, the Divinity itself, the Godhead dwelling in him bodily. 100

Matt. III. 17.

Judg. ix. 2.

In respect of the matter, they give two causes why it was oil, and not any other liquor. First, because of all other, it signifies the greatest glory and excellency. The olive was the first of trees mentioned as fit for sovereignty, in regard of its *fatness, wherewith they honour God and man*. Therefore it was fit that those persons which were called to a greater dignity than the rest of the Jews, should be consecrated by oil, as the best sign of election to honour. And can there be a greater honour than to be the Son of God, the *beloved Son*, as *Jesus* was proclaimed at this unction, by which he was consecrated to such an office as will obtain him a name far above all names? Secondly, they tell us that oil continueth uncorrupted longer than any other liquor. And indeed it hath been observed to preserve not only itself but other things from corruption¹. Hence they conclude it fit their kings and priests, whose succession was to continue for ever, should be anointed with oil, the most proper emblem of eternity. But even by this reason of their own, their unction is ceased, being the succession of their kings and priests is long since cut off, and their eternal and eternizing oil lost long before; and only that one

¹ 'Unguenta optime servantur in alabastris, odores in oleo.' *Plin. Hist.* l. xiii. c. 2. 'Existimatur et ebori vindicando a carie utile esse. Certe simulacrum Saturni Romæ intus oleo repletum est.' *Id.* l. xv. c. 7. And whosoever made that statue at Rome, seems to have had his art out of Greece,

from that famous ivory statue made by Phidias. Οὗτος γὰρ μετὰ τὸ κατασκευάσαι Πισαίων εἰδωλὼν (ἐξ ἐλέφαντος δὲ τοῦτο ἦν), ἔλαιον ἐκχεῖσθαι προσέταξεν ἀμφὶ τοὺς πόδας, ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ ἀγάλματος, ἀθάνατον εἰς δύναμιν φυλάσσειν αὐτόν. *Proclus apud S. Epirham.* *Hæc.* l. xiv. § 18. [Tom. 1. p. 542 c.]

Jesus, who was anointed with the most spiritual oil, continueth for ever; and therefore hath an unchangeable priesthood, as Heb. vii. 24, 16. *being made not after the law of a carnal commandment, but after the power of an endless life.*

Beside, they observe, that simple oil, without any mixture, was sufficient for the candlestick; but that which was designed for unction must be compounded with principal spices, which signify a good name, always to be acquired by those in places of greatest dignity by the most laudable and honourable actions. And certainly never was such an admixture of spices as in the unction of our Saviour, by which he was endued with all variety of the graces of God, by which he was enabled to *offer himself a sacrifice for a sweet-smelling savour.* Eph. v. 2. For as he was *full of grace and truth; so of his fulness have we all received, grace for grace; and as we have received anointing of him, so we are unto God a sweet savour of Christ.* John i. 14, 16. 1 John ii. 27. 2 Cor. ii. 15.

Again, it was sufficient to anoint the vessels of the sanctuary in any part; but it was particularly commanded that the oil should be poured upon the head of the kings and priests, as the seat of all the animal faculties, the fountain of all dignity, and original¹ of all the members of the body. This was more eminently fulfilled in *Jesus, who, by his unction, or as Christ, became the head of the Church; nay, the head of all principality and power; from which all the body by joints and bands having nourishment ministered, and knit together, increaseth with the increase of God.* Col. i. 18. Col. ii. 10, 19.

Lastly, they observe, that though in the vessels nothing but a single unction was required, yet in the kings and priests there was commanded, or at least practised, both unction and affusion; as it is written *He poured of the anointing oil upon Aaron's head, and anointed him to sanctify him:* the first to signify their separation, the second, to assure them of the falling of the Spirit upon them. Now what more clear, than that our *Christ was anointed by affusion, whether we look upon his conception, the Holy Ghost shall come upon thee; or his inauguration, the Spirit descended and lighted upon him?* Luke i. 35. Matt. iii. 16. And thus, according unto all particulars required by the Jews themselves to complete their legal unctions, we have

¹ According to the etymology in כי הוא ראשית לכל האברי' וזוהי משלה
the Hebrew language, of which Abar- : שברהם
banel here takes notice; ולכן נקרא ראש

sufficiently shewed that *Jesus* was, as most eminently, so most properly, *anointed* with the Spirit of God.

Wherefore, being we have shewn that a *Messias* was to come into the world; being we have proved that he is already come, by the same predictions by which we believe he was to come; being we have demonstrated that *Jesus* born in the days of Herod, was and is that promised *Messias*; being we have farther declared, that he was anointed to those offices which belonged to the *Messias*, and actually did and doth still perform them all; and that his anointing was by the immediate effusion of the Spirit, which answereth fully to all things required in the legal and typical unction: I cannot see what farther can be expected for explication or confirmation of this truth, that *Jesus is the Christ*.

The necessity of believing this part of the Article is most apparent, because it were impossible he should be our *Jesus*, except he were the *Christ*. For he could not reveal the way of salvation, except he were a prophet; he could not work out that salvation revealed, except he were a priest; he could not confer that salvation upon us, except he were a king; he could not be Prophet, Priest, and King, except he were the *Christ*. This was the fundamental doctrine which the apostles not only testified, as they did that of the resurrection, but argued, proved, and demonstrated out of the law and the prophets. We find St Paul, at Thessalonica, *three sabbath-days, reasoning with them out of the scriptures, opening and alleging that Christ must needs have suffered, and risen again from the dead; and that this Jesus, whom I preach unto you, is Christ*.

Acts xvii. 2.
3.

We find him again at Corinth *pressed in spirit, and testifying to the Jews that Jesus was Christ*. Thus Apollos, by birth a Jew, but instructed in the Christian faith by Aquila and

Acts xviii. 5.

Priscilla, *mightily convinced the Jews, and that publicly, shewing by the scriptures, that Jesus was Christ*. This was the touchstone by which all men at first were tried, whether they were Christian or anti-Christian; *For whosoever believeth, saith St John, that Jesus is the Christ, is born of God*. What

1 John v. 1.

greater commendation of the assertion of this truth? *Who is a liar, saith the same apostle, but he that denieth that Jesus is the Christ? This man is antichrist, as denying the Father and the Son*. What higher condemnation of the negation of it?

1 John ii. 22.

Secondly, as it is necessary to be believed as a most fundamental truth, so it hath as necessary an influence upon our conversations; because except it hath so, it cannot clearly be maintained. Nothing can be more absurd in a disputant, than to pretend to demonstrate a truth as infallible, and at the same time to shew it impossible. And yet so doth every one who professeth faith in *Christ* already come, and liveth not according to that profession: for thereby he proveth, as far as he is able, that the true *Christ* is not yet come, at least that *Jesus* is not he. We sufficiently demonstrate to the Jews that our Saviour, who did and suffered so much, is the true *Messias*; but by our lives we recall our arguments, and strengthen their wilful opposition. For there was certainly a promise, that when *Christ* should come, *the wolf should dwell with the lamb, and the leopard should lie down with the kid, and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together; and a little child should lead them;* that is, there should be so much love, unanimity, and brotherly kindness in the kingdom of *Christ*, that all ferity and inhumanity being laid aside, the most different natures and inclinations should come to the sweetest harmony and agreement. Whereas if we look upon ourselves, we must confess there was never more bitterness of spirit, more rancour of malice, more heat of contention, more manifest symptoms of envy, hatred, and all uncharitableness, than in those which make profession of the Christian faith. It was infallibly foretold, that *when the law should go forth out of Zion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem,* Isa. xl. 6.

102 *they should beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation should not lift up sword against nation, neither should they learn war any more:* whereas there is no other art so much studied, so much applauded, so violently asserted, not only as lawful, but as necessary. Look upon the face of Christendom, divided into several kingdoms and principalities: what are all these but so many public enemies, either exercising or designing war? The Church was not more famous, or did more increase by the first blood, which was shed in the primitive times through the external violence of ten persecutions, than now it is infamous, and declines, through constant violence, fraud, and rapine, through public engagements of the greatest empires in arms, through civil and intestine wars, and, lest any way of

Zech. xiii. 2.

shedding Christian blood should be unassayed, even by massacres. It was likewise prophesied of the days of the *Messias*, that all idolatry should totally cease, that all false teachers should be cut off, and unclean spirits restrained. And can we think that the Jews, who really abhor the thoughts of worshipping an image, can ever be persuaded there is no idolatry committed in the Christian church? Or can we excuse ourselves in the least degree from the plague of the locusts of Egypt, the false teachers? Can so many schisms and sects arise and spread, can so many heresies be acknowledged and countenanced, without false prophets and unclean spirits? If then we would return to the bond of true Christian love and charity, if we would appear true lovers of peace and tranquillity, if we would truly hate the abominations of idolatry, false doctrine, and heresy, let us often remember what we ever profess in our CREED, that *Jesus is the Christ*, that the kingdom of the *Messias* cannot consist with these impieties.

Matt. xvii. 5.

Prov. viii.
30, 34.Luke x. 42,
39.Heb. x. 19,
21, 22.

1 Cor. vi. 30.

Thirdly: the necessity of this belief appeareth, in respect of those offices which belong to *Jesus*, as he is the *Christ*. We must look upon him as upon the prophet anointed by God to preach the Gospel, that we may be incited to hear and embrace his doctrine. Though Moses and Elias be together with him in the mount, yet the voice from heaven speaketh of none but *Jesus*, *Hear ye him*. He is that Wisdom, *the delight of God*, crying in the Proverbs, *Blessed is the man that heareth me, watching daily at my gates, waiting at the posts of my doors. There is one thing needful*, saith our Saviour, *and Mary chose that good part, who sat at Jesus' feet, and heard his word*. Which devout posture teacheth us, as a willingness to hear, so a readiness to obey: and the proper effect, which the belief of this prophetic office worketh in us, is our *obedience of faith*. We must farther consider him as our high-priest, that we may thereby add confidence to that obedience. For we have *boldness to enter into the holiest by the blood of Jesus*; yea, *having an high-priest over the house of God*, we may *draw near with a true heart, in full assurance of faith*. And as this breedeth an adherence and assurance in us, so it requireth a resignation of us. For if *Christ* have redeemed us, we are his; if he died for us, it was that we should live to him; if we be *bought with a price*, we are no longer our own; but we must *glorify God in our body, and in*

our spirit, which are God's. Again, an apprehension of him as a King, is necessary for the performance of our true and entire allegiance to him. *Send the Lamb to the Ruler of the earth*, do him homage, acknowledge him your King, shew yourselves faithful and obedient subjects. We can pretend, and he hath required, no less. As soon as he let the apostles understand, that *all power was given unto him in heaven and in earth*, he charged them to *teach all nations, to observe all things whatsoever he commanded them*. Can we imagine he should so strictly enjoin subjection to *higher powers*, the highest of whom are here below, and that he doth not expect exact obedience to him who is exalted *far above all principalities and powers, and is set down at the right hand of God?*

Isai. xvi. 1.

Matt. xxviii. 18, 20.

Rom. xiii. 1.

Eph. i. 21, 20.

It is observable, that in the description of the coming of the Son of man, it is said, *the King shall say unto them on his right hand, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you*: which title as it secures our hope, in respect of his power; as it magnifies our reward, by the excellency of our inheritance; so also it teacheth us the indispensable condition of obedience.

Matt. xxv. 24.

Fourthly, the belief of *Jesus the Christ*, is necessary to instruct us what it is to be a Christian, and how far we stand obliged by owning that name. Those who did first embrace the faith were styled *disciples*¹, (as when the *number of the disciples was multiplied*,) or *believers*, or *brethren*, (Acts and

Acts vi. 1, 2.

Acts v. 14.

¹ For when our Saviour gave that command to his apostles, Πορευθέντες οὖν μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, *Go make all nations disciples*, they which delivered the Gospel were μαθητεύοντες, they which were taught it and received it, were at that time μαθητευθέντες, and after by a name habitual, μαθηταί, translated by Tertullian *discipulis*, ordinarily *discipuli*. [*De Baptismo*, c. 11. p. 260 D.] Μαθητὴς μὲν οὖν ἐστίν, ὡς μαθηάμενος παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου, πᾶς ὁ τῷ Κυρίῳ προσερχόμενος, ὥστε ἀκολουθεῖν αὐτῷ, τουτέστιν, ἀκούειν τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ, πιστεύειν τε καὶ πεῖθεσθαι αὐτῷ ὡς δεσπότῃ, καὶ βασιλεῖ, καὶ ἱατρῷ, καὶ διδασκάλῳ ἀληθείας, ἐκ' ἐλπίδι ζωῆς αἰωνίου. *S. Basil. de Baptism.* l. i. cap. i. § 2. [Tom. II.

p. 625 A.] Thus then, in the language of the Scriptures, μαθητεῦν τινά, is to make a disciple; as μαθητεύσαντες ἱκανοί, Acts xiv. 21. μαθητεῦν τινά, to be a disciple; as Joseph of Arimathea, ἐμαθήτευσε τῷ Ἰησοῦ, Matt. xxvii. 57. Μαθητευθῆναι the same; as γραμματεὺς μαθητευθεὶς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, Matt. xiii. 52. Thus μαθητευθῆναι τῷ Κυρίῳ, is often used by St Basil *de Baptismo*, whose title is: Ὅτι δεῖ πρῶτον μαθητευθῆναι τῷ Κυρίῳ, καὶ τότε καταξιώθῃν τοῦ ἀγίου βαπτίσματος. [Tom. II. p. 624.] according to our Saviour's method. Hence those which were first converted to the faith were called μαθηταί, as the disciples of Christ their doctor and master.

1 Tim. iv. 12.
Acts ix. 21.
Acts xxiv. 5.
Acts ii. 7.

Epistles, often) or *men of the church*¹, or *callers upon the name of Christ*, or *men of the way*²; or, by their enemies, *Nazarens*, and *Galileans*. But in a short time they gained a name derived from their Saviour, though not from that name of his which signifieth salvation; for, from *Christ*, they were called *Christians*. A title so honourable, and of such concernment, that St Luke hath thought fit to mention the city in which that name was first heard. *And the disciples were called Christians first at Antioch*³, as the Scriptures assure us; so

Acts xi. 26.

¹ Οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, as when Herod stretched forth his hand, *κακῶσαι τινας τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας*, Acts xii. 1, *to mischief some of those which were of the Church*.

² As when Saul went down to Damascus with a commission: *ὅπως ἐάν τινας εὕρῃ τῆς ὁδοῦ ὄντας ἄνδρας τε καὶ γυναικας, δεδεμένους ἀγᾶγγη εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ*, Acts ix. 2. we translate it, *any of this way*, when there was no way mentioned to which the pronoun *this* should have relation; nor is ἡ ὁδὸς in the Greek any more than *the way*. So when St Paul went to the synagogue at Corinth, divers were hardened and believed not, *κακολογούντες τὴν ὁδὸν ἐνώπιον τοῦ πλῆθους*, Acts xix. 9. here we translate it, *spoke evil of that way*; but Beza has left his *Articulus pronominiis vice fungitur*, which he had from Erasmus, and hath otherwise supplied it, *male loquentes de via Dei*: and the old translation, which in the former had *huius viae*, in this hath simply *maledicentes viae*: and certainly ἡ ὁδὸς is nothing but *the way*. Again, at Ephesus, *ἐγένετο δὲ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνον ταραχὸς οὐκ ὀλίγος περὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ*, Acts xix. 23. *de via*, Vet. Transl. Beza again *ob viam Dei*, but it is nothing but *the way*. Thus Felix put off St Paul, *ἀκριβέστερον εἰδὼς τὰ περὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ*, Acts xxiv. 22. *till he had a more exact knowledge of the way*, Vet. Translat. *de via hac*; Beza, *ad sectam istam*. Whereas then the phrase is so simply and so frequently the same, it can be nothing else but the word then in use to signify the religion which the Christians professed. And so some

also of the ancients seem to have spoken, as appears by the language of the Melchizedecians: *Χριστὸς—ἐξελέγη, ὅσα ἡμᾶς καλέσῃ ἐκ πολλῶν ὁδῶν εἰς μίαν ταύτην τὴν γνῶσιν*,—*ἐπειδὴ ἀπέστρεψεν ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ εἰδώλων, καὶ ὑπέδειξεν ἡμῶν τὴν ὁδόν*, (Ephraim. Hæc. lv. 8. p. 474 c.); and in that description of the Gallican persecution: *Ἐμμεῖς δὲ ἐξω οἱ μὴδὲ ἔχρως πώποτε πίστεως, μὴδὲ ἀσθήσῃ ἐνδύματος νυμφικοῦ, μὴδὲ ἑνοριαν φόβου Θεοῦ σχῶντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀναστροφῆς αὐτῶν βλασφημοῦντες τὴν ὁδόν*. Euseb. Hist. l. v. c. 1. p. 208. [p. 132 c.]

³ St Luke noteth the place, but neither the time when, nor person by whom, this name was given. Tertulian seems to make it as ancient as the reign of Tiberius: *'Tiberius ergo, cujus tempore nomen Christianum in seculum intravit.'* Apol. c. 5. [p. 6 c.] But I conceive, indeed, he speaks not of the name, but of the religion; for so he may well be thought to expound himself, saying soon after: *'Census istius disciplinæ, ut jam edidimus, a Tiberio est.'* c. 7. [p. 8 B.] However, the name of *Christian* is not so ancient as Tiberius, nor, as I think, as Caius. Some ancient author in Suidas assures us, that it was first named in the reign of Claudius, when St Peter had ordained Euodius bishop of Antioch. *'Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου βασιλέως Ῥώμης, Πέτρον τοῦ ἀποστόλου χειροτονήσαντος Εὐδίου, ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ μετονομάσθησαν οἱ πάλοι λεγόμενοι Ναζηραῖοι καὶ Γαλιλαῖοι, Χριστιανοί.* Suid. in Ναζηραῖος and in Χριστιανοί. And Johannes Antiochenus [Malala] con-

named by Euodius the bishop of that place, as ecclesiastical history informs us. A name no sooner invented, but embraced by all believers, as bearing the most proper signification of their profession, and relation to the Author and Master whom they served. In which the primitive Christians so much delighted, that before the face of their enemies they would acknowledge no other title but that, though hated, reviled, tormented, martyred for it¹. Nor is this name of greater honour to us, than obligation. There are two parts of the seal of the foundation of God, and one of them is this, *Let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity*. It was a common answer of the ancient martyrs, 'I am a Christian, and with us no evil is done².' The very name was thought to speak something of emendation³; and

² Tim. ii. 19.

firms not only the time, but tells us that Euodius the bishop was the author of the name: *Καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ (Κλαυδίου) Χριστιανοὶ ὠνομάσθησαν, τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπισκόπου Εὐδοίου προσομιλήσαντος αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐπιθήσαντος αὐτοῖς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο πρῶτην γὰρ Ναζωραῖοι ἐκαλοῦντο, καὶ Γαλιλαῖοι ἐκαλοῦντο οἱ Χριστιανοί.* [*Chronographia*, p. 318.] Thus the name *Christian* was first brought into use at Antioch, by Euodius the bishop of the place, and hath ever since been continued as the most proper appellation which could be given unto our profession, being derived from the *Author and Finisher of our Faith*. 'At enim secta oditur in nomine utique sui auctoris. Quid novi, si aliqua disciplina de magistro cognomentum sectatoribus suis inducit? Nonne philosophi de auctoribus suis nuncupantur Platonici, Epicurei, Pythagorici? Etiam a locis conventiculorum et stationum suarum Stoici, Academici? Æque Medici ab Erasistrato, et Grammatici ab Aristarcho, coqui etiam ab Apicio? Nectamen quenquam offendit professio nominis cum institutione transmissi ab institutore.' *Tertull. Apol.* c. 3. [p. 5 A.]

¹ As we read of Sanctus, a deacon at Vienna, in a hot persecution of the French Church, who being in the midst of tortures, was troubled with several questions, which the Gentiles usually then asked, to try if they could

extort any confession of any wicked actions practised secretly by the Christians; yet would not give any other answer to any question, than that he was a Christian. *Τοσαύτη ὑποστάσει ἀντιπαρετάξατο αὐτοῖς, ὥστε μήτε τὸ ὄνομα κατεῖπέν ὄνομα, μήτε ἔθνος, μήτε πόλεως ὅθεν ἦν, μήτε εἰ δοῦλος ἢ ἐλεύθερος εἴη· ἀλλὰ πρὸς πάντα τὰ ἐπερωτώμενα ἀπεκρίνατο τῇ Ῥωμαϊκῇ φωνῇ, Χριστιανός εἰμι. τοῦτο καὶ ἀπὲρ ὀνόματος, καὶ ἀπὲρ πόλεως, καὶ ἀπὲρ γένους, καὶ ἀπὲρ πατρὸς ἐπαλλήλως ὡμολογεῖ.* *Euseb. Hist. Eccl.* l. v. cap. 1. [p. 128 B.] The same doth St Chrysostom testify of St Lucian: *Πόλις εἰ πατρίδος; Χριστιανός εἰμι, φησὶ. Τί ἔχεις ἐπιτήδευμα; Χριστιανός εἰμι. Τίνας προγόνους; ὁ δὲ πρὸς ἅπαντα ἔλεγεν, ὅτι Χριστιανός εἰμι.* *Orat.* 75. [§ 3. *Tom.* II. p. 528 A.]

² So Blandina in the French persecution: *Ἦν αὐτῆς ἀνάληψις καὶ ἀνδραπανοῖς καὶ ἀναλγησία τῶν συμβαινόντων, τὸ λέγειν ὅτι Χριστιανὴ εἰμι, καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν οὐδὲν φάλλον γίνεσθαι.* *Euseb. Hist. Eccl.* l. v. c. 1. [p. 128 B.]

³ 'Alii quos retro ante hoc nomen vagos, viles, improbos noverant, ex ipso denotant quod laudant, cæcitæ odii in suffragium impingunt. Quæ mulier! quam læsciva! quam festiva! qui juvenis! quam læscivus! [Iulius, Rigalt; Lucius, Havercamp.] quam amasius! facti sunt Christiani: ita

whosoever put it on became the better man. Except such reformation accompany our profession, there is no advantage in the appellation¹; nor can we be honoured by that title, while we dishonour him that gives it. If he be therefore called *Christ*, because anointed; as we derive the name of *Christian*, so do we receive our unction², from him. For as *the precious ointment upon the head ran down upon the beard, even Aaron's beard, and went down to the skirts of his garments*; so the Spirit, which without measure was poured upon *Christ* our head, is by him diffused through all the members of his body³. For *God hath established and anointed us in Christ: We have an unction from the Holy One, and the anointing which we have received from him, abideth in us*. Necessary then it cannot choose but be, that we should know *Jesus* to be the *Christ*: because as he is *Jesus*, that is, our Saviour, by being *Christ*, that is, anointed; so we can have no share in him as *Jesus*, except we become truly *Christians*, and so be in him as *Christ*, anointed with that unction from the Holy One⁴.

Psal. cxxxiii.
2

2 Cor. i. 21.

1 John ii. 20,
27.

Thus having run through all the particulars at first de- 104
signed for the explication of the title *Christ*, we may at last clearly express, and every Christian easily understand, what it is we say, when we make our confession in these words, *I believe in Jesus Christ*. I do assent unto this as a certain truth, that there was a man promised by God, foretold by the prophets, to be the *Messias*, the Redeemer of Israel, and the Expectation of the nations. I am fully assured by all those predictions, that the *Messias* so promised, is already come. I am as certainly persuaded, that the man born in the days of Herod of the Virgin Mary, by an angel from

nomen emendationi imputatur.' *Tertull. Apol. c. 3.* [p. 4 c.]

¹ 'Totum in id revolvitur, ut qui Christiani nominis opus non agit, Christianus non esse videatur. Nomen enim sine actu atque officio suo nihil est.' *Salvian. de Gubern. Dei*, l. iv. [c. i. p. 18.] 'Εάν τις τὸ ὄνομα λαβὼν τοῦ χριστιανισμοῦ ἐνυβρίζη τὸν Χριστόν, οὐδὲν ὅφελος αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τῆς προσσηγορίας. *S. Basil. ad Amphilocho. Epist.* 199. al. 2. *can.* 45. (Tom. III. p. 296 c.)

² 'Christianus vero, quantum in-

terpretatio est, de unctione deducitur.' *Tertull. Apol. c. 3.* [p. 5 A.]

³ 'Inde apparet *Christi* corpus nos esse, quia omnes unguimus; et omnes in illo et *Christi* et *Christus* sumus, quia quodammodo totus *Christus* caput et corpus est.' *S. August. in Psal. xxvi. Enarratio*, ii. § 2. [Tom. IV. p. 89 n.] (Vol. IV. par. i, p. 119.)

⁴ Τοιγαροῦν ἡμεῖς τοῦτον εἶναι καλούμεθα Χριστιανοί, ὅτι χρίομεθα ἑαυτὸν Θεοῦ. *Theophil. ad Autol.* l. i. p. 77 c. (§ 12, p. 345.)

heaven called *Jesus*, is that true *Messias*, so long, so often promised: that, as the *Messias*, he was anointed to three special offices, belonging to him as the Mediator between God and man; that he was a Prophet, revealing unto us the whole will of God, for the salvation of man; that he was a Priest, and hath given himself a sacrifice for sin, and so hath made an atonement for us; that he is a King, set down at the right hand of God, far above all principalities and powers, whereby, when he hath subdued all our enemies, he will confer actual, perfect, and eternal happiness upon us. I believe this unction, by which he became the true *Messias*, was not performed by any material oil, but by the Spirit of God, which he received as the Head, and conveyeth to his members. And in this full acknowledgement, I BELIEVE IN JESUS CHRIST.

HIS ONLY SON.

105 AFTER our Saviour's nomination immediately followeth his filiation: and justly, after we have acknowledged him to be the *Christ*, do we confess him to be the *Son of God*: because these two were ever inseparable, and even by the Jews themselves accounted equivalent. Thus Nathanael, that true Israelite, maketh his confession of the *Messias*: *Rabbi, thou art the Son of God, thou art the King of Israel.* John i. 49. Thus Martha makes expression of her faith: *I believe that thou art the Christ the Son of God, which should come into the world.* John xi. 27. Thus the high-priest maketh his inquisition: *I adjure thee by the living God, that thou tell us whether thou be the Christ, the Son of God.* Matt. xxvi. 63. This was the famous confession of St Peter: *We believe and are sure, that thou art that Christ, the Son of the living God.* John vi. 69. And the Gospel of St John was therefore written, that *we might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God.* John xx. 31. Certain then it is, that all the Jews, as they looked for a *Messias* to come, so they believed that *Messias* to be the *Son of God* (although since the coming of our Saviour they have denied it)¹: and that by reason of a constant interpretation

¹ For when Celsus, in the person of a Jew, had spoken these words: 'Αλλ' εἶπεν ἐμὸς προφήτης ἐν Ἱερουσαλὺ μοις ποτὲ, ὅτι ἦξει Θεοῦ υἱός, τῶν ὁσίων κριτῆς, καὶ τῶν ἀδίκων κολαστῆς. Origen says they were most improperly

attributed to a Jew, who did look indeed for a *Messias*, but not for the Son of God, i. e. not under the notion of a Son. Ἰουδαῖοι δὲ οὐκ ἂν ὁμολογήσαι ὅτι προφήτης τις εἶπεν ἦξει Θεοῦ υἱός. ὁ γὰρ λέγουσιν ἔστω, ὅτι ἦξει

of the second Psalm, as appropriated unto him. And the primitive Christians did at the very beginning include this filial title of our Saviour, together with his names, into the compass of one word¹. Well therefore, after we have expressed our faith in *Jesus Christ*, is added that, which always had so great affinity with it, *the only Son of God*.

In these words there is little variety to be observed, except that what we translate the *only Son*², that in the phrase of the Scripture and the Greek Church is, the *only-begotten*. It is then sufficient for the explication of these words, to shew how *Christ* is the *Son of God*, and what is the peculiarity of his generation; that when others are also the sons of God, he alone should so be his Son, as no other is or can be so; and therefore he alone should have the name of the *only-begotten*.

First, then, It cannot be denied that Christ is the *Son of*

ὁ Χριστὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ πολλὰκις γε
ζητοῦσι πρὸς ἡμᾶς εὐθέως περὶ υἱοῦ
Θεοῦ, ὡς οὐθενὸς ὄντος τοιοῦτου, οὐδὲ
προφητευθέντος. *Adv. Cels.* l. i. § 49.
[Tom. I. pp. 365 E. 366 A.]

¹ That is, ΙΧΘΥΣ (Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς
Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Ζωήης). 'Nos pisciculi se-
cundum ἰχθῶν nostrum Jesum Chris-
tum in aqua nascimur.' *Tertull. de*
Bapt. c. i. [p. 255 c.] which is thus
interpreted by Optatus: 'Cujus piscis
nomen secundum appellationem Græ-
cam in uno nomine persingulas literas
turbam sanctorum nominum continet,
ἰχθῆς, quod est Latinum, *Jesus Christus*
Dei Filius Salvator.' lib. iii. c. 2. (p.
52.) [p. 49.]

² The Latins indeed generally use
the word *unicum*. So Rufinus: 'Et
in unico Filius ejus:' § 8, 9, which is
so far from being in his apprehension
the same with *unigenitus*, that he re-
fers it as well to Lord as Son: 'Hic
ergo Jesus Christus, Filius unicus Dei,
qui est et Dominus noster unicus, et
ad Filium referri et ad Dominum po-
test.' [p. 20.] So St Augustin in *En-*
chirid. c. 34. and Leo *Epist.* 10. [p.
878.] Which is therefore to be ob-
served, because in the ancient copies
of those epistles, the word *unicum* was
not to be found; as appeareth by the

discourse of Vigilius, who, in the
fourth book against Eutyches, hath
these words: 'Illa primitus uno di-
luens volumine quæ Leonis objiciun-
tur Epistolæ, cujus hoc sibi primo ca-
pitulum iste, nescio quis, proposuit;
Fidelium universitas proficitur credere
se in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, et
in Jesum Christum, Filium ejus, Do-
minum nostrum,' l. iv. § 1. That
which he aims at, is the tenth epistle
of Leo, in which those words are found,
but with the addition of *unicum*, which,
as it seems, then was not there; as
appears yet farther by the words which
follow, § 2. 'Miror tamen quomodo
hunc locum iste notavit, et illum præ-
termisit, ubi unici filii commemoratio-
nem idem beatus Leo facit, dicens,
Idem vero sempiterni facitoris uni-
genitus sempiternus, natus de Spiritu
Sancto ex Maria Virgine:' which
words are not to be found in the same
epistle. Howsoever it was in the first
copies of Leo: both Rufinus and St
Augustin, who were before him, and
Maximus Taurinensis, Chrysologus,
Etherius and Beatus, who were later,
read it, 'et in Jesum Christum Filium
ejus unicum.' But the word used in the
Scriptures, and kept constantly by the
Greeks, is *μονογενής*, the *only-begotten*.

God, for that reason, because he was by the Spirit of God born of the Virgin Mary; for *that which is conceived (or begotten)*¹ in her, by the testimony of an angel, is of the Holy Ghost; and because of him, therefore the Son of God. For so spake the angel to the Virgin: *The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee: therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee (or, which is begotten of thee) shall be called the Son of God.* And the reason is clear, because that the Holy Ghost is God. For were he any creature, and not God himself, by whom our Saviour was thus born of the Virgin, he must have been the Son of a creature, not of God.

Secondly, It is as undoubtedly true, that the same *Christ*, thus born of the Virgin by the Spirit of God, was designed to so high an office by the special and immediate will of God,

¹ For the original is τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ γεννηθῆναι and it is the observation of St Basil, οὐκ εἰρηται, τὸ κνηθῆναι, ἀλλὰ τὸ γεννηθῆναι. *Homil. in Sanctam Christi Generationem*, § 4. [Tom. II. p. 598 E.] Indeed the vulgar translation renders it, *quod in ea natum est*, and in St Luke, *quod nascetur sanctum*; and it must be confessed this was the most ancient translation. For so Tertullian read it: 'Per virginem dicitis natum, non ex virgine, et in vulva, non ex vulva, quia et Angelus in somnis ad Joseph, *Nam quod in ea natum est*, inquit, *de Spiritu Sancto est.*' *De carne Christi*, c. 20. [p. 374 D.] and of that in St Luke: 'Hæc et ab Angelo excoeperat secundum nestrum Evangelium, *Propterea, quod in te nascetur, vocabitur sanctum, filius Dei.*' *Adv. Marcion*. l. iv. c. 7. [p. 308 O.] Yet *quod in ea natum est* cannot be proper, while it is yet in the womb; nor can the child first be said to be born, and then that the mother shall bring it forth. It is true indeed, *γεννᾶν* signifies not always to beget, but sometimes to bear or bring forth; as ἡ γυνὴ σου ἔλαβεν γεννήσει υἱόν σου, Luke i. 13. and verse 57. καὶ ἐγέννησεν υἱόν. So τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ γεννηθέντος ἐν Βηθλεὲμ, Matt. ii. 1. must necessarily be understood of Christ's nativity, for it is most certain that he

was not begotten or conceived at Bethlehem. And this without question must be the meaning of Herod's inquisition, ποῦ ὁ Χριστὸς γεννᾶται, ver. 4. where the Measias was to be born. But though *γεννᾶν* have sometimes the signification of bearing or bringing forth; yet τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ γεννηθῆναι cannot be so interpreted, because it speaks of something as past, when as yet Christ was not born; and though the conception was already past, and we translate it so, *which is conceived*; yet St Basil rejects that interpretation: *γεννᾶν* is one thing, συλλαμβάνειν another. Seeing then the nativity was not yet come, and *γεννηθῆναι* speaks of something already past, therefore the old translation is not good, *quod in ea natum est*. Seeing, though the conception indeed were past, yet *γεννᾶν* signifieth not to conceive, and so is not properly to be interpreted that *which is conceived*. Seeing *γεννᾶν* is most properly to beget, as ἡ γεννητικὴ the generative faculty; therefore I conceive the fittest interpretation of those words, τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ γεννηθῆναι, that *which is begotten in her*. And because the angel in St Luke speaks of the same thing, therefore I interpret τὸ γεννώμενον ἐκ σου, in the same manner, that *which is begotten of thee*.

that by virtue thereof he must be acknowledged the *Son of God*. He urgeth this argument himself against the Jews:

John x. 34.

Is it not written in your law, I said, Ye are gods? Are not

Psalm lxxvii.
6.

these the very words of the eighty-second Psalm? *If he called them gods*, if God himself so spake, or the Psalmist from him, if this be the language of the Scripture, if they be called gods unto whom the word of God came (and the Scripture cannot be broken, nor the authority thereof in any particular denied), say ye of him whom the Father hath sanctified, and sent into the world, whom he hath consecrated and commissioned to the most eminent and extraordinary office, say ye of him, *Thou blasphemest, because I said, I am the Son of God?*

John x. 34,
35, 36.

Thirdly, *Christ* must therefore be acknowledged the *Son of God*, because he is raised immediately by God out of the earth unto immortal life. For *God hath fulfilled the promise unto us, in that he hath raised up Jesus again: as it is also written in the second Psalm, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee*. The grave is as the womb of the earth; *Christ*, who is raised from thence, is as it were begotten to another life: and God who raised him, is his Father. So true it must needs be of him, which is spoken of others, who are the children of God, being the children of the resurrection. Thus was he defined, or constituted, and appointed the *Son of God with power, by the resurrection from the dead*: neither is he called simply the first that rose, but with a note of generation, the first-born from the dead.

Acts xiii. 33.

Luke xx. 36.

Rom. i. 4.

Col. i. 18.

Fourthly, *Christ*, after his resurrection from the dead, is made actually heir of all things in his Father's house, and Lord of all the spirits which minister unto him, from whence he also hath the title of the *Son of God*. *He is set down on the right hand of the Majesty on high; being made so much better than the angels, as he hath by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they*. For unto which of the angels said he at any time, *Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee?* From all which testimonies of the Scriptures it is evident, that *Christ* hath this fourfold right unto the title of the *Son of God*: by generation, as begotten of God; by commission, as sent by him; by resurrection, as the first-born; by actual possession, as heir of all.

Heb. i. 2-6.

But beside these four, we must find yet a more peculiar ground of our Saviour's filiation, totally distinct from any

which belongs unto the rest of the sons of God, that he may be clearly and fully acknowledged the *only-begotten Son*.
 107 For although to be born of a virgin be in itself miraculous, and justly entitles *Christ* unto the [name of] *Son of God*; yet it is not so far above the production of all mankind, as to place him in that singular eminence, which must be attributed to the only-begotten. We read of *Adam the son of God*, as well as *Seth the son of Adam*: and surely the framing *Christ* out of a woman cannot so far transcend the making *Adam* out of the earth, as to cause so great a distance as we must believe between the first and second *Adam*. Beside, there were many, while our Saviour preached on earth, who did believe his doctrine, and did confess him to be the *Son of God*, who in all probability understood nothing of his being born of a virgin; much less did they foresee his rising from the dead, or inheriting all things. Wherefore, supposing all these ways by which *Christ* is represented to us as the *Son of God*, we shall find out one more yet, far more proper in itself, and more peculiar unto him, in which no other son can have the least pretence of share or of similitude, and consequently in respect of which we must confess him the *only-begotten*. Luke III. 38.

To which purpose I observe, that the actual possession of his inheritance, which was our fourth title to his Sonship, presupposeth his resurrection, which was the third: and his commission to his office, which was the second, presupposeth his generation of a virgin, as the first. But I shall now endeavour to find another generation, by which the same *Christ* was begotten, and consequently a Son before he was conceived in the Virgin's womb. Which that I may be able to evince, I shall proceed in this following method, as not only most facile and perspicuous, but also most convincing and conclusive. First, I will clearly prove out of the Holy Scriptures, that *Jesus Christ*, born of the Virgin Mary, had an actual being or subsistence, before the Holy Ghost did come upon the Virgin, or the power of the Highest did overshadow her. Secondly, I will demonstrate from the same Scriptures, that the being which he had antecedently to his conception in the Virgin's womb, was not any created being, but essentially divine. Thirdly, We will shew that the divine essence which he had, he received as communicated to him by the Father. Fourthly,

We will declare this communication of the divine nature, to be a proper generation, by which he which communicateth, is a proper Father, and he to whom it is communicated, a proper Son. Lastly, We will manifest that the divine essence was never communicated in that manner to any person but to him, that never any was so begotten besides himself; and consequently, in respect of that divine generation, he is most properly and perfectly *the only-begotten Son of the Father*.

As for the first, that *Jesus Christ* had a real being or existence, by which he truly was, before he was conceived of the Virgin Mary, I thus demonstrate. He which was really in heaven, and truly descended from thence, and came into the world from the Father, before that which was begotten of the Virgin ascended into heaven, or went unto the Father, he had a real being or existence before he was conceived in the Virgin, and distinct from that being which was conceived in her. This is most clear and evident, upon these three suppositions not to be denied. First, That *Christ* did receive no other being or nature after this conception before his ascension, than what was begotten of the Virgin. Secondly, that what was begotten of the Virgin had its first being here on earth, and therefore could not really be in heaven till it ascended thither. Thirdly, That what was really in heaven, really was; because nothing can be present in any place which is not. Upon these suppositions certainly true, the first proposition cannot be denied. Wherefore I assume; *Jesus Christ* was really in heaven, and truly descended from thence, and came into the world from the Father, before that which was begotten of the Virgin ascended into heaven, or went unto the 108 Father; as I shall particularly prove by the express words of the Scripture. Therefore I conclude, that *Jesus Christ* had a real being or existence before he was conceived in the Virgin, and distinct from that being which was conceived in her. Now that he was really in heaven before he ascended thither, appeareth by his own words to his disciples; *What and if ye shall see the Son of man ascend up where he was before*¹? For he speaketh of a real ascension, such as was to be seen or looked upon, such as they might view as spectators. The place to which that ascension tended, was truly and really the

John vi. 62.

¹ Θεωρήτε· as it came to pass, βλέποντων αὐτῶν ἐπέρχου, Acts i. 9. εἶπεν ἦν.

heaven of heavens. The verb substantive, not otherwise used, sufficiently testifieth not a figurative but a real being, especially considering the opposition in the word *before*. Whether we look upon the time of speaking then present, or the time of his ascension, then to come, his being or existing in heaven was *before*. Nor is this now at last denied, that he was in heaven before the ascension mentioned in these words, but that he was there before he ascended at all. We shall therefore farther shew that this ascension was the first; that what was born of the Virgin was never in heaven before this time of which he speaks; and being in heaven before this ascension, he must be acknowledged to have been there before he ascended at all. If Christ had ascended into heaven before his death, and descended from thence, it had been the most remarkable action in all his life, and the proof thereof of the greatest efficacy towards the disseminating of the Gospel. And can we imagine so divine an action, of so high concernment, could have passed, and none of the evangelists ever make mention of it? Those which are so diligent in the description of his nativity and circumcision, his oblation in the Temple, his reception by Simeon, his adoration by the wise men; those which have described his descent into Egypt; would they have omitted his ascent into heaven? Do they tell us of the wisdom which he shewed, when he disputed with the doctors? And were it not worthy our knowledge, whether it were before he was in heaven or after? The diligent seeking of Joseph and Mary, and her words when they found him, *Son, why hast thou thus dealt with us?* shew that he had Luke II. 48. not been missing from them till then, and consequently not ascended into heaven. After that he went down to Nazareth, and *was subject unto them*: and I understand not how he Luke II. 51. should ascend into heaven, and at the same time be subject to them; or there receive his commission and instructions as the great legate of God, or ambassador from heaven, and return again unto his old subjection; and afterwards to go to John to be baptized of him, and to expect the descent of the Spirit for his inauguration. Immediately from Jordan he is carried into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil, and it were strange if any time could then be found for his ascension: for *he was forty days in the wilderness*, and certainly heaven Mark I. 12. is no such kind of place; he was all that time *with the beasts*,

Mark i. 13.

Mark i. 13.

Luko iv. 14.

Hob. ix. 24.

Hob. ix. 7.

Hob. ix. 12.

Mark ii. 2.

John vi. 33,
51.

who undoubtedly are none of the celestial hierarchy; and *tempted of Satan*, whose dominion reacheth no higher than the air. Wherefore in those forty days *Christ* ascended not into heaven, but rather heaven descended unto him; *for the angels ministered unto him*. After this he *returned in the power of the Spirit into Galilee*, and there exercised his prophetic office: after which there is not the least pretence of any reason for his ascension. Beside, the whole frame of this antecedent or preparatory ascension of *Christ* is not only raised without any written testimony of the word or unwritten testimony of tradition, but is without any reason in itself, and contrary to the revealed way of our redemption. For what reason should *Christ* ascend into heaven to know the will of God, and not be known to ascend thither? Certainly the Father could reveal his will unto the Son as well on earth as in heaven. And if men must be ignorant of his ascension, 109 to what purpose should they say he ascended, except they imagine either an impotency in the Father, or dissatisfaction in the Son? Nor is this only asserted without reason, but also against that rule to be observed by *Christ*, as he was anointed to the sacerdotal office. For the Holy of Holies *made with hands* was the figure of the true (that is, heaven itself), into which *the high-priest alone went once every year*: and *Christ* as our high-priest *entered in once into the holy place*. If then they deny *Christ* was a priest before he *preached the Gospel*, then did he not enter into heaven, because the high-priest alone went into the type thereof, the Holy of Holies. If they confess he was, then did he not ascend till after his death, because he was to enter in but once, and that not without blood. Wherefore being *Christ* ascended not into heaven till after his death, being he certainly was in heaven before that ascension, we have sufficiently made good that part of our argument, that *Jesus Christ* was in heaven before that which was begotten of the Virgin ascended thither. Now that which followeth will both illustrate and confirm it; for as he was there, so he descended from thence before he ascended thither. This he often testifieth and inculcateth of himself: *the bread of God is he which cometh down from heaven*: and, *I am the living bread which came down from heaven*. He opposeth himself unto the manna in the wilderness, which never was really in

heaven, or had its original from thence. *Moses gave you not* John vi. 32. *that bread from heaven*, but the Father gave *Christ* really from thence. Wherefore he saith, *I came down from heaven*, John vi. 38. *not to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me.* Now never any person upon any occasion is said to descend from heaven, but such as were really there before they appeared on earth, as the Father, the Holy Ghost, and the angels: but no man, however born, however sanctified, sent, or dignified, is said thereby to descend from thence; but rather when any is opposed to *Christ*, the opposition is placed in this very origination. John the Baptist was *filled with the Holy Ghost* Luke i. 15. *even from his mother's womb*; born of an aged father and a barren mother, by the power of God: and yet he distinguished himself from *Christ* in this; *he that cometh from above is* John iii. 31. *above all: he that is of the earth is earthy, and speaketh of the earth; he that cometh from heaven is above all.* Adam was framed immediately by God, without the intervention of man or woman: and yet he is so far from being thereby from heaven, that even in that he is distinguished from the *second Adam*. For *the first man is of the earth, earthy; the second* 1 Cor. xv. 47. *man is the Lord from heaven.* Wherefore the descent of *Christ* from heaven doth really presuppose his being there, and that antecedently to any ascent thither. For *that he ascended*, Eph. iv. 9. *what is it but that he also descended first?* So St Paul, asserting a descent as necessarily preceding his ascension, teacheth us never to imagine an ascent of *Christ* as his first motion between heaven and earth; and consequently, that the first being or existence which *Christ* had, was not what he received by his conception here on earth, but what he had before in heaven, in respect whereof he was with the Father, from whom he came. His disciples believed that he *came out from God*: and he commendeth that faith, and confirmed the object of it by this assertion: *I came forth from the Father*, John xvi. 32. *and am come into the world; again, I leave the world, and go to the Father.* Thus, having by undoubted testimonies made good the latter part of the argument, I may safely conclude, that being *Christ* was really in heaven, and descended from thence, and came forth from the Father, before that which was conceived of the Holy Ghost ascended thither; it cannot with any show of reason be denied that *Christ* had a real being and existence antecedent unto his conception here on earth, and distinct from the being which he received here.

Secondly, We shall prove not only a bare priority of existence, but a pre-existence of some certain and acknowledged space of duration. For whosoever was before John the Baptist, and before Abraham, was some space of time before *Christ* was man. This no man can deny, because all must confess the blessed Virgin was first saluted by the angel six months after Elizabeth conceived, and many hundred years after Abraham died. But *Jesus Christ* was really existent before John the Baptist, and before Abraham, as we shall make good by the testimony of the Scriptures. Therefore it cannot be denied but *Christ* had a real being and existence some space of time before he was made man. For the first, it is the express testimony of John himself; *This is he of whom I spake, He that cometh after me is preferred before me, for he was before me.* In which words, first, he taketh to himself a priority of time, speaking of *Christ*, *he that cometh after me*: for so he came after him into the womb, at his conception; into the world, at his nativity; unto his office, at his baptism; always after John, and at the same distance. Secondly, He attributeth unto *Christ* a priority of dignity, saying, *he is preferred before me*; as appeareth by the reiteration of these words, *He it is, who coming after me is preferred before me, whose shoe's latchet I am not worthy to unloose.* The addition of which expression of his own unworthiness sheweth, that to be *preferred before him* is the same with being *worthier than he*, to which the same expression is constantly added by all the other three evangelists. Thirdly, He rendereth the reason or cause of that great dignity which belonged to *Christ*, saying, *for* (or rather, *because*) *he was before me.* And being the cause must be supposed different and distinct from the effect, therefore the priority last mentioned cannot be that of dignity. For to assign any thing as the cause or reason of itself, is a great absurdity, and the expression of it a vain tautology. Wherefore that priority must have relation to time or duration (as the very tense, *he was before me*; sufficiently signifieth), and so be placed in opposition to his coming after him. As if John the Baptist had thus spoken at large: 'This man *Christ Jesus*, who came into the world, and entered on his prophetic office six months after me, is notwithstanding of far more worth and greater dignity than I am; even so much greater, that I must acknowledge myself unworthy to stoop down and unloose the latchet of his shoes:

John i. 15.

John i. 27.

John i. 15.

and the reason of this transcendent dignity is, from the excellency of that nature which he had before I was; for though he cometh after me, yet he was before me.'

Now as *Christ* was before John, which speaks a small, so was he also before Abraham, which speaks a larger, time. *Jesus* himself hath asserted this pre-existence to the Jews: *Verily, verily, I say unto you, before Abraham was, I am.* John viii. 58. Which words, plainly and literally expounded, must evidently contain this truth. For, first, Abraham in all the Scriptures never hath any other signification than such as denotes the person called by that name; and the question to which these words are directed by way of answer, without controversy, spake of the same person. Beside, *Abraham* must be the subject of that proposition, *Abraham was*; because a proposition cannot be without a subject, and if *Abraham* be the predicate, there is none. Again, as we translate *Abraham was*, in a tense signifying the time past; so it is most certainly to be understood, because that which he speaks unto, is the pre-existence of Abraham, and that of long duration; so that whatsoever had concerned his present estate or future condition had been wholly impertinent to the precedent question. Lastly, The expression, *I am*, seeming something unusual or improper to signify a priority in respect of any thing past, because no present instant is before that which precedeth, but that which followeth; yet the ¹use of it sufficiently main-

¹ So Nonnus here more briefly and plainly than usual: c. viii. v. 187.

'Αβράμ πρὶν γένεσιν ἔσχεν, ἐγὼ πέλον.

So John xiv. 9. τοσοῦτον χρόνον μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰμι, καὶ οὐκ ἔγνωκάς με; *Have I been so long time with you, and yet hast thou not known me?* and John xv. 27. ὅτι ἀπ' ἀρχῆς μετ' ἐμοῦ ἔστέ, ὁ-καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἔσμεν. *because ye have been (or continued) with me from the beginning.* Thus Nonnus: John xv. lin. ult.

'Ἐξ ἀρχῆς γεγενῆσθαι ὡς ἐπὶ θεοῦ ἐργον John vi. 24. ὅτε οὐδ' εἶδεν ὁ ἄλλος ὅτι Ἰησοῦς οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκεῖ. *When the people saw that Jesus was not there.* Nor only doth St John use thus the present tense for that which is past, but as frequently for that which is to come. For as before, τοσοῦτον χρόνον μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰμι, so on the contrary, ἐτι μικρὸν χρόνον

μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰμι, John vii. 35. and σπου εἰμι ἐγώ, ἐκεῖ καὶ ὁ δίδκονος ὁ ἐμὸς ἔσται, John xii. 26. xiv. 3. xvii. 24. Wherefore it is very indifferent whether (John vii. 34.) we read σπου εἰμι ἐγώ, or σπου εἰμι. For Nonnus seems to have read it εἰμι by his translation, (John vii.) v. 130.

εἰς ἀπαρτὸν ἦν παρ' ὁδοῦ

and the Jews' question, v. 35. ποῦ οὗτος μέλλει πορεύεσθαι, shews they understood it so: for this εἰμι, though of a present form, is of a future signification. *Henych.* Εἰμι, πορεύεσθαι. And so it agreeth with that which follows, John viii. 21. σπου ἐγὼ ὑπάγω, ὑμεῖς οὐ δύνασθε ἐλθεῖν. If we read εἰμι, as the old translation, *ubi ego sum*, it will have the force of *εσομαι*, and agree with the other, *ὅτι σπου εἰμι ἐγώ, καὶ*

taineth, and the nature of the place absolutely requireth, that it should not here denote a present being, but a priority of existence, together with a continuation of it till the present time. And then the words will plainly signify thus much: 'Do you question how I could see Abraham, who am not yet fifty years old? Verily, verily, I say unto you, before¹ ever Abraham, the person whom you speak of, was born, I had a real being and existence (by which I was capable of the sight of him), in which I have continued until now.' In this sense certainly the Jews understood our Saviour's answer, as pertinent to their question, but in their opinion blasphemous; and therefore *they took up stones to cast at him.*

John viii. 59.

This literal and plain explication is yet farther necessary; because those which once recede from it, do not only wrest and pervert the place, but also invent and suggest an answer unworthy of and wholly misbecoming him that spake it. For (setting aside the addition of the *light of the world*, which there can be no shew of reason to admit²), whether they interpret the former part (*before Abraham was*) of something

ὁμοῦς ἦτε. Howsoever, it is clear, St John useth the present εἰμι either in relation to what is past, or what is to come, and is therefore to be interpreted as the matter in hand requireth. And certainly, the place now under our consideration can admit no other relation but to the time already past, in which Abraham lived. And we find the present tense in the same manner joined with the aorist elsewhere; as Psal. xc. 2. *πρὸ τοῦ ὄρη γενεθῆναι, καὶ πλασθῆναι τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος, ἕως τοῦ αἵματος, σὺ εἶ.* What can be more parallel than, *πρὸ τοῦ ὄρη γενεθῆναι, το πρὶν Ἀβραὰμ γενέσθαι, and σὺ εἶ, το ἐγὼ εἰμι*; in the same manner, though by another word: *πρὸ τοῦ ὄρη ἐδρασθῆναι, πρὸ δὲ πάντων βουῶν, γενεᾶ με.* Prov. viii. 25.

¹ So the Æthiopic Version: 'Amen dico vobis, priusquam Abraham nasceretur, fui ego;' and the Persian: 'Vere, vere vobis dico, quod nondum Abraham factus erat, cum ego eram.'

² This is the shift of the Socinians, who make this speech of Christ ellip-

tical, and then supply it from the 12th verse. "I am the light of the world." 'Quod vero ea verba, *Ego sum*, sint ad eum modum supplenda, ac si ipse subiecisset iis, *Ego sum lux mundi*, superius e principio ejus orationis, ver. 12, et hinc quod Christus his seipsum iisdem, *Ego sum*, lucem mundi vocaverit, ver. 24. et 28. deprehendi potest.' *Catech. Racov.* Sect. iv. c. 1. p. 57. Whereas there is no ground for any such connexion. That discourse of the light of the world was in the treasury, ver. 20. that which followeth was not, at least appeareth not to be so. Therefore the ellipsis of the 24th and 28th verses is not to be supplied by the 12th, but the 24th from the 23d, *ἐγὼ ἐκ τῶν ἁρῶν εἰμι*, and the 28th, either from the same, or that which is most general, his office, *ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ Χριστός*. Again, ver. 31. it is very probable that a new discourse is again begun, and therefore if there were an ellipsis in the words alleged, it would have no relation to either of the former supplies, or if to either, to the latter; but indeed it hath to neither.

to come, as the calling of the Gentiles, or the latter (*I am*) of a pre-existence in the divine foreknowledge and appointment; they represent *Christ* with a great asseveration, highly and strongly asserting that which is nothing to the purpose to which he speaks, nothing to any other purpose at all; and they propound the Jews senselessly offended and foolishly exasperated with those words, which any of them might have spoken as well as he. For the first interpretation makes our Saviour thus to speak: 'Do ye so much wonder how I should have seen Abraham, who am not yet fifty years old?' John viii. 57. Do ye imagine so great a contradiction in this? I tell you, and be ye most assured that what I speak unto you at this time is most certainly and infallibly true, and most worthy of your observation, which moves me not to deliver it without this solemn asseveration (*Verily, verily, I say unto you*), before Abraham shall perfectly become that which was signified in his name, *the father of many nations*, before the Gentiles shall Gen. xvii. 4. come in, *I am*. Nor be ye troubled at this answer, or think in this I magnify myself: for what I speak is as true of you, as it is of me; before Abraham be thus made *Abraham*, ye are. Doubt ye not therefore, as ye did, nor ever make that question again, whether I *have seen Abraham*.' The second explication makes a sense of another nature, but with the same impertinency: 'Do ye continue still to question, and that with so much admiration? Do ye look upon my age, and ask, *Hast thou seen Abraham?*' I confess it is more than eighteen hundred years since that patriarch died, and less than forty since I was born at Bethlehem: but look not

112 on this computation, for before Abraham was born, I was. But mistake me not, I mean in the foreknowledge and decree of God. Nor do I magnify myself in this, for ye were so.' How either of these answers should give any reasonable satisfaction to the question, or the least occasion of the Jews' exasperation, is not to be understood. And that our Saviour should speak any such impertinences as these interpretations bring forth, is not by a Christian to be conceived. Wherefore being the plain and most obvious sense is a proper and full answer to the question, and most likely to exasperate the unbelieving Jews; being those strained explications render the words of Christ not only impertinent to the occasion, but vain and useless to the hearers of them; being our Saviour

gave this answer in words of another language, most probably incapable of any such interpretations: we must adhere unto that literal sense already delivered, by which it appeareth *Christ* had a being, as before John, so also before Abraham, (not only before *Abram* became *Abraham*, but before *Abraham* was *Abram*) and consequently that he did exist two thousand years before he was born, or conceived by the Virgin.

Thirdly, We shall extend this pre-existence to a far longer space of time, to the end of the first world, nay to the beginning of it. For he which was before the flood, and at the creation of the world, had a being before he was conceived by the Virgin. But *Christ* was really before the flood, for he preached to them that lived before it; and at the creation of the world, for he created it. That he preached to those before the flood, is evident by the words of St Peter, who saith, that *Christ was put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the Spirit; by which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison, which sometime were disobedient, when once the long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was a preparing.* From which words it appeareth that *Christ* preached by the same Spirit, by the virtue of which he was raised from the dead: but that Spirit was not his soul, but something of a greater power. Secondly, That those to whom he preached were such as were disobedient. Thirdly, That the time when they were disobedient was the time before the flood, while the ark was preparing¹. It is certain then that *Christ* did preach unto those persons which in the days of Noah were disobedient, all that time *the long-suffering of God waited*, and consequently, so long as repentance was offered. And it is as certain that he never preached to them after they died; which I shall not need here to prove, because those against whom I bring this argument deny it not. It followeth, therefore, that he preached to them while they lived, and were disobedient; for in the refusing of that mercy, which was offered to them by the preaching of *Christ*, did their disobedience principally consist. In vain then are we taught to understand St Peter of the promulgation of the Gospel to the Gentiles after the Holy Ghost descended upon the Apostles, when the words themselves refuse all relation to any such times or persons.

¹ Pet. iii.
18—20.

¹ Ἀπειθήσαντι ποτε, ὅτε ἀπαξ ἐξεδέχετο ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ μακροθυμία ἐν ἡμέραις Νώε,

For all those of whom St Peter speaks, were disobedient in the days of Noah. But none of those to whom the apostles preached, were ever disobedient in the days of Noah. Therefore, none of those to which the apostles preached were any of those of whom St Peter speaks. It remaineth, therefore, that the plain interpretation be acknowledged for the true, that *Christ* did preach unto those men which lived before the flood, even while they lived, and consequently that he was before it. For though this was not done by an immediate act of the Son of God, as if he personally had appeared on earth, and actually
 113 preached to that old world; but by the ministry of a prophet', by the sending of Noah, *the eighth preacher of righteousness*:² 2 Pet. II. 5.

¹ 'Prophetæ ab ipso habentes donum in illum prophetaverunt.' *Barnabæ Epist.* [Ex Vet. Interpr. c. 5. p. 60. col. 2.]

² I have thus translated this place of St Peter, because it may add some advantage to the argument: for if Noah were the eighth preacher of righteousness, and he were sent by the Son of God; no man, I conceive, will deny that the seven before him were sent by the same Son: and so by this we have gained the pre-existence of another thousand years. However, those words, *ἀλλ' ὀγδοὺς Νῶε δικαιοσύνης κήρυκα ἐβόλαξε*, may be better interpreted than they are, when we translate them, *but saved Noah the eighth person, a preacher of righteousness*. For, first, if we look upon the Greek phrase, *ὀγδοὺς Νῶε*, may not be the eighth person, but one of eight, or Noah with seven more; in which it signifieth not the order in which he was in respect of the rest, but only con-signifieth the number which were with him. As when we read in the *Supplices* of *Æschylus*, v. (721.)

Τὸ γὰρ τεκόντων σέβας,
 Τρίτον τόδ' ἐν θεοῖσι
 Δίκας γέγραπται μεγατοσίμων,

we must not understand it as if honour due to parents were the third commandment at Athens, but one of the three remarkable laws left at Eleusis by Triptolemus. So Porphyrius: *Φασὶ δὲ καὶ Τριπτόλεμον Ἀθηναίους νομοθετήσαι, καὶ τῶν νόμων αὐτοῦ τρεῖς ἐπὶ*

Ξενοκράτης ὁ φιλόσοφος λέγει διαμένειν Ἐλευσὶν τοῦσδε Ἰονεῖς τιμᾶν Θεοῦ καρποῖς ἀγάλλειν· Ζῶα μὴ σίνεσθαι. De Abstinēt. ab Anim. Essu, l. iv. [c. 22. p. 178.] Which words are thus translated by St Jerome, who hath made use of most part of that fourth book of Porphyrius: '*Xenocrates Philosophus de Triptolemi legibus apud Athenienses tria tantum præcepta in Templo Eleusinae residence scribit; Honorandos Parentes, Venerandos Deos, Carnibus non vescendum.*' *adv. Jovinian.* l. ii. col. 528. (Tom. II. § 14. p. 344 B.) Where we see honour due to parents the first precept, though by *Æschylus* called the third, not in respect of the order, but the number. Thus *Dinarchus* the orator: *Καὶ τὰς Σεμνὰς Θεὰς αἷς ἐκείνους λεποποιὺς καταστὰς δέκατος αὐτοῖς*. From whence we must not collect that the person of whom he speaks, was the tenth in order of that office, so that nine were necessarily before or above him, and many more might be after or below him; but from hence it is inferred, that there were ten *λεποποιοὶ* waiting on the *Σεμνὰ Θεὰ*, and no more, of which number that man was one. After this manner speak the Attic writers, especially *Thucydides*. And so we may understand St Peter, that God preserved Noah (a preacher of righteousness) with seven more, of which he serveth to be named the first, rather than the last or eighth. But, secondly, the original *ὀγδοὺς*

yet to do anything by another not able to perform it without him, as much demonstrates the existence of the principal cause, as if he did it of himself without any intervening instrument.

The second part of the argument, that *Christ* made this world, and consequently had a real being at the beginning of it, the Scriptures manifestly and plentifully assure us.

Heb. i. 2. For the same *Son*, by whom in these last days God spake unto us, is he by whom also he made the worlds. So that

Heb. xi. 3. as through faith we understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God, so must we also believe that they were made by the Son of God¹. Which the apostle doth not only in the entrance of his epistle deliver, but in the sequel prove. For shewing greater things have been spoken of him than ever were attributed to any of the angels, the most glorious of all the creatures of God; amongst the rest he saith, the Scripture spake, *Unto the Son, Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever*, And not only so, but also, *Thou, Lord, in the beginning hast laid the foundation of the earth, and the heavens are the work of thine hands. They shall perish, but thou remainest: and they all shall wax old as doth a garment; and as a vesture shalt thou fold them up, and they shall be changed; but thou art the same, and thy years shall not fail*. Now whatsoever the person be to whom these words were spoken, it cannot be denied but he was the Creator of the world. For he must be acknowledged the Maker of the earth, who laid the foundation of it; and he may justly challenge to himself the making of the heavens, who can say they are the work of his hands. But these words were spoken to the Son of God, as the apostle himself acknowledgeth, and it appeareth out of the order and series of the chapter; the design of which is to

Heb. i. 8,
10-12.

may possibly not belong to the name or person of Noah, but to his title or office; and then we must translate *ὃς οὗτος ἦν δικαιωσῆς κήρυκα*, *Noah the eighth preacher of righteousness*. For we read at the birth of Enos, that men began to call upon the name of the Lord, Gen. iv. 26. which the ancients understood peculiarly of his person: as the LXX. *οὗτος ἤλπισεν ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ*, and the vulgar Latin, *Iste cœpit invocare*

nomen Domini. The Jews have a tradition, that God sent in the sea upon mankind in the days of Enos, and destroyed many. From whence it seems Enos was a preacher or prophet, and so the rest that followed him; and then Noah is the eighth.

¹ It being in both places expressed in the same phrase by the same author, *δὲ οὐ καὶ τοὺς αἰῶνας ἐποίησεν*, Heb. i. 2. *πιστεῖ νοοῦμεν καταρτισθαι τοὺς αἰῶνας ῥήματι Θεοῦ*. xi. 3.

declare the supereminent excellency of our Saviour *Christ*. Nay, the conjunction *and* refers this place of the Psalmist¹ plainly to the former, of which he had said expressly, *but unto the Son he saith*. As sure then as *Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever*, was said unto the Son; so certain it is, *Thou, Lord, hast laid the foundation of the earth*, was said unto
114 the same. Nor is it possible to avoid the apostle's connexion by attributing the destruction of the heavens, out of the last words, to the Son, and denying the creation of them out of the first, to the same. For it is most evident that there is but one person spoken to, and that the destruction and the creation of the heavens are both attributed to the same. Whosoever therefore shall grant, that the apostle produced this Scripture to shew that the Son of God shall destroy the heavens, must withal acknowledge that he created them: whosoever denieth him to be here spoken of as the Creator, must also deny him to be understood as the destroyer. Wherefore being the words of the psalmist were undoubtedly spoken of and to our Saviour, (or else the apostle hath attributed that unto him which never belonged to him, and consequently the spirit of St Paul mistook the spirit of David); being to whomsoever any part of them belongs, the whole is applicable, because they are delivered unto one; being the literal exposition is so clear, that no man hath ever pretended to a metaphorical: it remaineth as an undeniable truth, grounded upon the profession of the psalmist, and the interpretation of an apostle, that the Son of God created the world. Nor needed we so long to have insisted upon this testimony, because there are so many which testify as much, but only that this is of a peculiar nature and different from the rest. For they which deny this truth of the creation of the world by the Son of God, notwithstanding all those Scriptures produced to confirm it, have found two ways to avoid or decline the force of them. If they speak so plainly and literally of

¹ The answer of Socinus [*Respons. ad Jac. Vujeki Libellum*, class i. arg. 5. Tom. II. p. 546, col. 4.] to this conjunction is very weak, relying only upon the want of a comma after *Kai* in the Greek, and *Et* in the Latin. And whereas it is evident that there are distinctions in the Latin and

Greek copies after that conjunction, he flies to the ancientest copies, which all men know were most careless of distinctions, and urgeth that there is no addition of *et* or the like after *et*, whereas in the Syriac translation we find expressly that addition, ܐܬܝܬ.

the work of creation, that they will not endure any figurative interpretation, then they endeavour to shew that they are not spoken of the Son of God. If they speak so expressly of our Saviour *Christ*, as that by no machination they can be applied to any other person, then their whole design is to make the creation attributed unto him appear to be merely metaphorical. The place before alleged is of the first kind, which speaketh so clearly of the creation or real production of the world, that they never denied it: and I have so manifestly shewed it spoken to the Son of God, that it is beyond all possibility of gainsaying.

Thus having asserted the creation acknowledged real unto *Christ*, we shall the easier persuade that likewise to be such, which is pretended to be metaphorical. In the epistle Col. i. 14. to the Colossians we read of the Son of God, *in whom we have redemption through his blood*: and we are sure those words can be spoken of none other than *Jesus Christ*. He therefore it must be who was thus described by the apostle; Col. i. 15—17. *who is the image of the invisible God, the first-born of every creature. For by him were all things created that are in heaven and that are in earth, visible and invisible; whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers: all things were created by him, and for him. And he is before all things, and by him all things consist.* In which words our Saviour is expressly styled the *first-born of every creature*¹, that is, begotten by God as the *Son of his love*², antecedently to all other emanations, before anything proceeded from him, or was framed and created by him. And that precedency is presently proved by this undeniable argument, that all other emanations or productions came from him, and whatsoever received its being by creation, was by him created. Which assertion is delivered in the most proper, full, and pregnant expressions imaginable. First, In the

¹ The *first-born of every creature* is taken by Origen for an expression declaring the Divinity of Christ, and used by him as a phrase in opposition to his humanity to express the same:

Ἐλέγομεν δὴ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀνωτέροις, ὅτι αἱ μὲν τῶς εἰσι φωναὶ τοῦ ἐν τῷ Ἰησοῦ πρωτοτόκου πάσης κτίσεως, ὡς ἡ, Ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ὁδὸς, καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια, καὶ ἡ ζωὴ, καὶ αἱ τοῦτοις παραπλήσιαι· αἱ δὲ τοῦ

κατ' αὐτὸν νοούμενου ἀνθρώπου, ὡς ἡ τοῦ, Νῦν δέ με ζητεῖτε ἀποκτεῖναι, ἀνθρώπων δὲ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ὑμῶν λελάληκα. Lib. ii. *adv. Celsum*, § 25. (Tom. I. p. 409 F.)

² In relation to the precedent words, ver. 13, του υἱοῦ τῆς ἀγάπης αὐτοῦ, for that υἱὸς ἀγαπῆτός was the υἱὸς πρωτότοκος.

vulgar phrase of Moses, as most consonant to his description; *for by him were all things created that are in heaven, and that are in earth*; signifying thereby, that he speaketh of the same creation. Secondly, By a division which Moses never
 115 used, as describing the production only of corporeal substances: lest therefore those immaterial beings might seem exempted from the Son's creation, because omitted in Moses' description, he addeth *visible and invisible*; and lest in that invisible world, among the many degrees of the celestial hierarchy, any order might seem exempted from an essential dependence upon him, he nameth those which are of greatest eminence, *whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers*, and under them comprehendeth all the rest. Nor doth it yet suffice thus to extend the object of his power by asserting all things to be made by him, except it be so understood as to acknowledge the sovereignty of his person, and the authority of his action. For lest we should conceive the Son of God framing the world as a mere instrumental cause which worketh by and for another, he sheweth him as well the final as the efficient cause; for *all things were created by him and for him*. Lastly, Whereas all things first received their being by creation, and when they have received it, continue in the same by virtue of God's conservation, *in whom we live, and move, and have our being*; lest in any thing we should be thought not to depend immediately upon the Son of God, he is described as the Conserver, as well as the Creator: for *he is before all things, and by him all things consist*. If then we consider the two last-cited verses by themselves, we cannot deny but that they are a most complete description of the Creator of the world; and if they were spoken of God the Father, could be no way injurious to his Majesty, who is nowhere more plainly or fully set forth unto us as the Maker of the world.

Now although this were sufficient to persuade us to interpret this place of the making of the world, yet it will not be unfit to make use of another reason, which will compel us so to understand it. For undoubtedly there are but two kinds of creation in the language of the Scriptures, the one literal, the other metaphorical; one old, the other new; one by way of formation, the other by way of reformation. *If any man* 2 Cor. v. 17. *be in Christ, he is a new creature*, saith St Paul: and again,

Gal. vi. 15. *In Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature. Instead of which words he had before, faith working by love. For we are the workmanship of God, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath before ordained that we should walk in them.*

Gal. v. 6.
Eph. ii. 10. *From whence it is evident, that a new creature is such a person as truly believeth in Christ, and manifesteth that faith by the exercise of good works; and the new creation is the reforming or bringing man into this new condition, which, by nature or his first creation, he was not in. And therefore he which is so created, is called a new man, in opposition to the old man, which is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts.*

Eph. iv. 22.
Eph. iv. 23, 24. *From whence the apostle chargeth us to be renewed in the spirit of our mind, and to put on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness; and which is renewed in knowledge, after the image of him that created him.*

Col. iii. 10. *The new creation then is described to us as consisting wholly in renovation¹, or a translation from a worse unto a better condition by way of reformation; by which those which have lost the image of God, in which the first man was created, are restored to the image of the same God again, by a real change, though not substantial, wrought within them. Now this being the notion of the new creation, in all those places which undoubtedly and confessedly speak of it, it will be necessary to apply it unto such Scriptures as are pretended to require the same interpretation. Thus therefore I proceed. If the second or new creation cannot be meant by the apostle in the*

place produced out of the Epistle to the Colossians, then it must be interpreted of the first. For there are but two kinds of creation mentioned in the Scriptures, and one of them is there expressly named. But the place of the apostle can no way admit an interpretation by the new creation, as will thus appear: the object of the creation, mentioned in this place, is of as great latitude and universality as the object of the

¹ 'Ανανέωσις or ἀνακαίνωσις' as the new man, νέος ἄνθρωπος, or καινὸς ἄνθρωπος. The first ὁ ἀνανεούμενος, the last, ὁ ἀνακαινούμενος, both the same. Suidas, 'Ανακαίνωσις, ἡ ἀνανέωσις' λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἀνακαίνωσις' which is the language of the New Testament. This renovation being thus called καινὴ κτίσις, the ancients framed a proper

word for it, which is, ἀνέκτισις' ἐν ᾧ γίνεται πάντων τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις κατὰ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα κακῶν ἡ ἀναλῆσις. Just. Qu. et Resp. ad Græcos, p. 167, [E. Edit. Colon. 1686.] This new creation doth so necessarily infer an alteration, that it is called by St Paul a metamorphosis, μεταμορφώσθαι τῇ ἀνακαινώσει τοῦ νοῦς ὑμῶν. Rom. xii. 2.

first creation, not only expressed, but implied, by Moses. But the object of the new creation is not of the same latitude with that of the old. Therefore that which is mentioned here, cannot be the new creation. For certainly if we reflect upon the true notion of the new creation, it necessarily and essentially includes an opposition to a former worse condition, as the new man is always opposed to the old; and if Adam had continued still in innocency, there could have been no such distinction between the old man and the new, or the old and new creation. Being then all men become not new, being there is no new creature but such whose faith worketh by love, being so many millions of men have neither faith nor love, it cannot be said that by *Christ all things were created ANEW that are in heaven and that are in earth*, when the greatest part of mankind have no share in the new creation. Again, we cannot imagine that the apostle should speak of the creation in a general word, intending thereby only the new, and while he doth so, express particularly and especially those parts of the old creation which are incapable of the new, or at least have no relation to it. The angels are all either good or bad: but whether they be bad, they can never be good again, nor did *Christ* come to redeem the devils; or whether they be good, they were always such, nor were they so by the virtue of *Christ's* incarnation; for *he* Heb. ii. 16. *took not on him the nature of angels*. We acknowledge in mankind a new creation, because an old man becomes a new; but there is no such notion in the celestial hierarchy, because no old and new angels: they which fell, are fallen for eternity; they which stand, always stood, and shall stand for ever. Where then are the regenerated *thrones and dominions*? Where are the recreated *principalities and powers*? All those angels, of whatsoever degrees, were created by the Son of God, as the apostle expressly affirms. But they were never *created* by a new creation unto *true* Eph. iv. 24. *holiness and righteousness*, because they always were truly righteous and holy ever since their first creation. Therefore except we could yet invent another creation, which were neither the old nor the new, we must conclude that all the angels were at first created by the Son of God; and as they, so all things else, especially man, whose creation¹ all the first

¹ 'Ad hoc Dominus sustinuit pati rum Dominus; cui dixit die ante constitutionem seculi, *Faciamus hominem*
pro anima nostra, cum sit orbis Terra-

Gen. i. 26.

writers of the Church of God expressly attribute unto the Son, asserting that those words, *Let us make man*, were spoken as by the Father unto him.

John i. 1-3.

Nor need we doubt of this interpretation, or the doctrine arising from it, seeing it is so clearly delivered by St John: *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made.* Whereas we have proved *Christ* had a being before he was conceived by the Virgin Mary, because he was at the beginning of the world; and have also proved that he was at the beginning of the world, because he made it; this place of St John gives a sufficient testimony to the truth of both the last together. *In the beginning was the Word*; and that Word made flesh is *Christ*: therefore *Christ* was in the beginning. *All things were made by him*: therefore he created the world. Indeed, nothing can be more clearly penned, to give full satisfaction in this point, than these words of St John, which seem with a strange brevity designed to take off all objections, and remove all prejudice, before they teach so strange a truth. *Christ* was born of the Virgin Mary, and his age was known to them for whom this Gospel was penned. St John would teach that this *Christ* did make the world, which was created at least four thousand years before his birth. The name of *Jesus* was given him since, at his circumcision: the title of *Christ* belonged unto his office, which he exercised not till thirty years after. Neither of these with any shew of probability will reach to the creation of the world. Wherefore he produceth a name of his, as yet unknown to the world, or rather not taken notice of, though in frequent use among the Jews, which belonged unto him who was made man, but before he was so. Under that name he shews at first that he had a being in the beginning¹; and when all things were to be

ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram.' *Barnabæ Epist.* [Eccl. Vet. Interpr. c. 5. p. 60. col. 2.] And again: *Λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή περὶ ἡμῶν ὡς λέγει τῷ υἱῷ, Ποίησωμεν κατ' εἰκόνα, &c.* *Barnab. Epist.* c. 6. [p. 18.] *Ἐγκαλοῦμεν οὖν Ἰουδαίους τοῦτον μὴ νομίσαι Θεόν, ὑπὸ τῶν προφητῶν πολλὰχού μεμαρτυρημένον ὡς μεγάλῃ δυνάμει δόξαναι καὶ Θεὸν, κατὰ τὸν τῶν δυνάμεων Θεὸν καὶ Πατέρα.*

τοῦτω γὰρ φανερὸν ἐν τῇ κατὰ Μωσέα κοσμοποιῇ προστάττοντα τὸν Πατέρα εἰρηκέναι τὸ, Γενηθήτω φῶς, καὶ Γενηθήτω στερῶμα, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ, ὅσα προσέταξεν ὁ Θεὸς γενέσθαι· καὶ τοῦτω εἰρηκέναι τὸ, Ποίησωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοιωσιν ἡμετέραν. *Orig. adv. Celsum*, l. ii. § 9. (Tom. i. p. 393 c.)

¹ *Ἐν ἀρχῇ*, the first word of Moses; whence the Syriac translation, *ܐܝܢ ܕܥܪܚܐ*.

created, and consequently were not yet, then in the beginning was the Word, and so not created. This is the first step, the Word was not created when the world was made. The next is, that the same Word which then was, and was not made, at the same time *was with God*¹, when he made all things; and therefore well may we conceive it was he to whom *God* Gen. i. 26. *said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness;* and of whom those words may be understood, *Behold, the man is* Gen. iii. 22. *become as one of us.* After this, lest any should conceive the creation of the world too great and divine a work to be attributed to the Word; lest any should object, that none can produce any thing out of nothing but God himself; he addeth, *That the Word, as he was with God, so was he also God.* Again, lest any should divide the Deity, or frame a false conception of different gods, he returns unto the second assertion, and joins it with the first, *The same was in the beginning with God:* and then delivers that which at the first seemed strange, but now after those three propositions, may easily be accepted; *All things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made.* For now this is no new doctrine, but only an interpretation of those Scriptures which told us, God made all things by his Word before. For *God* Gen. i. 3. *said, Let there be light, and there was light.* And so, *by the Word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the host of them by the breath of his mouth.* From whence *we understand* Heb. xi. 3. 2 Pet. iii. 6. *that the worlds were framed by the Word of God.* Neither was it a new interpretation, but that which was most familiar to the Jews, who in their synagogues, by the reading of the paraphrase² or the interpretation of the Hebrew text in the

So Solomon מִלִּפְתּוֹת הַשָּׁמַיִם יִבְרָא אֱלֹהִים. 'Εν ἀρχῇ πρὸ τοῦ τῆν γῆν ποιῆσαι. Prov. viii. 23. 'In principio erat Sermo; in quo principio scilicet Deus fecit cœlum et terram.' *Tertull. adv. Hermog. c. 20.* [p. 276 B.]

¹ Πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, that is, παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ, that is, by God. As Nonnus:

Πατὴρς ἦν ἀμύρστος, ἀνέμωσι σύνθετος
ἄλογ. Joh. i. lln. 4.

As Wisdom speaketh, Prov. viii. 30. *then I was by him,* חָלוּק וְיָחַד אִתּוֹ *et erat in latere ejus.* Moschopolus, *περὶ σχεδῶν*, p. 25. *Πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, τουτέστι,*

μετὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ. As: Αἱ ἀδελφαὶ αὐτοῦ οὐχὶ πᾶσαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἰσι; Matt. xiii. 56. καὶ ἡμέραν ἡμερὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς. Mark xiv. 49. πρὸς ὑμᾶς δὲ τυχὸν παραμενῶ. 1 Cor. xvi. 6. Πειπιστευμένῳ διακονίαν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὃς πρὸ αἰώνων παρὰ Πατρὶ ἦν, καὶ ἐν τέλει ἐφάρη. Ignat. *ad Magnes. c. 6.*

² I conceive this Chaldee paraphrase to represent the sense of the Jews of that age, as being their public interpretation of the Scripture. Wherefore what we find common and frequent in it, we cannot but think the vulgar and general opinion of that nation.

Chaldee language, were constantly taught, that the Word of God was the same with God, and that by that Word all

Now it is certain that this paraphrast doth often use מִמְרָא דִּי *the word of God*, for מִמְרָא *God himself*, and that especially with relation to the creation of the world. As Isa. xlv. 12. אֲנִי בָרָאתִי אֶרֶץ וְאָדָם עָלֶיהָ *I made the earth, and created man upon it, saith the Lord, the Holy One of Israel*; which the Chaldee translateth במִּמְרֵי אֲנִי עָבַרְתִּי אֶרֶץ *I by my word made the earth, and created man upon it*. In the same manner, Jer. xxvii. 5. *I made the earth, and men and beasts on the face of the earth*; the Targum אֲנִי בְּמִמְרֵי עָבַרְתִּי יְיָ אֶרֶץ. And Isa. xlviii. 13. אֶף יְדִי יִסְדָּה אֶרֶץ *My hand also founded the earth*: the Chaldee אֶף עָבַרְתִּי בְּמִמְרֵי שְׂכַלְלִית אֶרֶץ *Etiam in verbo meo fundavi terram*. And most clearly Gen. i. 27, we read, *Et creavit Deus hominem*: the Jerusalem Targum, *Verbum Domini creavit hominem*. And Gen. iii. 8. *Audierunt vocem Domini Dei*: the Chaldee paraphrase רִשְׁעֵי יְיָ אֱלֹהִים *Et audierunt vocem verbi Domini Dei*. Now this which the Chaldee paraphrase called מִמְרָא the Hellenists named Λόγος as appeareth by Philo the Jew, who wrote before St John, and reckons in his Divinity, first Πατέρα τῶν ὄντων, then δεύτερον Θεόν, ὅς ἐστιν ἐκεῖνον Λόγος. *Quæst. et Solut. Frag.* p. 625. Vol. II. *ap. Euseb. Præp. Evang.* l. vii. c. 13. [p. 323 A.] Whom he calls: ὁρθὸν αὐτοῦ (θεοῦ) λόγος, πρωτόγονον υἱόν. *De Agricult.* Tom. I. p. 308, l. 27. He attributes the creation of the world to this Λόγος, whom he terms: ἔργων Θεοῦ, δι' οὗ (ὁ κόσμος) κατεσκεύασται. [Εὐρήσεις αἰτίων μὲν αὐτοῦ (τοῦ κόσμου) τῶν Θεῶν, ὅψ' οὗ γέγονεν] ἢ γὰρ δὲ τὰ τέσσαρα στοιχεῖα ἐξ ὧν συνεκράθη ἔργων δὲ Λόγον Θεοῦ, δι' οὗ κατεσκευάσθη.] *De Flammeo Gladio*, ad fin. p. 162, Vol. I. Σκιά Θεοῦ δὲ ὁ Λόγος αὐτοῦ ἐστίν, ᾧ καθάπερ ὁργάνῳ προσχρησάμενος ἐκοσμοποιεῖ. *Idem. Alleg.* lib. ii. al. iii. Tom. I. p. 106, l. 29. Where we must observe,

though Philo makes the Λόγος, of whom he speaks, as instrumental in the creation of the world; yet he taketh it not for a bare expression of the will of God, but for a God, though in the second degree, and expressly for the Son of God. Nor ought we to look on Philo Judeus in this as a Platonist, but merely as a Jew, who refers his whole doctrine of this Λόγος to the first chapter of Genesis. And the rest of the Jews before him, who had no such knowledge out of Plato's school, used the same notion. For as Isa. xlviii. 13. *the hand of God*, is by the Chaldee paraphrast translated the *Word of God*: so in the book of Wisdom, ἡ παντοδυναμία σου χεῖρ καὶ κτίσασα τὸν κόσμον, Sap. xi. 17, is changed into ὁ παντοδυναμὸς σου Λόγος ἀπ' οὐρανῶν, xviii. 15, and Siracides xliiii. 26. Ἐν Λόγῳ αὐτοῦ σύγκεται πάντα. Nay, the Septuagint hath changed *Shaddai*, the undoubted name of the omnipotent God, into Λόγος, *the Word*, Ezek. i. 24. Ἐν ᾧ *quasi vox sublimis Dei*, quod Hebraice appellatur SADDAI (שֹׁדַי) et juxta LXX. *vox verbi*, (φωνῆ τοῦ Θεοῦ) ut universa quæ prædicantur in mundo vocem Filii Dei esse credamus.' *S. Hieron.* ad loc. col. 679. [Tom. v. p. 20 B.] And therefore Celsus, writing in the person of a Jew, acknowledgeth that the Word is the Son of God. Εἰ γὰρ ὁ Λόγος ἐστὶν υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔπαινοῦμεν. *Orig. adv. Celsum*, l. ii. § 31. Tom. I. p. 413 C. And although Origen object that in this Celsus makes the Jew speak improperly, because the Jews which he had conversed with did never acknowledge that the Son of God was the Word; yet Celsus's Jew did speak the language of Philo: but between the time of Celsus and that of Origen (I guess about threescore years), the Jews had learnt to deny that notion of Λόγος, that they might with more colour reject St John. If then all the Jews,

118 things were made. Which undoubtedly was the cause why St John delivered so great a mystery in so few words, as speaking unto them who at the first apprehension understood him. Only that which as yet they knew not was, that this Word was made flesh, and that this Word made flesh was *Jesus Christ*. Wherefore this exposition being so literally clear in itself, so consonant to the notion of the Word, and the apprehension of the Jews; it is infinitely to be preferred before any such interpretation as shall restrain the most universals to a few particulars, change the plainest expressions into figurative phrases, and make of a sublime truth, a weak, useless, false discourse. For who will grant that *in the beginning* must be the same with that in St John's Epistle *from the beginning*, especially when the very interpretation involves in itself a contradiction? For *the beginning* in St John's Epistle, is that in which the apostles saw, and heard, and touched the Word: *the beginning* in his Gospel was that in which *the Word was with God*, that is, not seen nor heard by the apostles, but known as yet to God alone, as the new exposition will have it. Who will conceive it worthy of the apostle's assertion, to teach that the Word had a being in the beginning of the Gospel, at what time John the Baptist began to preach; when we know the Baptist taught as much, who therefore *came baptizing with water that he might be made manifest unto Israel*? when we are sure that St Matthew and St Luke, who wrote before him, taught us more than this, that he had a being thirty years before? when we are assured, it was as true of any other then living as of the Word, even of Judas who betrayed him, even of Pilate who condemned him? Again, who can imagine the apostle should assert that the Word was, that is, had an actual being, when as yet he was not actually the Word? For if *the beginning* be, when John the Baptist began to preach, and the Word, as they say, be nothing else but he which speaketh, and so revealeth the will of God; *Christ* had not then revealed the will of God, and consequently was not then actually the Word, but

John I. 31.

both they which understood the Chaldees exposition, and those which only used the Greek translation, had such a notion of the Word of God; if all things, by their confession, were made

by the Word; we have no reason to believe St John should make use of any other notion than what they before had, and that by means whereof he might be so easily understood.

only potentially or by designation. Secondly, it is a strange figurative speech, *the Word was with God*, that is, *was* known to God, especially in this apostle's method. *In the beginning was the Word*; there *was* must signify an actual existence; and if so, why in the next sentence (*the Word was with God*) shall the same verb signify an objective being only? Certainly though to be in the beginning be one thing, and to be with God, another; yet *to be* in either of them is the same. But if we should imagine this *being* understood of the knowledge of God, why we should grant that thereby is signified, he was known to God alone, I cannot conceive. For the proposition of itself is plainly affirmative, and the exclusive particle *only* added to the exposition, maketh it clearly negative. Nay more, the affirmative sense is certainly true, the negative as certainly false. For except Gabriel be God, who came to the Virgin; except every I I 9 one of the heavenly host which appeared to the shepherds, be God; except Zachary and Elizabeth, except Simeon and Anna, except Joseph and Mary, be God; it cannot be true that he was known to God only, for to all these he was certainly known. Thirdly, To pass by the third attribute, *and the Word was God*, as having occasion suddenly after to handle it; seeing the apostle hath again repeated the circumstance of time as most material, *the same was in the beginning with God*, and immediately subjoined those words, *all things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made*; how can we receive any exposition, which referreth not the making of all these things to him in the beginning? But if we understand the latter part of the apostles, who, after the ascension of our Saviour, did nothing but what they were commanded and empowered to do by *Christ*, it will bear no relation to the beginning. If we interpret the former, of all which *Jesus* said and did in the promulgation of the Gospel, we cannot yet reach to the beginning assigned by the new expositors: for while John the Baptist only preached, while in their sense the Word was with God, they will not affirm that *Jesus* did any of these things that here are spoken of. And consequently, according to their grounds, it will be true to say, '*In the beginning was the Word, and that Word in the beginning was with God*, insomuch as in the beginning nothing was done by him, but without him

were all things done, which were done in the beginning.' Wherefore, in all reason we should stick to the known interpretation, in which every word receiveth its own proper signification, without any figurative distortion, and is preserved in its due latitude and extension, without any curtailing restriction. And therefore I conclude, from the undeniable testimony of St John, that in the beginning, when the heavens and the earth and all the hosts of them were created, all things were made by the Word, who is *Christ Jesus* being made flesh; and consequently, by the method of argument, as the apostle antecedently by the method of nature, that in the beginning *Christ* was. He then who was in heaven, and descended from thence before that which was begotten of the Virgin ascended thither, he who was before John the Baptist and before Abraham, he who was at the end of the first world, and at the beginning of the same; he had a real being and existence, before *Christ* was conceived by the Virgin Mary. But all these we have already shewed belong unto the Son of God. Therefore we must acknowledge, that *Jesus Christ* had a real being and existence before he was begotten by the Holy Ghost: which is our first assertion, properly opposed to the Photinians¹.

¹ The Photinians were heretics, so called from Photinus, bishop of Sirmium, but born in Gallogræcia, and scholar to Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra. 'Photinus de Gallogræcia, Marcelli discipulus, Sirmii Episcopus ordinatus, Hebionis Hæresin instaurare conatus est.' *S. Hieron. [De Viris Illustribus c. 107. Tom. II. p. 923.]* 'Photinus, Sirmiensis Episcopus, fuit a Marcello imbutus. Nam et Diaconus sub eo aliquandiu fuit.' *Hilar. Frag. ii. § 19, (p. 1295 D.)* Wherefore when Epiphanius speaketh thus of him, οὗτος ὡρμάτο ἀπὸ Συμπλεῖν, it hath no relation to the original of his person, but his heresy; of which St Hilary: 'Pestifere, natum Jesum Christum ex Maria, Pannonia defendit.' *De Trin. l. vii. c. 3. (p. 916.)* He was a man of singular parts and abilities: Φύσεως ἔχων ἐδ λέγειν, καὶ περθεῖν ἱκανός, says Sozom. l. iv. c. 6. Γέγονε δὲ οὗτος ὁ Φωτεινὸς ἄλλος τῶν τρέσκων, καὶ ὠνευμένους τὴν γλῶτταν,

πολλοὺς δὲ διδάμενος ἀπατᾶν τῇ τοῦ λόγου προφορᾷ καὶ ἐτοιμολογίᾳ. *S. Epiphani. Hær. 71. § 1. [Tom. I. p. 829 B.]* 'Erat et ingenii viribus valens, et doctrinæ opibus excellens, et eloquio præpotens, quippe qui utroque sermone copiose et graviter disputaret et scriberet.' *Vincent. Lirin. adv. Hæres. c. 16, [p. 241 C.]* He is said by some to follow the heresy of Ebion. 'Hebionis hæresin instaurare conatus est,' says St Jerome; and St Hilary (*De Trin. vii. 3, p. 916; c. 7, p. 919*) ordinarily understands him by the name of Hebion, and sometimes expounds himself, 'Hebion, qui est Photinus.' But there is no similitude in their doctrines, Hebion being more Jew than Christian, and teaching Christ as much begotten by Joseph, as born of Mary. Philaster will have him agree wholly with Paulus Samosatenus 'in omnibus.' ['Photinus doctrinam ejus (Pauli Samosateni) secutus, in omnibus simi-

The second assertion, next to be made good, is, that the being which *Christ* had, before he was conceived by the Vir-

liter prædicabat.' *Philastrius, Lib. de Hæresibus. Bibliotheca Patrum Latin.* Tom. iv. p. 603 B.] Epiphanius [*Hæres.* 18. p. 600 D. 603 A.] with an ἀπὸ μύρου, and ἐπέκεινα. Socrates [*Hist. Ecclesiast.* Lib. ii. c. 19, 29.] and Sozomen [*Hist. Eccles.* Lib. iv. c. 6.] with him, and with Sabellius: whereas he differed much from them both, especially from Sabellius, as being far from a Patripassian. 'Marcellus Sabellianæ hæresis assertor extiterat: Photinus vero novam hæresin jam ante protulerat, a Sabellio quidem in uni-one dissentiens, sed initium Christi ex Maria prædicabat.' *Sulpitius Severus, Hist. Sacr.* l. ii. p. 104. ed. Elz. 1656, 1643. Wherefore it will not be unnecessary to collect out of antiquity what did properly belong unto Photinus, because I think it not yet done, and we find his heresy, in the propriety of it, to begin and spread again. 'Photinus, mentis cæcitate deceptus, in Christo verum et substantiæ nostræ confessus est hominem, sed eundem Deum de Deo ante omnia sæcula genitum esse non credidit.' *Leo, de Nativ. Christi Serm.* iv. [c. 5. p. 817 A.] 'Etiam Photinus hominem tantum profiteri Dei Filium; dicit illum non fuisse ante beatam Mariam.' *Lucifer. Caralit. de non parcendo in Deum delinq.* T. iv. p. 171. [H.] *Biblioth. Patr.* 'Si quis in Christo sic veritatem prædicat animæ et carnis, ut veritatem in eo nolit accipere Deitatis, id est, qui sic dicit Christum hominem, ut Deum neget, non est Christianus Catholicus, sed Photinianus Hæreticus.' *Fulg. ad Donat.* c. 16. [p. 206.] *Bibliotheca Patr.* Tom. vi. p. 66 H. Φωτεινὸς ψιλλὸν ἄνθρωπον λέγει τὸν γεγεννημένον, Θεοῦ μὴ λέγων εἶναι τὸν τόκον, καὶ τὸν ἐκ μήτρας προελθόντα, ἄνθρωπον ὑποτίθεται διηρημένον Θεοῦ. *Theod. Homil. de Nativ. Ephes. Concil.* p. iii. c. 10. [*Labbe Concilia*, Tom. III. p. 1010 c.] 'Anathematizamus Photinum, qui Hebionis hæresin instaurans, Dominum Jesum Christum tantum ex Ma-

ria confitetur.' *Damasus, Profess. Fidei, Epist.* iii. *Galland, Bibliotheca Patr.* Tom. vi. p. 326 B. Φάσκει δὲ οὗτος, ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τὸν Χριστὸν μὴ εἶναι, ἀπὸ δὲ Μαρίας καὶ δεῦρο αὐτὸν ὑπάρχειν, ἐξότε, φησί, τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον ἐπέλθεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ ἐγεννήθη ἐκ Πνεύματος ἁγίου. *S. Epiphani.* *Hæres.* 71. § 1. [Tom. I. p. 829 A.] Ἐλεγε δέ: ὁ Θεὸς μὲν ἐστὶ παντοκράτωρ εἰς, ὁ τῷ ἰδίῳ λόγῳ τὰ πάντα δημιουργήσας· τὴν δὲ πρὸ αἰώνων γέννησιν τε καὶ ὑπαρξιν τοῦ υἱοῦ οὐ προσέτετο, ἀλλ' ἐκ Μαρίας γεγενῆσθαι τὸν Χριστὸν εἰσαγγέιτο. *Sozomen.* l. iv. c. 6. 'Photini ergo secta hæc est. Dicit Deum singulum esse et solitarium, et more Judaico confitendum. Trinitatis plenitudinem negat, neque ullam Dei Verbi, aut ullam Spiritus Sancti putat esse personam. Christum vero hominem tantummodo solitarium asserit, cui principium adscribit ex Maria; et hoc omnibus modis dogmatizat, solam nos personam Dei Patris, et solum Christum hominem colere debere.' *Vinc. Lirinensis adv. Hæres.* c. 17. [p. 241 F.] In the disputation framed by Vigilius, out of the seventh book of St Hilary, as I conceive, Photinus rejecting the opinion of Sabellius (whom Socrates and Sozomen said he followed) as impious, thus declares his own: 'Unde magis ego dico, Deum Patrem Filium habere Dominum Jesum Christum, ex Maria Virgine initium sumentem, qui per sanctæ conversationis excellentissimum atque inimitabile beatitudinis meritum, a Deo Patre in Filium adoptatus et eximio Divinitatis honore donatus.' *Dial.* l. i. § 4. And again; 'Ego Domino nostro Jesu Christo initium tribuo, purumque hominem fuisse affirmo, et per beatæ vitæ excellentissimum meritum Divinitatis honorem fuisse adeptum.' *Ibid.* § 10. Vide eundem l. ii. *adv. Eutych.* 'Ignorat etiam Photinus magnum pietatis, quod Apostolus memorat, sacramentum, qui Christi ex Virgine fatetur exordium.— Et propterea non credit sine initio sub-

gin, was not any created, but the divine essence, by which he always was truly, really, and properly God. This will

stantialiter Deum natum ex Deo Patre, in quo carnis veritatem confitetur ex Virgine.' *Fulg. ad Thrasim.* l. i. c. 6. (*Bibl. Patr.* Tom. VI. p. 39 D.) Gregory Nazianzen, according to his custom, gives a very brief, but remarkable expression: *Φωτιστὸν τὸν κατὰ Χριστὸν καὶ ἀπὸ Μαρίας ἀρχόμενον.* *Orat.* 26. (*Orat.* 33. § 16. Tom. I. p. 614 D.) But the opinion of Photinus cannot be better understood, than by the condemnation of it in the Council of Sirmium; which having set out the confession of their faith in brief, addeth many and various anathemas, according to the several heresies then apparent, without mentioning their names. Of these, the fifth aims clearly at Photinus: 'Si quis secundum præscientiam vel prædestinationem ex Maria dicit Filium esse, et non ante sæcula ex Patre natum, apud Deum esse, et per eum facta esse omnia, Anathema sit.' [*Hilary de Synod.* c. 38. p. 1175 D.] The thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth, also were particulars directed against him, as St Hilary hath observed: but the last of all is most material: 'Si quis Christum Deum, Filium Dei, ante sæcula subsistentem, et ministrantem Patri ad omnium perfectionem, non dicat, sed ex quo de Maria natus est, ex eo et Christum et Filium nominatum esse, et initium accepisse ut sit Deus, dicat, Anathema sit.' [*Hilary de Synod.* c. 38. p. 1177 c.] Upon which, the observation of St Hilary is this: 'Concludi damnatio ejus hæresis, propter quam conventum erat, (that is, the Photinian) expositione totius fidelis cui adversabatur, oportuit, quæ initium Dei Filii ex partu Virginis mentiebatur.' *S. Hilary de Synod. contra Arianos*, c. 61. p. 1185 D. Thus was Photinus bishop of Sirmium condemned by a Council held in the same city. They all agreed suddenly in the condemnation of him: Arians, Semi-Arians, and Catholics: *καθεῖλον εὐθέως*, says Socrates, *καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ὡς καλῶς καὶ δικαίως γερόμενον*,

πάντες ἐκρίνεσαν καὶ τότε καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα. Lib. ii. c. 29. And because his history is very obscure and intricate, take this brief catalogue of his condemnations. We read that he was condemned at the Council of Nice, and at the same time by a Council at Rome under Sylvester: but this is delivered only in a forged *Epilogus Concilii Romani*. He was then first condemned with Marcellus his master, as Sulpitius Severus relates, [*Sacra Historia*, Lib. ii. p. 104. Elzevir, 1643.] probably by the Synod at Constantinople; for in that Marcellus was deprived. [circ. A.D. 344.] *Sozom.* l. ii. 33. *Socras.* l. i. 36. Secondly, his heresy is renounced in the second Synod at Antioch. *Athanas. de Syn.* § 5, 6. Vol. i. p. 740 A. *Socras.* l. ii. 19. Thirdly, he was condemned in the Council of Sardes. *S. Epiphani. Hæres.* 71. § 1. [Tom. i. p. 819 A.] and *Sulpitius Severus*, p. 240. Fourthly, by a Council at Milan. [A.D. 347.] *S. Hilary. Fragm.* ii. § 19. Fifthly, in a Synod at Sirmium he was deposed by the western bishops; but by reason of the great opinion and affection of the people, he could not be removed. [A.D. 349.] *S. Hilary. Fragm. ibid.* § 21. Sixthly, he was again condemned and deposed at Sirmium by the eastern bishops, and being convicted by Basil, bishop of Ancyra, was banished from thence. [A.D. 351.] *S. Hilary. ibid.* § 22. et *de Synod.* c. 37. *S. Epiph. Socras. Sozom. Vigil.* Indeed, he was so generally condemned, not only then, but afterwards under Valentinian, as St Jerome testifies, and the synodic Epistle of the Aquileian Council, that his opinion was soon worn out of the world. 'Ἦδη γὰρ καὶ διεσκεδάσθη εἰς ὀλίγων χρόνων ἡ τοῦτον τοῦ ἡπατημένου αἵρεσις, says Epiphanius, who lived not long after him. So suddenly was this opinion rejected by all Christians, applauded by none but Julian the heretic, who railed at St John for making Christ God, and commended Photinus for

Heb. iii. 4.

John i. 3. 1.

Prov. viii. 22.

evidently and necessarily follow from the last demonstration of the first assertion, the creating all things by the Son of God; from whence we inferred his pre-existence, *in the beginning*, assuring us as much that he was God, as that he was, *For he that built all things is God*. And the same apostle which assures us, *All things were made by him*, at the same time tells us, *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God*. Where *In the beginning* must not be denied unto the third proposition, because it cannot be denied unto the second. Therefore *in the beginning, or ever the earth was, the Word was God*, the same God with whom he was. For we cannot, with any show of reason, either imagine that he was with one God, and was another, because there can be no more supreme Gods than one; or conceive that the apostle should speak of one kind of God in the second, and of another in the third proposition; in the second, of a God eternal and independent; in the third, of a made and depending God¹. Especially,

denying it; as appears by an Epistle written by Julian unto him, as it is (though in a mean translation) delivered by Facundus: 'Tu quidem, O Photine, verisimilis videris, et proximus salvare, benefaciens nequaquam in utero inducere, quem credidisti Deum.' *Facun. ad Justinian.* l. iv. c. 2. p. 163. [p. 706 B.]

¹ And that upon so poor a ground as the want of an article, because in the first place it is, *ἦν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν*, in the second, *Θεὸς ἦν ὁ Λόγος*, not *ὁ Θεός* from hence to conclude, *ὁ Θεός* is one God, that is, *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, the supreme God, *Θεός* another, not the supreme, but one made God by him. Indeed, they are beholden to Epiphanius for this observation, whose words are these: 'Εάν εἰπωμεν, Θεός, ἀνευ τοῦ ἁρθρου, τὸν τυχόντα εἰπαμεν Θεὸν τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἢ Θεὸν τὸν ὄντα (or rather οὐκ ὄντα)· εάν δὲ εἰπωμεν, ὁ Θεός, δηλον ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ ὁ ἁρθρου, τὸν ὄντα σημαίνομεν ἀληθῆ τε καὶ γνωσκόμενον. *Samarit. Hæres.* ix. § 4. (Tom. i. p. 27 A.) But whosoever shall apply this rule to the sacred Scriptures will find it most fallacious. In the beginning, *ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεός τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν*, un-

doubtedly belongs to the true and supreme God: but it does not thence follow, that *πνεῦμα Θεοῦ ἐπεφέρετο ἐπ' αὐτὸν τοῦ ὕδατος*, should be understood of the spirit of another or inferior God. Certainly St John (i. 6.) when he speaks of the Baptist, *ἐγένετο ἄνθρωπος ἀπεσταλμένος παρὰ Θεοῦ*, meant, he had his commission from heaven; and when it is spoken of Christ, (ver. 12.) *ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν τέκνα Θεοῦ γενέσθαι*, and again, (ver. 13.) *ἐκ Θεοῦ ἐγεννήθησαν*, it must be understood of the true God the Father. In the like manner, (ver. 18.) *Θεὸν οὐδὲς ἑώρακε πώποτε*, if it were taken *τυχόντως* of any ever called God; nay, even of Christ Jesus as man, it were certainly false. How can then any deny the Word to be the supreme God, because he is called simply *Θεός*, when St John in the four next places, in which he speaketh of the supreme God, mentioneth him without an article? This criticism of theirs was first the observation of Asterius the Arian: *Οὐκ εἶπεν ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος Χριστὸν κηρύσσειν τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ δύναμιν, ἢ τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ σοφίαν, ἀλλὰ δίχα τῆς προσθήκης, δύναμιν Θεοῦ, καὶ*

first considering that the eternal God was so constantly
 121 among the Jews called *the Word*, the only reason which we
 can conceive why the apostle should thus use this phrase:
 and then observing the manner of St John's writing, who
 rises strangely by degrees, making the last word of the former
 sentence the first of that which followeth: as, *In him* John 1. 4, 5, 1.
was life, and the life was the light of men; and the light
shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not:
 so, *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word, which so*

Θεοῦ σοφίας. Ἀλλῃ μὲν εἶναι τὴν ὁλὴν
 αὐτοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ δύναμιν τὴν ἐμφυτὴν αὐ-
 τῷ καὶ συνεπάρχουσαν αὐτῷ ἀγενήτως,
 κηρύσσων. These are the words of
 Asterius recorded by Athanasius, *Orat.*
 2. *contra Arianos*, § 32. [Vol. I. p. 436
 B.] In which place, notwithstanding,
 none can deny but Θεοῦ is twice taken
 without an article for the true and su-
 preme God. Thus Didymus of Alex-
 andria *de Spiritu Sancto* would distin-
 guish between the person and the gift
 of the Holy Ghost, by the addition or
 defect of the article: 'Apostoli, quan-
 do intelligi volunt personam Spiritus
 Sancti, addunt articulum, τὸ πνεῦμα,
 sine quo Spiritus Sancti dona notan-
 tur.' [See Didymus *de Spiritu Sancto*,
 lib. i. Hieronymi *Opera*, Tom. iv. Ap-
 pendix, p. 504. Sicubi raro sine ar-
 ticulo nominatur Spiritus Sanctus,
 sciendum est cum additamento eum
 nominari significante magnificentiam
 ejus. Siquidem dicitur aliquando et
 sine articulo, cum non ipse pro se sed
 participatio ejus ostenditur. See also
 p. 495. The exact words quoted in
 the note are not found in Didymus.]
 And Athanasius objects against his
 adversaries denying the Holy Ghost
 to be God, that they produced places
 out of the prophets to prove him a
 creature, where πνεῦμα had not so
 much as an article prefixed, which
 might give some colour to interpret it
 of the Holy Spirit: Οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ
 κἄν τὸ ἄρθρον ἔχει τὸ παρὰ τοῦ προφή-
 του λεγόμενον νῦν πνεῦμα, ἵνα κἄν πρό-
 φησιν ἔχητε. *Epist. ad Serapionem*, i.
 § 7. (Vol. I. p. 655 c.) Whereas we
 find in the same place of St John, the
 same Spirit in the same sense men-

tioned with and without an article.
 Ἐὰν μὴ τις γεννηθῇ ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύ-
 ματος, John iii. 5, and, τὸ γεγεννημέ-
 νον ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος, ver. 6. So 1 John
 iv. 1. Μὴ παντὶ πνεύματι πιστεύετε,
 ἀλλὰ δοκιμάζετε τὰ πνεύματα. And
 again, (ver. 2.) Ἐν τούτῳ γινώσκετε
 τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ· πᾶν πνεῦμα, &c.
 And beside, according to that distinc-
 tion, τὸ πνεῦμα certainly stands for the
 gift of the Spirit, 1 Thess. v. 19, τὸ
 πνεῦμα μὴ σβέννυτε. In the like man-
 ner, it is so far from the truth, that
 the Scriptures observe so much the
 articles, as to use ὁ Θεός always for the
 true and supreme God, and θεός for the
 false or inferior; that where the true is
 professedly opposed to the false, even
 there he is styled simply Θεός. As:
 Ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν οὐκ εἰδότες Θεός, ἐδου-
 λέυσαν τοῖς μὴ φύσει οὐσι θεοῖς· νῦν δὲ
 γινώσκτες Θεόν, μάλλον δὲ γνωσθέντες ὑπὸ
 Θεοῦ. Gal. iv. 8, 9. And where the
 supreme is distinguished from him
 whom they make the inferior God, he
 is called likewise Θεός without an ar-
 ticle, as: Δούλος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀφω-
 ρισμένος εἰς εὐαγγέλιον Θεοῦ, and τοῦ
 ὁρισθέντος υἱοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν δυνάμει, Rom. i.
 1, 4. Ἀπόστολος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ διὰ
 θελήματος Θεοῦ, 1 Cor. i. 1. 2 Cor. i.
 1. Eph. i. 1. Col. i. 1. And if this
 distinction were good, our Saviour's
 argument to the Pharisees were not
 so: Εἰ δὲ ἐγὼ ἐν πνεύματι Θεοῦ ἐκβάλλω
 τὰ δαιμόνια, ἅρα ἐφασκεν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἡ
 βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ, Matt. xii. 28. For
 it doth not follow, that if by the power
 of an inferior or false god he cast out
 devils, that therefore the kingdom of
 the true and supreme God is come
 upon them.

was in the beginning, *was with God, and the Word was God*; that is, the same God with whom the Word was in the beginning. But he could not be the same God with him any other way than by having the same divine essence. Therefore the being which *Christ* had, before he was conceived by the Virgin, was the divine nature by which he was properly and really God.

Secondly, He who was subsisting in the form of God, and thought himself to be equal with God (in which thought he could not be deceived, nor be injurious to God), must of necessity be truly and essentially God; because there can be no equality between the divine essence, which is infinite, and any other whatsoever, which must be finite. But this is true of *Christ*, and that antecedently to his conception in the Virgin's womb, and existence in his human nature. For, *Phil. ii. 6, 7.* *being* (or rather, *subsisting*)¹ *in the form of God, he thought it not robbery to be equal with God: but emptied himself, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men.* Out of which words naturally result three propositions fully demonstrating our assertion. First, That *Christ* was in the form of a servant, as soon as he was made man. Secondly, That he was in the form of God, before he was in the form of a servant. Thirdly, that he was (as much)² in the form of God, that is, did as truly and really subsist in the divine nature, as in the form of a servant, or in the nature of man. It is a vain imagination, that our Saviour then first appeared a servant, when he was apprehended, bound, scourged, crucified. For they were not all slaves which ever suffered such indignities, or died that death; and when they did, their death did not make, but find them, or suppose them servants. Beside, our Saviour in all the degrees of his humiliation never lived as a servant unto any master on earth. It is true, at first he was subject, but as a son, to his reputed father and undoubted mother. When he appeared in public, 122 he lived after the manner of a prophet, and a doctor sent from God, accompanied with a family as it were of his apostles, whose master he professed himself, subject to the com-

¹ 'In effigie Dei constitutus,' *Tertull. adv. Marcion.* l. v. 20. [p. 614 D.] *et adv. Prax.* c. 7. [p. 639 A.] 'In figura Dei constitutus,' *S. Cyprian.*

Testim. l. ii. *adv. Jud.* § 13. [p. 40.] *et* l. iii. *ad Quirin.* § 39. [p. 76.]

² [These words are omitted here, but are in p. 123 in the 3rd Edition.]

mands of no man in that office, and obedient only unto God. *The form then of a servant, which he took upon him,* must consist in something distinct from his sufferings, or submission unto men; as the condition in which he was, when he so submitted, and so suffered. In that he was *made flesh*, sent John i. 14. *in the likeness of sinful flesh*, subject unto all infirmities and Rom. viii. 3. *miseries of this life, attending on the sons of men fallen by the sin of Adam: in that he was made of a woman, made* Gal. iv. 4. *under the Law*, and so obliged to perform the same; which Law did so handle the children of God, as that they differed nothing from servants: in that he was born, bred, and lived in a mean, low, and abject condition; *as a root out of a dry* Isa. lili. 2. *ground, he had no form nor comeliness, and when they saw him, there was no beauty that they should desire him; but was despised and rejected of men, a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief:* in that he was thus made man, he *took upon him the form of a servant.* Which is not mine, but the apostle's explication; as adding it not by way of conjunction, in which there might be some diversity, but by way of apposition, which signifieth a clear identity. And therefore it is necessary to observe, that our translation of that verse is not only not exact, but very disadvantageous to that truth which is contained in it. For we read it thus: *He made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men.* Where we have two copulative conjunctions, neither of which is in the original text¹, and three distinct propositions, without any dependence of one upon the other; whereas all the words together are but an expression of *Christ's* exinanition, with an explication shewing in what it consisteth: which will clearly appear by this literal translation, *But emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men.* Where if any man doubt how *Christ* 'emptied himself,' the text will satisfy him, *by taking the form of a servant*; if any still question how he took the form of a servant, he hath the apostle's resolution, *by being made in the likeness of men.* Indeed, after the expression of this exinanition, he

¹ 'Αλλ' ἐαυτὸν ἐκένωσε, μορφὴν δούλου λαβὼν, ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος, which is also exactly observed by the Vulgar Latin, *Sed semetipsum exinanivit, formam servi accipi-*

ens, in similitudine hominum factus, where γενόμενος is added by apposition to λαβὼν, and have both equal relation to ἐκένωσε: or, which is all one, ἐκένωσε λαβὼν, ελαβε γενόμενος. Phil. ii. 7.

goes on with a conjunction, to add another act of *Christ's* humiliation; *And being found in fashion as a man*, being already by his exinanition in the form of a servant, or the likeness of men, *he humbled himself, and became* (or rather, *becoming*)¹ *obedient unto death, even the death of the cross*. As therefore his humiliation consisted in his obedience unto death, so his exinanition consisted in the assumption of the form of a servant, and that in the nature of man. All which is very fitly expressed by a strange interpretation in the Epistle to the Hebrews. For whereas these words are clearly in the Psalmist, *Sacrifice and offering thou didst not desire, mine ears hast thou opened*: the apostle appropriateth the sentence to *Christ*; *When he cometh into the world, he saith, Sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not, but a body hast thou prepared me*. Now being the boring of the ear under the Law was a note of perpetual servitude, being this was expressed in the words of the Psalmist, and changed by the apostle into the preparing of a body; it followeth that when *Christ's* body first was framed, even then did he assume the form of a servant.

Phil. ii. 8.

Psal. xl. 6.

Heb. x. 5.

Exod. xxi. 6.
Deut. xv. 17.

Again, it appeareth out of the same text, that *Christ* 123 was in the form of God before he was in the form of a servant, and consequently, before he was made man. For he which is pre-supposed to be, and to think of that being which he hath, and upon that thought to assume, must have that being before that assumption; but *Christ* is first expressly said to be in the form of God, and, being so, to think it no robbery to be equal with God, and notwithstanding that equality, to take upon him the form of a servant: therefore it cannot be denied but he was before in the form of God. Beside, he was not in the form of a servant, but by the emptying himself, and all exinanition necessarily presupposeth a precedent plenitude; it being as impossible to empty any thing which hath no fulness, as to fill any thing which hath no emptiness. But the fulness which *Christ* had, in respect whereof assuming the form of a servant, he is said to empty himself, could be in nothing else but in the form of God, in

¹ Ἐταπείνωσεν ἑαυτὸν, γερόμενος ὑπήκοος. For in both these verses there is but one conjunction, joining together two acts of our Saviour, his

first exinanition, or ἐκένωσε, and his farther humiliation, or ἐταπείνωσε: the rest are all particles added for explication to the verbs.

which he was before. Wherefore, if the assumption of the form of a servant be contemporary with his exinanition; if that exinanition necessarily presupposeth a plenitude as indispensably antecedent to it; if the form of God be also coeval with that precedent plenitude; then must we confess, *Christ* was in the form of God before he was in the form of a servant: which is the second proposition.

Again, it is as evident from the same Scripture, that *Christ* was as much *in the form of God*, as [in] *the form of a servant*, and did as really subsist in the divine nature, as in the nature of man. For he was so *in the form of God*, as thereby to be equal with God¹. But no other form beside

¹ Τὸ εἶναι Ἰσα Θεῷ. 'Pariari Deo.' *Tertull. adv. Marcion.* l. v. c. 20. [p. 614 D.] 'Esse se æqualem Deo.' *S. Cyprian. Testim.* l. ii. *adv. Jud.* § 13. [p. 40.] et l. iii. *ad Quirin.* § 39. [p. 76.] 'Esse æqualis Deo.' *Leporius, Lib. Emendat.* p. 15. *Opusc. Dogm. Vet. V. Script.* Par. 1630. Thus all express the notion of equality, not of similitude: nor can we understand any less by τὸ εἶναι Ἰσα, than τὴν ἰσότητα, Ἰσων and Ἰσα being indifferently used by the Greeks, as *Pindar, Olymp. Od.* ii. 109:

Ἰσων δὲ νύκτεσσιν αἰή,
Ἰσα δ' ἐν ἡμέραις ἀλι-
ον ἔχοντες, ἀπονίστατον
Ἑσθλοὶ νέμονται βίο-
τον.

So whom the Greeks call ἰσότητες, Homer Ἰσα θεῷ. *Odys.* O. 519:

Τὸν νῦν Ἰσα θεῷ Ἰθακήσιοι εἰσορόωσι.

Where Ἰσα has not the nature of an adverb, as belonging to εἰσορόωσι, but of a noun referred to the antecedent τόν, or including an adverb added to a noun, τὸν νῦν ὡς ἰσότητες. The collection of Grotius from this verse is very strange; εἶναι Ἰσα Θεῷ, 'est spectari tanquam Deum.' As if he should have said εἰσορόωσι signifies *spectant*, therefore εἶναι signifies *spectari*. This he was forced to put off thus, because the strength of our interpretation, rendering an equality, lies in the verb substantive τὸ εἶναι. As Dionysius of Alexandria very anciently: κενώσας ἑαυτὸν, καὶ ταπεινώσας ἑως θανάτου, θανάτου δὲ σταυροῦ, Ἰσα Θεῷ ὑπάρχει. *Epist. ad Paulum Samosat.* [Introduct.

p. 2760.] For we acknowledge that Ἰσα by itself oftentimes signifieth no more than *instar*, and so inferreth nothing but a similitude: as we find it frequently in the Book of Job. Where it sometimes answereth to the inseparable particle כ; as כלילה *quasi in nocte*, Ἰσα νυκτί, v. 14. כנבחה *sicut caseum*, Ἰσα τυρῷ, x. 10. כרקב *quasi putredo*, Sym. ὁμολως σηπεδόν, LXX. Ἰσα δσκηῷ, xiii. 28. כמים *sicut aquam*, Ἰσα ποτιῷ, xv. 16. כעץ *tanquam lignum*, Ἰσα ἔδλῳ, xxiv. 20. כחמר *sicut lutum*, Ἰσα πηλῷ, xxvii. 16. כמעיל *sicut vestimento*, Ἰσα διπλοῖ, xxix. 14. כבקר *quasi boe*, Ἰσα βουῶν, xl. 15. Where we see the Vulgar Latin useth for the Hebrew, כ *quasi, sicut, tanquam*, the LXX. Ἰσα. Sometimes it answereth to no word in the original, but supplieth a similitude understood, not expressed, in the Hebrew: as, כעץ *tanquam pulum*. Ἰσα ὄνῳ, xi. 12. ואבן *et lapis*, Ἰσα λίθῳ, xxviii. 2. לחם *luto*, Ἰσα πηλῷ, xxx. 19. Once it rendereth an Hebrew word rather according to the intention, than the signification; ואפך *comparabitur cineri*, ad verbum *proverbia cineris*, Ἰσα σποδῷ, xiii. 12. So that in all these places it is used adverbially for *instar*, and in none hath the addition of τὸ εἶναι to it. As for that answer of Socinus, that Christ cannot be God, because he is said to be equal with God: 'Tantum abest ut, ex eo quod Christus sit æqualis Deo, sequatur ipsum esse æternum et summum Deum, ut potius ex hoc

Isai. xl. 25;
xlii.

the essential, which is the divine nature itself, could infer an equality with God. *To whom will ye liken me, and make me equal? saith the Holy One.* There can be but one infinite, eternal, and independent Being; and there can be no comparison between that and whatsoever is finite, temporal, and depending. He therefore who did truly think himself equal with God, as being in the form of God, must be conceived to subsist in that one infinite, eternal, and independent nature of God. Again, the phrase, *in the form of God*, not elsewhere mentioned, is used by the apostle with respect unto that other, of *the form of a servant*, exegetically continued *in the likeness of man*; and the respect of one unto the other is so necessary, that if the form of God be not as real and essential as the form of a servant, or the likeness of man, there is no force in the apostle's words, nor will his argument be fit to work any great degree of humiliation upon the consideration of *Christ's* exinanition. But by the *form* is certainly understood the true condition of a servant, and by the *likeness* infallibly meant the real nature of man: nor doth the *fashion*, in which he was found, destroy, but rather assert the truth of his humanity. And therefore, as sure as *Christ* was really and essentially man, of the same nature with us, in whose similitude he was made; so certainly was he also really and essentially God, of the same nature and being with him, in whose form he did subsist. Seeing then we have clearly evinced from the express words of St Paul, that *Christ* was in the form of a servant as soon as he was made man; that he was in the form of God before he was in 124

ipso necessario consequatur non esse æternum et summum Deum. Nemo enim sibi ipsi æqualis esse potest.' Socin. ad 8. c. *Výjek*. as if there could be no predication of equality, where we find a substantial identity: it is most certainly false, because the most exact speakers use such language as this is. There can be no expressions more exact and pertinent than those which are used by geometers, neither can there be any better judges of equality than they are; but they most frequently use that expression in this notion, proving an equality, and inferring it from identity. As in the fifth proposition of the first Element of

Euclid, two lines are said to contain an angle equal to the angle contained by two other lines, because they contained the same angle, or γωνίαν κοινήν and the basis of one triangle is supposed equal to the basis of another triangle, because the same line was basis to both, or βάσις κοινή. In the same manner certainly may the Son be said to be equal to the Father in essence or power, because they both have the same essence or power, that is, οὐσίαν καὶ δύναμιν κοινήν. Ocell. de Universo. 'Ἄλλ' δὲ κατὰ ταῦτ' οὐδὲν ὡσαύτως διατελεῖ καὶ ἴσ' καὶ ὁμοί' αὐτὸ ἑαυτοῦ. c. 1. § 6.

the form of a servant; that the form of God in which he subsisted, doth as truly signify the divine, as the likeness of man the human nature: it necessarily followeth, that *Christ* had a real existence before he was begotten of the Virgin, and that the being which he had, was the divine essence, by which he was truly, really, and properly God.

Thirdly, He which is expressly styled *Alpha and Omega*, *the first and the last*, without any restriction or limitation, as he is after, so was before any time assignable, truly and essentially God. For by this title God describeth his own being, and distinguisheth it from all other. *I the Lord, the first, and with the last, I am he. I am he, I am the first, I also am the last. I am the first, and I am the last, and beside me there is no God.* But *Christ* is expressly called *Alpha and Omega, the first and the last.* He so proclaimed himself by a Iam. xli. 4; xlviii. 12; xlv. 6. great voice, as of a trumpet, saying, *I am Alpha and Omega, the first and the last.* Which answereth to that solemn call and proclamation in the prophet, *Hearken unto me, O Jacob, and Israel my called.* He comforteth St John with the majesty of this title, *Fear not, I am the first and the last.* Which Rev. i. 17. words were spoken by *one like unto the Son of man*, by him Rev. i. 13. that *liveth, and was dead, and is alive for evermore*; that is, Rev. i. 18. undoubtedly, by *Christ*. He upholdeth the Church of Smyrna in her tribulation by virtue of the same description. *These things saith the first and the last, which was dead and is alive.* Rev. ii. 8. He ascertaineth his coming unto judgment with the same assertion, *I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last*¹. Rev. xxii. 13. And in all these places this title is attributed unto *Christ* absolutely and universally, without any kind of restriction or limitation, without any assignation of any particular in respect of which he is the first or last; in the same latitude and eminence of expression in which it is or can be attributed to the supreme God. There is yet another Scripture, in which the same description may

¹ With the article so much elsewhere stood upon, τὸ Α καὶ τὸ Ω, ὁ πρῶτος, καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος, *The Alpha and the Omega, the first and the last.* For we must not take τὸ Α as the grammarians do, by which they signify only the letter written in that figure, and called by that name. As appeareth by *Eratostrhenes*, who was called Βῆτα,

not τὰ βήματα, as *Suidas* corruptly. *Hesychius Illustrius*, from whom *Suidas* had that passage: Ἐρατοσθένης διὰ τὸ δευτερεῖν παρὶ εἰδὲ παιδείας τοῖς ἀπροις ἐγγίζων, Βῆτα ἐκλήθη. And *Martianus Heracleota* in *Periplo* [Fragm. Epit. Artem. [p. 63.] Καὶ μετ' ἐκείνον Ἐρατοσθένης, ὃν Βῆτα ἐκάλεσαν οἱ τοῦ Μουσείου προσώματα.

Rev. i. 8.

seem of a more dubious interpretation: *I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, saith the Lord, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty.* For being it is *the Lord* who so calls himself, which title belongeth to the Father and the Son, it may be doubted whether it be spoken by the Father or the Son; but whether it be understood of the one or of the other, it will sufficiently make good what we intend to prove. For if they be understood of *Christ*, as the precedent and the following words imply, then is he certainly that *Lord, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty*; that is, the supreme eternal God, of the 125 same divine essence with the Father, who was before described by *him which is, and which was, and which is to come*, to whom the six-winged beasts continually cry, *Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come*: as the familiar explication of that name which God revealed to Moses. If they belong unto the supreme God the Father of our Lord *Jesus Christ*; then did he so describe himself unto St John, and express his supreme Deity, that by those words, *I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending*, he might be known to be the one Almighty and Eternal God; and, consequently, whosoever should assume that title, must attribute as much unto himself. Wherefore being *Christ* hath so immediately, and with so great solemnity and frequency, taken the same style upon him by which the Father did express his Godhead; it followeth, that he hath declared himself to be the Supreme, Almighty, and Eternal God. And being thus the Alpha and the first, he was before any time assignable, and consequently before he was conceived of the Virgin; and the being which then he had was the divine essence, by which he was truly and properly the Almighty and Eternal God.

Rev. i. 4.

Rev. iv. 8.

Exod. iii. 11.

Isai. vi. 1, 3.

John xii. 41.

Fourthly, He whose glory Isaiah saw in the year that king Uzziah died, had a being before *Christ* was begotten of the Virgin, and that being was the divine essence, by which he was naturally and essentially God; for he is expressly called *the Lord, Holy, holy, holy, the Lord of hosts, whose glory filleth the whole earth*; which titles can belong to none beside the one and only God. But *Christ* was he whose glory Isaiah saw, as St John doth testify, saying, *These things, said, Esaias, when he saw his glory, and spake of him*: and he

whose glory he saw, and of whom he spake, was certainly *Christ*: for of him the apostle treateth in that place, and of none but him. *These things spake Jesus, and departed.* But John xii. 36, 37. though he (that is, *Jesus*) had done so many miracles before them, yet they believed not on him, that is, *Christ* who wrought those miracles. The reason why they believed not on him was, *That the saying of Esaias the prophet might be fulfilled,* John xii. 38. which he spake, *Lord, who hath believed our report?* and as they did not, so they could not believe in *Christ*, because that John xii. 39, 40. *Esaias said again, He hath blinded their eyes, and hardened their heart; that they should not see with their eyes, nor understand with their heart, and be converted, and I should heal them.* For those who God foresaw, and the prophet foretold, should not believe, could not do it without contradicting the pre-science of the one, and the predictions of the other. But the Jews refusing to assent unto the doctrine of our Saviour, were those of whom the prophet spake: for *these things said* John xii. 41. *Esaias, when he saw his glory, and spake of him.* Now if the glory which Isaias saw, were the glory of *Christ*, and he of whom Isaias in that chapter spake, were *Christ* himself; then must those blinded eyes and hardened hearts belong unto these Jews, and then their infidelity was so long since foretold. Thus doth the fixing of that prophecy upon that people, which saw our Saviour's miracles, depend upon Isaiah's vision, and the appropriation of it unto *Christ*. Wherefore St John infallibly hath taught us, that the prophet saw the glory of *Christ*, and the prophet hath as undoubtedly assured us, that he whose glory then he saw, was the one omnipotent and eternal God; and consequently both together have sealed this truth, that *Christ* did then subsist in that glorious majesty of the eternal Godhead.

126 Lastly, He who, being man, is frequently in the Scriptures called God, and that in such a manner, as by that name no other can be understood but the one only and eternal God, he had an existence before he was made man, and the being which then he had was no other than the divine essence; because all novelty is repugnant to the Deity, nor can any be that one God, who was not so from all eternity. But *Jesus Christ* being in the nature of man, is frequently in the sacred Scriptures called God; and that name is attributed unto him in such a manner, as by it no other can be understood but the one Almighty and Eternal God.

Which may be thus demonstrated. It hath been already proved, and we all agree in this, that there can be but one divine essence, and so but one supreme God. Wherefore

1 Cor. viii. 5. were it not said in the Scriptures, there are *many gods*; did not he himself who is supreme call others so; we durst not give that name to any but to him alone, nor could we think any called God to be any other but that one. It had been then enough to have alleged that *Christ* is God, to prove his supreme and eternal Deity: whereas now we are answered, that there are *gods many*, and therefore it followeth not from that name, that he is the one eternal God. But if *Christ* be none of those many gods, and yet be God; then can he be no other but that one. And that he is not to be numbered with them, is certain, because he is clearly distinguished from them, and opposed to them. We read in

Psal. lxxxii. 6. the Psalmist, *I have said, Ye are gods, and all of you are children of the Most High*. But we must not reckon Christ among those gods, we must not number the only-begotten

Psal. lxxxii. 5. Son among those children. For *they knew not, neither would they understand, they walked on in darkness*: and whosoever were gods only as they were, either did, or might do so.

Col. ii. 9. Whereas *Christ*, in whom alone dwelt *all the fulness of the Godhead bodily*, is not only distinguished from, but opposed

John xvi. 30 to, such gods as those, by his disciples saying, *Now we are*

John viii. 12 *sure that thou knowest all things*; by himself proclaiming, *I am the light of the world: he that followeth me, shall not walk in darkness*. St Paul hath told us, *there be gods many, and lords many*; but withal hath taught us, that *to us there is but one God, the Father, and one Lord Jesus Christ*. In which words, as the *Father* is opposed as much unto the *many lords*, as *many gods*; so is the *Son* as much unto the *many gods* as *many lords*; the *Father* being as much Lord as God, and the *Son* as much God as Lord. Wherefore being we find in Scripture frequent mention of one God, and beside that one an intimation of many gods, and whosoever is called God must either be that one, or one of those many; being we find our blessed Saviour to be wholly opposed to the many gods, and consequently to be none of them, and yet we read him often styled God: it followeth, that that name is attributed unto him in such a manner as by it no other can be understood but the one Almighty and Eternal God.

Again, those who deny our Saviour to be the same God

with the Father, have invented rules to be the touchstone of the eternal power and Godhead. First, Where the name of God is taken absolutely, as the subject of any proposition, it always signifieth the supreme power and majesty, excluding all others from that Deity. Secondly, Where the same name is any way used with an article, by way of excellency, it likewise signifieth the same supreme Godhead as admitting others to a communion of Deity, but excluding them from the supremacy. Upon these two rules they have raised unto themselves this observation, That whensoever the name of God absolutely taken is placed as the subject of any proposition, it is not to be understood of *Christ*: and wheresoever the same name is spoken of our Saviour by way of predicate, it never hath an article denoting excellency annexed to it; and consequently leaves him in the number of those gods who are excluded from the majesty of the eternal Deity.

Now though there can be no kind of certainty in any such observations of the articles, because the Greeks promiscuously often use them or omit them, without any reason of 127 their usurpation or omission (whereof examples are innumerable); though, if those rules were granted, yet would not their conclusion follow, because the supreme God is often named (as they confess) without an article, and therefore the same name may signify the same God when spoken of *Christ*, as well as when of the Father, so far as can concern the omission of the article: yet to complete my demonstration, I shall shew, first, That the name of God taken subjectively is to be understood of *Christ*. Secondly, That the same name with the article affixed is attributed unto him. Thirdly, That if it were not so, yet where the article is wanting, there is that added to the predicate, which hath as great a virtue to signify that excellency as the article could have.

St Paul, unfolding the mystery of godliness, hath delivered six propositions together, and the subject of all and each of them is God. *Without controversy great is the mys-* 1 Tim. III. 16. *tory of godliness: God was manifested in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory. And this God which is the subject of all these propositions must be understood of Christ, because of him each one is true, and all are so of none but him; he was the Word which was God, and was made flesh, and consequently God manifested in the flesh.*

Upon him the Spirit descended at his baptism, and after his ascension was poured upon his apostles, ratifying his commission, and confirming the doctrine which they received from him: wherefore he was *God justified in the Spirit*. His nativity the angels celebrated, in the discharge of his office they ministered unto him, at his resurrection and ascension they were present, always ready to confess and adore him: he was therefore *God seen of angels*. The apostles preached unto all nations, and he whom they preached was *Jesus Christ*. The Father separated St Paul from his mother's womb, and called him by his grace to reveal his Son unto him, that he might preach him among the heathen: therefore he was *God preached unto the Gentiles*. John the Baptist spake unto the people, that they should believe on him which should come after him, that is, on Christ Jesus. We have believed in Jesus Christ, saith St Paul, who so taught the gaoler trembling at his feet, *Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved*: he therefore was *God believed on in the world*. When he had been forty days on earth after his resurrection, he was taken visibly up into heaven, and sat down at the right hand of the Father: wherefore he was *God received up into glory*. And thus all these six propositions, according to the plain and familiar language of the Scriptures, are infallibly true of *Christ*, and so of God, as he is taken by St John, when he speaks those words, *the Word was God*. But all these cannot be understood of any other, which either is, or is called, God. For though we grant the divine perfections and attributes to be the same with the divine essence, yet are they never in the Scriptures called God; nor can any of them with the least show of probability be pretended as the subject of these propositions, or afford any tolerable interpretation. When they tell us that *God*, that is, *the will of God*¹, was manifested in the flesh, that is, was revealed by frail and mortal men, and received up in glory, that is, was received gloriously on earth², they teach us a language which the Scriptures³ know not, and the Holy Ghost never used; and

Acts viii. 5,
35: ix. 20;
xi. 20: xvii.
8, 18: xix. 13.
Rom. xvi. 25.
2 Cor. i. 19.
2 Cor. xi. 4.
Phil. i. 18.
Gal. i. 15, 16.
Acts xix. 4.

Gal. ii. 16.

Acts xvi. 31.

John i. 1.

¹ 'Deus, i. e. voluntas ipsius de servandis hominibus, per homines infirmos et mortales perfecte patefacta est, &c.' *Catech. Racov. ad Quæst.* 59.

² 'Insignem in modum et summa cum gloria recepta fuit.' *Ibid.* 16.

³ For Θεός is not θελημα Θεοῦ,

much less is ἀνελήφθῃ received or embraced. Elias speaketh not of his reception, but his ascension, when he saith to Elisha: Τί ποιῶ σοι πρὶν ἢ ἀναληφθῆναι ἀπὸ σοῦ; 2 Kings ii. 9. and ver. 10. 'Εάν ὦσθι με ἀναλαμβάνοντά σου ἀπὸ σου, καὶ ἔσται σοι οὐρανός.

128 as no attribute, so no person but the Son can be here understood under the name of God: not the Holy Ghost, for he is distinguished from him, as being justified by the Spirit; not the Father, who was not manifested in the flesh, nor received up into glory. It remaineth therefore, that, whereas the Son is the only person to whom all these clearly and undoubtedly belong, which are here jointly attributed unto God, as sure as the name of God is expressed universally in the copies¹ of the original language, so thus absolutely and subjectively taken must it be understood of *Christ*.

When he actually ascended, as the original $\epsilon\gamma\eta$, it is no otherwise translated by the Septuagint, than $\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\lambda\eta\phi\theta\eta$ 'Ηλιού ἐν συσσεισμῷ ὡς εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν. ver. 11. Which language was preserved by the Hellenizing Jews: 'Ο ἀναληφθεὶς ἐν λαλατῇ πυρός, *Sirac.* xlviii. 9. and again: $\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\lambda\eta\phi\theta\eta$ ἕως εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, 1 *Mac.* ii. 58. Neither did they use it of Elias only, but of Enoch also: Οὐδὲ εἰς ἐκτίσθη οἶος 'Ενώχ, καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἀεληφθη ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς. *Sirac.* xlix. 14. The same language is continued in the New Testament of our Saviour's ascension: $\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\lambda\eta\phi\theta\eta$ εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, *Mark* xvi. 19. ὁ ἀναληφθεὶς ἀπ' ἡμῶν εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, *Acts* i. 11. and singly, $\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\lambda\eta\phi\theta\eta$, *Acts* i. 2. and, $\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\lambda\eta\phi\theta\eta$ ἀπ' ἡμῶν, *Acts* i. 22. As therefore ἀνάληψις τοῦ Μωσέως, in the language of the Jews, was not the reception of Moses by the Israelites, but the assumption of his body; so ἀνάληψις τοῦ Χριστοῦ is the ascension of Christ, *Luke* ix. 51. Wherefore this being the constant notion of the word, it must so be here likewise understood, $\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\lambda\eta\phi\theta\eta$ ἐν δόξῃ as the Vulgar Latin (whose authority is pretended against us), *assumptum est in gloria*; rendering it here by the same word by which he always translated $\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\lambda\eta\phi\theta\eta$.

¹ For being the Epistle was written in the Greek language, it is enough if all those copies do agree. Nor need we be troubled with the observation of Grotius on the place: 'Suspectam nobis hanc lectionem faciunt interpretes veteres, Latinus, Syrus, Arabs, et

Ambrosius, qui omnes legerunt ὁ ἐφανερώθη.' I confess the Vulgar Latin reads it otherwise than the Greek, *Quod manifestatum est in carne*; and it cannot be denied but the Syriac, however translated by Tremellius, agreeeth with the Latin; and both seem to have read δ instead of $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$. But the joint consent of the Greek copies and interpreters are above the authority of these two translators; and the Arabic set forth in the *Biblia Polyglotta* agreeeth expressly with them. But that which Grotius hath farther observed is of far greater consideration: 'Addit Hincmarus opusculo 55. illud $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ hic positum a Nestorianis.' For if at first the Greeks read ὁ ἐφανερώθη, and that δ were altered into $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ by the Nestorians, then ought we to correct the Greek copy by the Latin, and confess there is not only no force, but not so much as any ground or colour for our argument. But first, it is no way probable that the Nestorians should find it in the original δ , and make it $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$, because that by so doing they had overthrown their own assertion, which was, that God was not incarnate, nor born of the Virgin Mary; that God did not ascend unto heaven, but Christ by the Holy Ghost remaining upon him, καὶ τὴν ἀνάληψιν αὐτῷ χαρισάμενον. *Concil. Ephes.* par. i. cap. 17. Secondly, it is certain that they did not make this alteration, because the Catholic Greeks read it $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ before there were such heretics, so called. 'Nestoriani a Nestorio Episcopo, (Patriarcha Con-

Again, St Paul speaketh thus to the elders of the church of Ephesus: *Take heed unto yourselves, and to all the flock*

Acts xx. 28.

stantinopolitano.) *S. August. Hæres.* [This reference to the Nestorians is found only in some MSS. See Tom. viii. p. 22. Note b.] Nestorius, from whom that heresy began, was Patriarch of Constantinople after Sisinnius, Sisinnius after Atticus, Atticus after Nectarius, who succeeded Joannes, vulgarly called Chrysostomus. But St Chrysostom read not δ , but $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$, as appears by his Commentaries upon the place: $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma \epsilon\phi\alpha\pi\epsilon\rho\omega\theta\eta \epsilon\nu \sigma\alpha\rho\kappa\acute{\iota}, \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\iota, \delta \delta\eta\mu\omicron\upsilon\rho\gamma\acute{o}\varsigma$ [$\delta\phi\theta\eta$]. Hom. xi. § 1. Tom. xi. p. 606 A.] And St Cyril, who by all means opposed Nestorius upon the first appearance of his heresy, wrote two large epistles to the Queens Pulcheria and Eudocia, in both which he maketh great use of this text. In the first, after the repetition of the words as they are now in the Greek copies, he proceedeth thus: $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma \delta \epsilon\nu \sigma\alpha\rho\kappa\acute{\iota} \phi\alpha\pi\epsilon\rho\omega\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma; \eta \delta\eta\lambda\omega\nu, \delta\tau\iota \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\eta \tau\epsilon \kappa\alpha\iota \pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\omega\varsigma \delta \epsilon\kappa \Theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon \Pi\alpha\tau\rho\acute{\varsigma} \Lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma' \omicron\upsilon\tau\omega \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho \epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\iota \mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\alpha \tau\acute{o} \tau\eta\varsigma \epsilon\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\beta\epsilon\lambda\alpha\varsigma \mu\upsilon\sigma\tau\eta\rho\iota\omega\nu, \Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma \epsilon\phi\alpha\pi\epsilon\rho\omega\theta\eta \epsilon\nu \sigma\alpha\rho\kappa\acute{\iota}$. *de Rect. Fid.* Tom. v. par. ii. p. 124 O. Wherefore in St Paul he read $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$, God, and took that God to be the Word. In the second, repeating the same text verbatim, he manageth it thus against Nestorius: $\text{El } \Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma \omega\nu \delta \lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma \epsilon\nu\alpha\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\eta\sigma\alpha\iota \lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron, \kappa\alpha\iota \omicron\upsilon \delta\eta\text{-}\mu\omicron\upsilon \mu\epsilon\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma \tau\acute{o} \epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota \Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma, \alpha\lambda\lambda' \epsilon\nu \omicron\iota\varsigma \eta\nu \delta\epsilon\acute{\iota} \delta\iota\alpha\mu\epsilon\tau\omega\nu, \mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\alpha \delta\eta \tau\acute{o}\tau\epsilon \kappa\alpha\iota \delta\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\upsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\varsigma \mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\alpha \epsilon\sigma\tau\iota \tau\acute{o} \tau\eta\varsigma \epsilon\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\beta\epsilon\lambda\alpha\varsigma \mu\upsilon\sigma\tau\eta\rho\iota\omega\nu' \epsilon\acute{\iota} \delta\acute{\epsilon} \alpha\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma \nu\omicron\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\alpha\iota \kappa\omicron\upsilon\omega\delta\varsigma \delta \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma, — \pi\acute{\omega}\varsigma \epsilon\nu \sigma\alpha\rho\kappa\acute{\iota} \pi\epsilon\phi\alpha\pi\epsilon\rho\omega\tau\alpha\iota; \kappa\alpha\iota \tau\omicron\iota \pi\acute{\omega}\varsigma \omicron\upsilon\chi \acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\sigma\omega\nu \epsilon\nu\alpha\rho\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma, \delta\tau\iota \pi\acute{\omega}\varsigma \alpha\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma \epsilon\nu \sigma\alpha\rho\kappa\acute{\iota} \tau\epsilon \epsilon\sigma\tau\iota, \kappa\alpha\iota \omicron\upsilon\chi \alpha\nu \epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\omega\varsigma \delta\rho\omega\tau\acute{o} \tau\iota\varsigma\iota. *Ibid.* § 33. p. 153 E. And in the explanation of the second anathematism, he maketh use of no other text but this to prove the hypostatical union, giving it this gloss or exposition: $\tau\acute{\iota} \epsilon\sigma\tau\iota \tau\acute{o}, \epsilon\phi\alpha\pi\epsilon\rho\omega\theta\eta \epsilon\nu \sigma\alpha\rho\kappa\acute{\iota}; \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\acute{\��}\sigma\tau\iota, \gamma\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omicron\upsilon\epsilon \sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\kappa\acute{\iota} \delta \epsilon\kappa \Theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon \Pi\alpha\tau\rho\acute{\varsigma} \Lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma, \&c.$ The same he urgeth in his *Scholion de Unigeniti Incarnatione*. So also Theodoret contemporary with St Cyril: $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho \omega\nu \kappa\alpha\iota$$

$\Theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon \nu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma, \kappa\alpha\iota \delta\acute{o}\rho\alpha\tau\omicron\nu \epsilon\chi\omega\nu \tau\eta\nu \phi\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\omega\nu, \delta\eta\lambda\omicron\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\sigma\omega\nu \epsilon\nu\alpha\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\eta\sigma\alpha\varsigma \epsilon\gamma\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\omicron, \sigma\alpha\phi\acute{\omega}\varsigma \delta\acute{\epsilon} \eta\mu\acute{\iota}\varsigma \tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \delta\acute{o}\nu \phi\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma \delta\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\zeta\epsilon\nu, \epsilon\nu \sigma\alpha\rho\kappa\acute{\iota} \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho \tau\eta\nu \theta\epsilon\lambda\omega\nu \epsilon\phi\eta \phi\alpha\pi\epsilon\rho\omega\theta\eta\tau\alpha\iota \phi\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\omega\nu. *Ad Timoth.* Ep. i. c. iii. 16. Tom. iii. p. 478 A. Thirdly, Hincmarus does not say that the Nestorians put $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ into the Greek text, but that he which put it in was cast out of his bishoprick for a Nestorian. His words are these: 'Quidam nimirum ipse Scripturas verbis inlicitis imposturaverunt: sicut Macedonius Constantinopolitanus Episcopus, qui ab Anastasio Imperatore ideo a Civitate expulsus legitur, quoniam falsavit Evangelia, et illum Apostoli locum ubi dicit, *quod apparuit in carne, justificatum est in Spiritu*, per cognationem Græcarum literarum, O in Θ hoc modo mutando falsavit. Ubi enim habuit Qui, hoc est OZ monosyllabum Græcum, litera mutata O in Θ verit; et fecit, $\Theta\Xi$, id est ut esset, *Deus apparuit per carnem*. Quapropter tanquam Nestorianus fuit expulsus.' *Hincm. Opus.* lv. c. 18. [c. 17. p. 117 D.] Now whereas Hincmarus says *expulsus legitur*, we read not in Euagrius, or the *Excerpta* of Theodorus, or in Joannes Malala, that Macedonius was cast out of his bishoprick for any such falsation. It is therefore probable that he had it from Liberatus, a deacon of the Church of Carthage, who wrote a Breviary, collected partly out of the ecclesiastical histories and acts of the Councils, partly out of the relations of such men as he thought fit to believe, extant in the fourth Tome of the Councils. In which, chap. xix. we have the same relation, only with this difference, that O is not turned into Θ , but into Ω , and so OZ becomes not $\Theta\Xi$, but $\Omega\Xi$. So that the first Greek copies are not said to have read it δ , but $\delta\varsigma$, and so not to have relation to the mystery, but to the person of Christ; and therefore this makes nothing for the Vulgar Latin. Secondly, whereas Hincmarus says there was$

over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood. In these words this doctrinal proposition is clearly contained, God hath purchased the Church with his own blood. For there is no other word either in or near the text which can by any grammatical construction be joined with the verb, except the Holy Ghost, to whom the predicate is
 129 repugnant, both in respect of the act, or our redemption, and of the means, the blood. If then the Holy Ghost hath not purchased the Church; if he hath not blood to shed for our redemption, and *without bloodshed there is no remission*; if Heb. ix. 22. there be no other word to which, according to the literal construction, the act of purchasing can be applied; if the name of *God*, most frequently joined to his *Church*¹, be immediately and properly applicable by all rules of syntax to the verb which followeth it: then is it of necessity to be received as the subject of this proposition, then is this to be embraced as infallible Scripture-truth, God hath purchased the Church with his own blood. But this God may and must be understood of *Christ*: it may, because he hath; it must, because

but one letter changed, no such mutation can of ΟΞ make ΘΕΟΣ; it may ΩΣ, as we read in Liberatus; and then this is nothing to the Greek text. Thirdly, Macedonius was no Nestorian, but Anastasius an Eutychian, and he ejected him, as he did [The fifth and following editions read, *not as he did*. Burton.] other Catholic bishops, under the pretence of Nestorianism, but for other reasons. However, Macedonius could not falsify all the Greek copies, when as well those which were before his time, as those which were written since, all acknowledge Θεός. And if he had been ejected for substituting Θεός, without question Anastasius would have taken care for the restoring δς, which we find not in any copy. It remaineth therefore that the Nestorians did not falsify the text by reading Θεός *ἐφανερώθη*, but that the ancient Greek fathers read it so; and, consequently, being the Greek is the original, this lection must be acknowledged authentic.

¹ Τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ. For

though the Church be properly the Church of Christ, Matt. xvi. 18. Col. i. 24. and in the plural we read once αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, Rom. xvi. 16. as we do of the churches of God, 1 Cor. xi. 16. 2 Thess. i. 4. 1 Thess. ii. 14. yet ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ, is frequently used; as, 1 Cor. i. 2. x. 32. xv. 9. xi. 22. 2 Cor. i. 1. 1 Tim. iii. 5, 15; but ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Χριστοῦ not once named. And therefore we have no reason to alter it in this text, or to fancy it first written χοῦ, and then made θεοῦ, when it is so often written Θεοῦ, not Χριστοῦ. Some MSS. as the Alexandrian, Cantabrigian, and New Coll. MSS. read it τοῦ Κυρίου, and the interpreter of Irenæus, *regere Ecclesiam Domini*, l. iii. c. 14. Others represent Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ, which makes not at all against our argument; but, because in this particular unusual, not like to be true. The Syriac translating it *Christi*, (ܡܨܝܚܝܢܝ not *Domino*, as it is in the Latin translation) gives rather an exposition than a version.

1 Pet. i. 18,
19.

1 Tim. ii. 5.

Heb. x. 10.

Heb. ix. 12.

Heb. ix. 25,
26.

no other person which is called God hath so purchased the Church. *We were not redeemed with corruptible things, as silver and gold, but with the precious blood of Christ.* With this price were we bought; and therefore it may well be said, that *Christ our God hath purchased us with his own blood.* But no other person which is, or is called, God, can be said so to have purchased us, because it is an act belonging properly to the mediatorship; and *there is but one mediator between God and men:* and the Church is *sanctified through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all.* Nor can the expression of this act, peculiar to the Son, be attributed to the Father, because this blood signifieth death: and though the Father be omnipotent, and can do all things, yet he cannot die. And though it might be said that he purchased us, because he gave his Son to be a ransom for us, yet it cannot be said that he did it by *his own blood*; for then it would follow, that he gave not his Son, or that the Son and the Father were the same person. Beside, it is very observable, that this particular phrase of *his own blood*, is in the Scripture put by way of opposition to the blood of another¹; and howsoever we may attribute the acts of the Son unto the Father, because sent by him; yet we cannot but acknowledge that the blood and death was of another than the Father. *Not by the blood of goats and calves, but by his own blood he entered in once into the holy place;* and whereas *the high-priest entered every year with the blood of others, Christ appeared once to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself.* He then which purchased us wrought it by his own blood, as an high-priest opposed to the Aaronical, who made atonement by the blood of others. But the Father taketh no priestly office, neither could he be opposed to the legal priest, as not dying himself, but giving another. Wherefore wheresoever the Father and the Son are described together as working the salvation of man, the blood by which it is wrought is attri-

¹ Ἰδιον αἷμα is opposed to αἷμα ἀλλοτρίον. And therefore it is observable, that the author of the Racovian Catechism, in his Answer to this place of Scripture, doth never make the least mention of ἰδιον or *proprium*, but only affirms that the blood of Christ may be called the blood of God the Father;

and *totidem verbis* did Socinus answer to Wiekus (Vujekius) before, but in his whole Answer concealed the force of ἰδιον: whereas the strength of our argument lies in those words, διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου αἵματος, or, as the Alexandrian MSS. and one mentioned by Beza, διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου.

buted to the Son, not to the Father: as when St Paul speaketh of the *redemption that is in Christ Jesus, whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness*¹; *his*, that is, *his own righteousness*, hath reference to God the Father; but *his*, that is, *his own blood*, must be referred to *Christ* the Son. When he glorifieth the God and Father of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, attributing unto him, that he hath blessed, elected, predestinated, adopted, accepted us, made known unto us the mystery of his will, and gathered us together in one; in the midst of this acknowledgment he brings in *the Beloved, in whom we have redemption* Rom. iii. 24, 25. Eph. i. 6, 7. 130 *tion through his blood*, as that which cannot be attributed to the Father. *Christ* hath blessed us; and the apostle saith the Father hath blessed us: which is true, *because he sent his Son to bless us*. *Christ* hath made known unto us the will of his Father; and the apostle saith, the Father *hath made known unto us the mystery of his will*; because he sent his Son to reveal it. *Christ* hath delivered us; and the Father is said to *deliver us from the power of darkness*: not that we are twice delivered, but because the Father delivereth us by his Son. And thus these general acts are familiarly attributed to them both; but still a difference must be observed and acknowledged in the means or manner of the performance of these acts. For though it is true, that the Father and the Son revealed to us the will of God; yet it is not true that the Father revealed it by himself to us; but that the Son did so, it is. They both deliver us from sin and death; but the Son *gave himself for our sins, that he might deliver us*; Gal. i. 4. the Father is not, cannot be, said to have given himself, but his Son; and therefore the apostle giveth thanks unto the Father, *who hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of his dear Son, in whom we have redemption through his blood*. Col. i. 13, 14. Now this blood is not only the blood of the new Covenant, and consequently of the Mediator; but the nature of this Covenant is such, that it is also a Testament, and therefore the blood must be the blood of the testator; *for where a testament is, there must also of necessity be the death of the testator*. Heb. ix. 16. But the testator which died is not, cannot be, the Father, but the Son; and conse-

¹ Ὁν προέθετο ὁ Θεὸς ἱλαστήριον διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι, εἰς ἐνδειξὴν τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ.

quently the blood is the blood of the Son, not of the Father. It remaineth therefore that God, who purchased the Church with his own blood, is not the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, or any other which is called God, but only Jesus Christ the Son of God, and God. And thus have I proved the first of the three assertions, that the name of *God* absolutely taken and placed subjectively, is sometimes to be understood of *Christ*.

The second, That the name of *God*, invested by way of excellency with an article, is attributed in the Scriptures unto *Christ*, may be thus made good. He which is called *Emmanuel* is named *God* by way of excellency; for that name, saith St Matthew, *being interpreted, is, God with us*: and in that interpretation the Greek¹ article is prefixed. But *Christ* is called *Emmanuel*; that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet, saying, *Behold, a virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son, and they shall call his name Emmanuel*. Therefore he is that *God with us*, which is expressed by way of excellency, and distinguished from all other who are any way honoured with that name: for it is a vain imagination to think that *Christ* is called *Emmanuel*, but that he is not what he is called: Exod. xvii. 15. as *Moses built an altar, and called the name of it Jehovah-* Judg. vi. 24. *Nissi*, and *Gideon* another called *Jehovah Shalom*; and yet Jer. xxxiii. 16. neither altar was *Jehovah*: as *Jerusalem* was called *the Lord our righteousness*; and yet that city was not the Lord. Because these two notions, which are conjoined in the name *Emmanuel*, are severally true of *Christ*. First, he is *Emmanu*, that is, *with us*, for he hath dwelt among us: and John i. 14. when he parted from the earth, he said to his disciples, *I am with you alway, even to the end of the world*². Secondly, he is *El*, and that name was given him, as the same prophet testifieth, *For unto us a Child is born, unto us a Son is given: and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, the mighty God*³. He then who is both properly called *El*, that is, *God*, and is also really *Emmanu*, that is, *with us*, he must infallibly be that *Emmanuel* who is *God with us*. Indeed, if the name *Emmanuel* were to be interpreted by way of a proposition,

¹ Καὶ καλέσουσι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ
Ἐμμανουήλ, ὃ ἐστὶ μεθερμηνεύμενον,
Μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ Θεός.

² Ἐγὼ μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰμι.
³ אל נביר.

‘God is with us,’ as *the Lord our righteousness*, and *the Lord* ^{Exek. xlviii. 36.} *is there*, must be understood where they are the names of *Jerusalem*; then should it have been the name not of *Christ* ¹³¹ but of his *Church*; and if we under the Gospel had been called so, it could have received no other interpretation in reference to us. But being it is not ours, but our Saviour’s name, it bears no kind of similitude with those objected appellations, and is as properly and directly to be attributed to the *Messias* as the name of *Jesus*. Wherefore it remaineth that *Christ* be acknowledged God with us, according to the evangelical interpretation, with an expression of that excellency which belongeth to the supreme Deity.

Again, he to whom St Thomas said, *My Lord and my* ^{John xi. 28.} *God*, or rather, ‘The Lord of me, and the God of me;’ he is that God before whose name the Greek article is prefixed, which they require, by way of excellency. But St Thomas spake these words to *Christ*¹. For *Jesus* spake unto *Thomas*, and *Thomas answered and said unto him, My Lord and my God*. And in these words² he made confession of his

¹ Indeed it hath been answered, that these words are not to be referred to Christ, but to God the Father. So Theodorus Mopsuestenus in his Commentary on St John: ‘Thomas quidem, cum sic credidisset, *Dominus meus et Deus meus* dicit, non ipsum Dominum et Deum dicens (non enim resurrectionis scientia docebat et Deum esse eum qui resurrexit), sed quasi pro miraculoso facto Deum collaudat.’ *Syn. V. Collat. 4.* [*Labbe, Concilia*, Tom. v. p. 440 B.] As if Thomas had intended only to have praised God for raising Christ. But first, it is plain that Thomas answered Christ; secondly, that he spake unto *him*, that is, to Christ, and consequently, that the words which he spake belong to Christ; thirdly, that the words are a confession of his faith in Christ, as our Saviour doth acknowledge. And whereas Franciscus Davidis did object, that in a Latin Testament he found not *et dixit ei*, but *et dixit* without *ei*, it is sufficiently discountenanced by Socinus in his epistle, [*ad Franc. Davidem Epist.* Tom. I. p. 395. col. 1.] affirming that all the Greek and Latin

copies had it, except that one which he had found: and therefore the omission must be imputed to the negligence of the printer.

² Ὁ Κύριός μου καὶ ὁ Θεός μου. Either in these words there is an ellipsis of *εἰ σὺ*, *Thou art my Lord, thou art my God*: or an antiptosis, the nominative case used for the vocative, as Ἐλωὶ, Ἐλωὶ, ὁ Θεός μου, ὁ Θεός μου, Mark xv. 34. Ἀββὰ ὁ Πατήρ, Mark xiv. 36. and Καίρε ὁ Βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων, John xix. 3. If it be an ellipsis of the verb *εἰ*, so frequent in the Scriptures, and of the person sufficiently understood in the preceding pronoun, then is it evident that ὁ Θεός is attributed unto Christ: for then St Thomas said unto him, *Thou art ὁ Θεός μου*. If it be an antiptosis, though the construction requires not a verb, yet the signification virtually requireth as much, which is equivalent: for he acknowledgeth him as much God while he calleth him so, as if he did affirm him to be so. Neither can it be objected that the article ὁ serveth only in the place of *ὁ*, as signifying that the nominative is to be taken for the

John xx. 29. faith; for our Saviour replied, *Thomas, because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed.* And let him be the Lord of me, and the God of me, who was the Lord and the God of an apostle.

Nor have we only their required testimony of Christ's supreme Divinity, but also an addition of verity asserting that supremacy. For he is not only termed *the God*, but, for a farther certainty, *the true God*; and the same apostle,

vocative case; because the nominative may as well stand vocatively without an article, as Ἰωσήφ υἱὸς Δαβὶδ, Matt. i. 20. and Ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, Κύριε, υἱὸς Δαβὶδ, Matt. xx. 30, 31. and therefore when the vocative is invested with an article, it is as considerable as in a nominative. And being these words were an expression of the apostle's faith, as Christ understood and approved them, they must contain in them, virtually at least, a proposition; because no act of our faith can be expressed, where the object is not at least a virtual proposition. And in that proposition, ὁ Θεός must be the predicate, and Christ, to whom these words are spoken, must also be the subject. It cannot therefore be avoided, but that St Thomas did attribute the name of God to our Saviour with an article. Indeed to me there is no doubt but St Thomas in these words did make as true and real a confession of his faith concerning the person of Christ, as St Peter did, when he answered and said, *Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God*, Matt. xvi. 16. and, consequently, that ὁ Κύριος and ὁ Θεός do as properly belong unto him, as St Peter's ὁ Χριστός and ὁ υἱός. As therefore Christ said to his disciples, *Vos vocatis me ὁ διδασκαλὸς καὶ ὁ Κύριος, et bene dicitis, sum etenim*, John xiii. 13. so he might have replied to Thomas, *You call me, ὁ Κύριος, and ὁ Θεός, and you say well, for I am so.* As for the objection of Socinus, that though Θεός be here spoken of Christ, and that with an article ὁ, yet that article is of no force because of the following pronoun μου, it is most groundless: for the article ὁ cannot have relation to the following pronoun μου: ἐπεὶ πῶς ἢ ἀπαρδέκτος ἀντωνυμία τῶν ἀρ-

θρῶν ἐν γενικῇ πτώσει εὐθείας ἀρθρῶν παραδέχεται, as that great critic Apollonius Alexandrinus observes, l. i. de Syntaxi, c. 30. And if for μου, it were ὁ ἐμός, yet even that article would belong to Θεός, for in these words, ὁ Θεός ὁ ἐμός, neither article belongs to ἐμός, but both to Θεός: for, as the same critic observes in the same case, τὰ δύο ἀρθρα εἰς μίαν τὴν εὐθείαν ἀναφέρεται: οὐκ ἄρα ἐν τῷ, ὁ πατήρ ὁ ἐμός, κατηγορημασταὶ τὸ ἕτερον τῶν ἀρθρῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀντωνυμίαν φέρεσθαι. So that if ὁ Θεός be *the supreme God*, then ὁ Θεός μου must be *my supreme God*: as when David speaks to God ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός μου, πρὸς σε ὀρθρίζω, Psal. lxii. 1. the latter is of as great importance as the former. So again, Psal. xlii. 5. ἐξομολογήσομαι ἐν κιθάρᾳ, ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός μου, and xlix. 3. ὁ Θεός ἐμφανῶς ἤξει, ὁ Θεός ἡμῶν, and lxxi. 12. ὁ Θεός μὴ μακρότης ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, ὁ Θεός μου. I dare not therefore say to any person that he is ὁ Θεός μου, except that I do believe that he is ὁ Θεός. Wherefore I conclude that the words of St Thomas, ὁ Κύριός μου καὶ ὁ Θεός μου, are as fully and highly significative as those of David: Πρὸς χεῖς τῇ φωτὶ τῆς δεξιᾶς μου, ὁ Βασιλεὺς μου καὶ ὁ Θεός μου, Psal. v. 2. or those, ὁ Θεός μου καὶ ὁ Κύριός μου, εἰς τὴν δίκην μου, Psal. xxxv. 23. or those, Τὰ θυσιαστήριά σου, Κύριε τῶν δυνάμεων, ὁ Βασιλεὺς μου, καὶ ὁ Θεός μου, Psal. lxxiv. 3. or those of St John in the Revelation, iv. 11. as they lie in the Alexandrian and Complutensian copies: Ἄξιός ἐστι, ὁ Κύριος καὶ ὁ Θεός ἡμῶν ὁ ἅγιος, λαβεῖν, &c. or that lastly in the most ancient hymn, Κύριε ὁ Θεός, ὁ ἀμὼς τοῦ Θεοῦ — ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς.

who said *the Word was God*, lest any cavil should arise by any omission of an article, though so frequently neglected by all, even the most accurate authors, hath also assured us that he is the true God. For, *we know* (saith he) *that the Son of God is come, and hath given us an understanding that we may know him that is true: and we are in him that is true, even in his Son Jesus Christ. This is the true God, and eternal life*¹. As therefore we read in the Acts, of the word which God sent *unto the children of Israel, preaching peace by Jesus Christ; he is Lord of all:* where it is acknowledged that the Lord of all is by the pronoun *he*² joined unto *Jesus Christ*, the immediate, not unto *God*, the remote antecedent; so likewise here *the true God* is to be referred unto *Christ*, who stands next unto it, not unto the Father, spoken of indeed in the text, but at a distance. There is no reason alleged why these last words should not be referred to the Son of God, but only this, that in grammatical construction they may be ascribed to the Father. As when *another king arose which knew not Joseph, the same dealt subtilly with our kindred; the same* referreth us not to Joseph, but to the king of Egypt. Whereas, if nothing else can be objected but a possibility in respect of the grammatical construction, we may as well say that Joseph dealt subtilly with his kindred as the king of Egypt; for whatsoever the incongruity be in history, it makes no solecism in the syntax. Wherefore being *Jesus Christ* is the immediate antecedent to which the relative may properly be referred; being the Son of God is he of whom the apostle chiefly speaketh; being this is rendered as a reason why *we are in him that is true*, by being *in his Son*, to wit, because that Son is *the true God*; being in the language of St John the constant title of our Saviour is *eternal life*; being all these reasons may be drawn out of the text itself, why the title of *the true God* should be attributed to the Son, and no one reason can be raised from thence, why it should be referred to the Father: I can conclude no less, than that our Saviour is *the true God*, so styled in the Scriptures by way of eminency with an article prefixed, as the first Christian writers

¹ Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἀληθινὸς Θεός, καὶ ἡ ζωὴ αἰώνιος. 'Hic agitur non solum de vero Deo, sed de illo uno vero Deo, ut articulus in Græco additus indicat.'

Catech. Racov. sect. iv. c. 1.

² Οὗτος for δὲ, as Acts viii. 26. ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ εἰς Γάζαν, αὕτη ἐστὶν ἐρημος, quæ est deserta.

which immediately followed the apostles did both speak and write¹.

But, thirdly, Were there no such particular place in which the article were expressed, yet shall we find such adjuncts fixed to the name of God when attributed unto *Christ*, as will prove equivalent to an article, or whatsoever may express the supreme Majesty. As when St Paul doth magnify the Jews, *out of whom, as concerning the flesh, Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for ever, Amen.* First, it is evident that *Christ* is called *God*², even he who came of the

Rom. ix. 5.

¹ Δοξάζω Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν Θεόν. *Ignat. Epist. ad Smyrn.* c. 1. 'Ἐν θελήματι τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν. *Id. Ep. ad Eph.* init. 'Ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς ἐκνοφορήθη ὑπὸ Μαρίας. *Id.* c. 18. 'Ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐν Πατρὶ ὦν μᾶλλον φαίνεται. *Ep. ad Rom.* c. 3. Τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἀδίου τὰ λογικὰ πλάσματα ἡμεῖς. *Clem. Alex. adv. Gentes*, c. i. [p. 6, 37.] And it was well observed by the author of the *Μικρὰ Λαβύρινθος*, written about the beginning of the third century, that not only the ancient fathers before him, as Justin, Miltiades, Tatianus, Clemens, Irenæus, Melito, &c. did speak of Christ as God; but that the hymns also penned by Christians from the beginning did express Christ's Divinity; *Ψαλμοὶ δὲ ὅσοι καὶ ὅσαι ἀδελφῶν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ πιστῶν γραφεῖσιν τὸν Ἀδίου τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν Χριστὸν ὑμνοῦσι θεολογούτες.* [*Apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles.* v. 28. p. 159 B.] And the epistle of Pliny to Trajan testifies the same, l. x. ep. 97. 'Quod essent soliti statō die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo quasi Deo dicere.'

² Though some would leave *God* out of the text, upon this pretence, because St Cyprian, in lib. ii. *adv. Judæos*, § 6. p. 35. citing this place, leaves it out. But that must needs be by the negligence of some of the scribes, as is evident. First, because Manutius and Morellius found the word *Deus* in their copies, and both the MSS. which Pamelius used acknowledge it. Secondly, because St Cyprian

produceth the text to prove *quod Deus Christus*; and reckoneth it among the rest in which he is called expressly *God*. Thirdly, because Tertullian, whose disciple St Cyprian professed himself, did both so read it, and so use it: 'Solum autem Christum potero Deum dicere, sicut idem Apostolus, *Ex quibus Christus, qui est* (inquit) *Deus super omnia benedictus in ævum omne.*' *Adv. Prax.* c. 13. [p. 645 A.] And again in the same book: 'Hunc et Paulus conspexit, nec tamen Patrem vidit. *Nonne, inquit, vidi Jesum?* Christum autem et ipse Deum cognominavit: *Quorum Patres et ex quibus Christus secundum carnem, qui est per* (vel *super*) *omnia Deus benedictus in ævum.*' c. 15. [p. 647 C.] Novatian *de Trinitate*, c. 13. 30. [p. 296. col. 1 D.] useth the same argument. And another ancient author very expressly: 'Rogo te, Deum credis esse Filium, an non? Sine dubio, respondurus es, Deum; quia et si negare volueris, sanctis Scripturis convinceris, dicente Apostolo, *Ex quibus Christus secundum carnem, qui est super omnia Deus benedictus in secula.*' So also St Augustin: 'Non solum Pater Deus est, sicut omnes etiam Heretici concedunt, sed etiam Filius; quod, velint nolint, coguntur fateri, dicente Apostolo, *Qui est super omnia Deus benedictus in secula.*' *De Trin.* l. ii. c. 13. [Tom. VIII. p. 557 A.] et *contra Faustum*. l. xvi. c. 15. [Tom. VIII. p. 208 C.] As for the objection, that St Chrysostom doth not signify in his commentaries that he read *θεός* in the text: I answer,

Jews, though not as he came of them, that is, according to the flesh, which is here distinguished from his Godhead¹. Secondly, he is so called God as not to be any of the many gods, but the one supreme or most high God²; for he is *God over all*. Thirdly, he hath also added the title of *blessed*, which of itself elsewhere signifieth the supreme God³, and

that neither does he signify that he read *ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων*, for in his exposition he passeth over wholly *ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων θεός*, but it doth not follow that he read not *ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων* in the text. But when he repeats the words of the apostle, he agrees wholly with the Greek text, *ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων θεός εὐλογητός*: [Hom. xvi. § 1. Tom. ix. p. 604 E. The article *ὁ* is omitted in the Benedictine edition.] And Theodoret, who lived not long after him, doth not only acknowledge the words, but gives a full exposition of them: Ἦρκει μὲν ἡ τοῦ κατὰ σάρκα προσθήκη παραδιδόναι τοῦ δεσπότου Χριστοῦ τὴν θεότητα· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ προομίῳ εἰρηκώς, τοῦ γενομένου ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβὶδ κατὰ σάρκα, ἐπήγαγε, τοῦ ὁρισθέντος υἱοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν δυνάμει· οὕτως ἐνταῦθα εἰπὼν, τὸ κατὰ σάρκα, προστέθεικε τὸ, ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός εὐλογητός εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. *In locum*, T. III. p. 74 B. As for the omission of *Deus* in St Hilary on the Psalms, it must of necessity be attributed to the negligence of the scribe, not to the reading of the father. For how he read it, he hath clearly expressed in his books *de Trinitate*: 'Non ignorat Paulus Christum Deum, dicens, *Quorum Patres, et ex quibus Christus qui est super omnia Deus*. Non hic creatura in Deum deputatur, sed creaturarum Deus est, qui super omnia Deus est.' l. viii. c. 37. [p. 969 E.] The pretence therefore of Erasmus from the fathers is vain; and as vain is that of Grotius from the Syriac translation, which hath in it the name of *God* expressly, as well as all the copies of the original, and all the rest of the translations, וְיִתְבָּרַךְ לְעוֹלָם וָעוֹלָם.

¹ Τὸ κατὰ σάρκα opposed unto τὸ κατὰ πνεῦμα. As Rom. i. 3. where κατὰ σάρκα is used without an article,

because κατὰ πνεῦμα, to which it is opposed, followeth, and so the opposition is of itself apparent. But here being κατὰ πνεῦμα is not to be expressed in the following words, the article τὸ, signifying of itself a distinction or exception, sheweth that it is to be understood.

² Ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων. Not in omnibus, as Erasmus, nor *super omnes*, as Beza, with reference to the fathers, which should have been ἐπὶ πάντων αὐτῶν: but, as the Vulgar translation, and the ancient fathers before that, *super omnia*, ἐπὶ for ἐπάνω, as John iii. 31. ὁ ἀνωθεν ἐρχόμενος ἐπάνω πάντων ἐστί, which signifieth no less than γῆν, the ordinary name of God, ὁ ὕψιστος, the *most high*, as it is taken for the supreme God by itself, Acts vii. 48. and is described, Psal. xcvi. 9. Ὅτι σὺ εἶ Κύριος, ὁ ὕψιστος ἐπὶ πάντων τῇ γῇ, σφόδρα ὑπερυψώθης ὑπὲρ πάντας τοὺς θεούς.

³ As Mark xiv. 61. Σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Εὐλογητοῦ; *Art thou the Christ the Son of the Blessed!* where the vulgar attribute is taken for God himself, which is usually added to the name of God, as 2 Cor. xi. 31. Ὁ Θεός, ὁ ὢν εὐλογητός εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας or to any description of him, as: Ἐλάτρευαν τῇ κτίσει παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα, ὅς ἐστιν εὐλογητός εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, Ἀμην. Rom. i. 25. And these expressions of St Paul are consonant to the ancient custom of the Jews, who, when the priest in the sanctuary rehearsed the name of God, were wont to answer, *Blessed be his Name for ever*. Insomuch as the *Blessed One* did signify in their language as much as the *Holy One*, and both, or either of them, the *God of Israel*. Hence are so frequent in the Rabbins, וְיִתְבָּרַךְ בְּרוּךְ the *Holy Blessed One*, and וְיִתְבָּרַךְ the *Blessed*

was always used by the Jews to express that one God of Israel. Wherefore it cannot be conceived St Paul should write unto the Christians, most of which then were converted Jews or proselytes, and give unto our Saviour not only the name of God, but also add that title which they always gave unto the one God of Israel, and to none but him; except he did intend they should believe him to be the same God whom they always in that manner, and under that notion, had adored. As therefore the apostle speaketh of *the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is blessed for evermore;* of *the Creator, who is blessed for ever, Amen;* and thereby doth signify the supreme Deity, which was so glorified by the Israelites; and doth also testify that we worship the same God under the Gospel, which they did under the Law: so doth he speak of *Christ* in as sublime a style, *who is over all, God blessed for ever, Amen;* and thereby doth testify the equality, or rather identity, of his Deity. If we consider the scope of the apostle, which is to magnify the Israelites by the enumeration of such privileges as belonged peculiarly to that chosen nation (the most eminent of which was contained in the genealogy of our Saviour), we shall find their glory did not consist in this, that *Christ* at first was born of them a man, and afterwards made a God, for what great honour could accrue to them by the nativity of a man, whose Godhead is referred not to his birth, but to his death? whereas this is truly honourable, and the peculiar glory of that nation, that the most high God blessed for ever should *take on him the seed of Abraham,* and come out of the Israelites *as concerning the flesh.* Thus every way it doth appear the apostle spake of *Christ* as of the one eternal God.

He then who was the Word which in the beginning was with God, and was God; he whose glory Isaias saw as the glory of the God of Israel; he who is styled Alpha and Omega, without any restriction or limitation; he who was truly subsisting in the form of God, and equal with him before he was in the nature of man; he who being man is frequently called God, and that in all those ways by which the supreme Deity is expressed: he had a being before *Christ*

One, that they are written by abbreviation רב"ה or רב"ה and the infinite Blessed One, א"ס ב"ה, Blessed be God

for ever, Amen and Amen, ב"ל א"ל and א"ל.

134 was conceived by the Virgin Mary, and the being which he had was the one eternal and indivisible divine essence, by which he always was truly, really, and properly God. But all these are certainly true of him in whom we believe, *Jesus Christ*, as hath been proved by clear testimonies of the sacred Scriptures. Therefore the being which *Christ* had before he was conceived of the Virgin, was not any created, but the divine essence; nor was he any creature, but the true eternal God: which was our second assertion, particularly opposed to the Arian heresy¹.

The third assertion, next to be demonstrated, is, That the divine essence which *Christ* had as the Word, before he was conceived by the Virgin Mary, he had not of himself, but by communication from God the Father. For this is not to be denied, that there can be but one essence properly divine, and so but one God of infinite wisdom, power, and majesty; that there can be but one person originally of himself subsisting in that infinite Being², because a plurality of more persons so subsisting would necessarily infer a multiplicity of gods; that the Father of our Lord *Jesus Christ* is originally God, as not receiving his eternal being from any other. Wherefore it necessarily followeth that *Jesus Christ*, who is certainly not

¹ This heresy was so called from two who bare the same name, and fell at the same time into the same opinion; one of them being a presbyter, and rector of a church in Alexandria, the other a deacon: as Alexander the bishop of Alexandria, in his epistle extant in Theodoret: Εἰσι δὲ οἱ ἀναθεματισθέντες ἀρεσιώται, ἀπὸ πρεσβυτέρων μὲν, Ἀρείου, ἀπὸ διακόνων δὲ, Ἀχιλλᾶς, Εὐθύσιος, — Ἀρείου ἑτεροῦ, &c. *Ecc. Hist.* l. i. c. 4. fin. [p. 20 B]. In the epistle of the Arians to Alexander, he is reckoned amongst the Presbyters: Ἀρείου, Ἀειθαλῆς, Ἀχιλλᾶς, Καρπῶν, Σαρματᾶς, Ἀρείου, πρεσβύτεροι. Of these two Phœbadius *contra Arian.* [c. 13. p. 253.] ‘Patrem et Filium non esse unam personam, ut Sabellius, aut duas substantias, ut Arius.’ The heresy is so well known, that it needs no explication: and indeed it cannot be better described than in the anathematism of the Nicene

Council: [*Labbe Concil.* Tom. II. p. 28 c. Socr. *Ecc. Hist.* i. 8.] Τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας, ἦν ποτὲ ὅτε οὐκ ἦν, καὶ πρὶν γεννηθῆναι οὐκ ἦν, καὶ ὅτι ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐγένετο, ἢ ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας φάσκοντας εἶναι, ἢ κτιστὸν, ἢ ἀλλοιωτὸν, ἢ τρεπτὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοὺτους ἀναθεματίζει ἡ Καθολικὴ καὶ Ἀποστολικὴ Ἐκκλησία. Thus translated by St Hilary: ‘Eos autem qui dicunt, erat quando non erat, et antequam nasceretur non erat, et quod de non exstantibus factus est, vel ex alia substantia aut essentia, dicentes convertibilem et demutabilem Deum, hos anathematizat Catholica Ecclesia.’ *de Synod.* c. 84. [p. 1198 A.]

² Ἐνα γὰρ οἶδαμεν ἀγέννητον, καὶ μίαν τῶν ὄντων ἀρχὴν τὸν Πατέρα τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. *S. Basil. Ep.* 78. [125. 3. Tom. iii. p. 216 D.] Ἐν ἀγέννητον, ὁ Πατήρ. *Alex. Ep. apud Theodoretum* [Lib. i. c. 4. p. 12 B.]

the Father, cannot be a person subsisting in the divine nature originally of himself; and consequently, being we have already proved that he is truly and properly the eternal God, he must be understood to have the Godhead communicated to him by the Father, who is not only eternally, but originally God. *All things whatsoever the Father hath are mine*¹, saith *Christ*; because in him is the same fulness of the Godhead, and more than that the Father cannot have: but yet in that perfect and absolute equality there is notwithstanding this disparity, that the Father hath the Godhead not from the Son, nor any other, whereas the Son hath it from the Father: *Christ* is the true God and eternal life; but that he is so, is from the Father: *for as the Father hath life in himself, so hath he given to the Son to have life in himself*², not by participation, but by communication. It is true, our Saviour was so in the form of God, that he thought it no robbery to be equal with God: but when the Jews sought to kill him because he *made himself equal with God*, he answered them, *Verily, verily, I say unto you, The Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father do*³: by

John xvi. 15.

John v. 26.

John v. 18,
19.

¹ Πάντα ὅσα ἔχει ὁ Πατήρ, τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐστίν, ὡς ἐμπαλιν τὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Πατρὸς· οὐδὲν οὖν ἴδιον, ὅτι κοινά. ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ εἶναι κοινὸν καὶ ὁμότιμον, εἰ καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς. *S. Greg. Naz. Orat. 2. de Filio. (Orat. 30. § 11. Tom. I. p. 547 A.)*

² 'Hoc dixit, *Vitam dedit Filio ut haberet eam in semetipso*, tanquam diceret, Pater, qui est vita in semetipso, genuit Filium qui esset vita in semetipso. Pro eo enim quod est *genuit*, voluit intelligi *dedit*, tanquam si cuiquam diceremus, dedit tibi Deus esse.' *S. August. Tract. 19. in Ioan. § 13. [Tom. III. 2. p. 322 B.] Et paulo post: [c.] 'Quid ergo Filio dedit? dedit ei ut Filius esset; genuit ut vita esset; hoc est, dedit ei habere vitam in semetipso, ut esset vita non egens vita, ne participando intelligatur habere vitam. Si enim participando haberet vitam, posset et amittendo esse sine vita: hoc in Filio ne accipias, ne cogites, ne credas. Manet ergo Pater vita, manet et Filius vita. Pater vita in semetipso, non a Filio; Filius vita in semetipso,*

sed a Patre.' *Ibid.* So again, *de Trinit. l. i. c. 12. [Tom. VIII. p. 543 A.] 'Plerumque dicit, dedit mihi Pater, in quo vult intelligi quod eum genuerit Pater; non ut tanquam jam exsistenti et non habenti dederit aliquid, sed ipsum dedisse ut haberet, genuisse est ut esset.'*

³ 'Tanquam diceret, Quid scandalizati estis quia Patrem meum dixi Deum, et quia æqualem me facio Deo? Ita sum æqualis, ut ille me genuerit; ita sum æqualis, ut non ille a me, sed ego ab illo sim. Hoc enim intelligitur in his verbis, *Non potest Filius a se facere quicquam*, &c. hoc est, quicquid Filius habet ut faciat, a Patre habet ut faciat. Quare habet a Patre ut faciat? quia a Patre habet ut Filius sit. Quare a Patre habet ut Filius sit? quia a Patre habet ut possit, quia a Patre habet ut sit. Filio enim hoc est esse quod posse.' *S. August. Tract. 20. in Ioan. § 4. [Tom. III. p. 327 B.] Paulo post: 'Hoc est, Non potest Filius a se quicquam facere, quod esset, si diceret, non est Filius a se. Etenim*

that connexion of his operations, shewing the reception of his essence; and by the acknowledgment of his power, professing his substance from the Father. From whence he which was equal, even in that equality confesseth a priority, saying,

135 *The Father is greater than I*. The Son equal in respect of his John xiv. 28.

nature, the Father greater in reference to the communication of the Godhead. *I know him*, saith Christ, *for I am from him*. John vii. 29.

And because he is from the Father², therefore he is called by those of the Nicene Council, in their Creed, *God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God*. The Father is God, but not of God, light, but not of light: Christ is God, but of God, light, but of light. There is no difference or inequality in the nature or essence, because the same in both; but the Father of our Lord *Jesus Christ* hath that essence of himself, from none; Christ hath the same, not of himself, but from him.

And being the divine nature, as it is absolutely immaterial and incorporeal, is also indivisible, Christ cannot have any part of it only communicated unto him, but the whole, by which he must be acknowledged coessential³, of the same

si Filius est, natus est; si natus est, ab illo est de quo natus est.' *Ibid.* § 8. [p. 328 D.]

¹ Δῆλον ὅτι τὸ μείζων μὲν ἐστὶ τῆς αἰτίας, τὸ δὲ ἴσων τῆς φύσεως. *S. Greg. Naz. Orat. 2. de Filio*, (Orat. 30. 7. p. 544.)

² So St Augustin hath observed: 'Ab ipso, inquit, sum, quia Filius de Patre; et quicquid est filius, de illo est cujus est filius. Ideo Dominum Jesum dicimus Deum de Deo; Patrem non dicimus Deum de Deo, sed tantum Deum. Et dicimus Dominum Jesum Lumen de Lumine; Patrem non dicimus lumen de lumine, sed tantum lumen. Ad hoc ergo pertinet quod dixit, Ab ipso sum.' *Tract. 31. in Ioan.* § 4. [Tom. III. p. 378 F.] From hence then did the Nicene Council gather those words of their Creed: Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ, καὶ φῶς ἐκ φωτός, Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ. [Soc. i. 8. p. 19 C.] But not immediately, for they were partly in some of the Oriental Creeds before: as appeareth by that confession which Eusebius presented to the Council, as containing what he had believed and taught ever since his bap-

tism, in which he had these words: καὶ ἐκ ἐκείνου Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγον, Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ, φῶς ἐκ φωτός, ζωὴν ἐκ ζωῆς. [Soc. i. 8. p. 20 C, D.]

And as Eusebius calls him *Life of Life*, so others, *Power of Power*, and *Wisdom of Wisdom*. 'Ideo Christus virtus et sapientia Dei, quia de Patre virtute et sapientia etiam ipse virtus et sapientia est, sicut lumen de Patre lumine, et fons vitæ apud Deum Patrem utique fontem vitæ.' *S. August. de Trin.* l. vii. c. 3. [§ 4. Tom. VIII. p. 607 A.] And not only so, but *Essence of Essence*. 'Pater et Filius simul una sapientia, quia una essentia; et singulatim sapientia de sapientia, sicut essentia de essentia.' *Ibid.* c. 2. [p. 606 D.]

³ Ὁμοούσιος, which is *coessential* or *consubstantial*, is not to be taken of a part of the divine essence, as if the Son were a part of the essence of the Father, and so of the same nature with him; which was the opinion of the Manichees. Οὐχ ὡς Οὐαλεντίνος προβολὴν τὸ γέννημα τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐδογματῆσεν οὐδ' ὡς Μανιχαῖος μέρος ὁμοούσιον τοῦ Πατρὸς τὸ γέννημα ἐλογησατο: as Arius in his epistle to Alexander; by

substance with the Father; as the Council of Nice determined, and the ancient fathers before them taught. Hence appeareth

the interpretation of St Hilary: 'Nec ut Valentinus, prolationem natum Patris commentatus est;—nec, sicut Manichæus, partem unius substantiæ Patris natum exposuit.' *De Trin.* l. vi. c. 9, [10. p. 883 A.] 'Quod Hilarius ita Latine reddidit, tanquam *ὑποούσιον* id significaret, quod *partem substantiæ* habet ex toto resectam,' says Dionysius Petavius, without any reason; for St Hilary clearly translates *ὑποούσιον* barely *unius substantiæ*, and it was in the original *μέρος ὑποούσιον*, which he expressed by *partem unius substantiæ*. Under this notion first the Arians pretended to refuse the name *ὑποούσιον*, as Arius in the same epistle signifieth, lest thereby they should admit a real composition and division in the Deity: *Εἰ τὸ ἐκ γαστρός, καὶ τὸ ἐκ Πατρὸς ἐξῆλθεν, ὡς μέρος τοῦ ὑποουσίου καὶ ὡς προβολὴ ὑπὸ τινων νοεῖται, σύνθετος ἔσται ὁ Πατήρ, καὶ διαιρετός, καὶ τρεπτός.* And St Jerome testifies thus much not only of Arius and Eunomius, but also of Origen before them: 'Habetur Dialogus apud Græcos Origenis, et Candidi Valentinianæ Hæreses defensoris, in quo duos Andabatas digladiantes inter se spectasse me fateor. Dicit Candidus, Filium de Patris esse substantia, errans in eo quod *προβολὴν* id est, *prolationem*, asserit: E regione Origines, juxta Arium et Eunomium, repugnat eum vel prolatum esse vel natum, ne Deus Pater dividatur in partes.' *Apol.* 2. in *Ruffin.* col. 757. § 19. (Tom. II. p. 512 A.) And therefore Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea, refused not to subscribe to the Nicene Creed, being so interpreted as that objection might be taken away: *τὸ ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας, ὡμαλόγητο πρὸς αὐτῶν δηλωτικὸν εἶναι τοῦ, ἐκ μὲν τοῦ Πατρὸς εἶναι, οὐ μὴν ὡς μέρος ὑπάρχειν τοῦ Πατρὸς.* *Inter Op. Athanas. de Decret. Nic. Syn.* § 5. [Tom. I. p. 240 B.] Upon this confession he subscribed to that clause *begotten of the substance of the Father*, which was not in his own Creed. And again: *Οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὸ*

ὑποούσιον εἶναι τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν υἱόν, ἐξεταζόμενος ὁ λόγος συνίστησιν οὐ κατὰ τῶν σωματίων τρόπον, οὐδὲ τοῖς θνητοῖς ζώοις παραπλησίως, οὔτε γὰρ κατὰ διαίρεσιν τῆς οὐσίας, οὔτε κατὰ ἀποτομήν, [ἀλλ' οὐδὲ κατὰ τι πάθος, ἢ τροπὴν ἢ ἀλλοίωσιν τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς οὐσίας τε καὶ δυνάμει. *Ibid.* p. 240 B. § 7.] Upon this acknowledgment he was persuaded to subscribe to the other clause also, (added to that Creed which he himself gave in to the Council) *being of one substance with the Father*: which clause was inserted by the Council, at the instance of Constantine the emperor. Now as the Manichees made use of the word *ὑποούσιος* to express their errors concerning the nature of God and the person of Christ; so the ancient fathers, before the Nicene Council, had used the same in a true catholic sense, to express the unity in essence of the Father and the Son; as appeareth by the confession of the same Eusebius: 'Ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν τῶν λόγους, καὶ ἐπιφανεῖς ἐπισκόπους, καὶ συγγραφεῖς ἔγνωμεν, ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ θεολογίας τῇ τοῦ ὑποουσίου συγχρησαμένους ὀνόματι. *Ibid.* § 7. [p. 241 A.] Wherefore the other Eusebius of Nicomedia, understanding the ancient catholic sense, confessed, that if they believed Christ to be the true begotten, and not created, Son of God, they must acknowledge him *ὑποούσιον*, which the Arians endeavoured to make so odious; and therefore the Council in opposition to them determined it: 'Quid est aliud cur *ὑποούσιον* Patri nolint Filium dici, nisi quia nolunt verum Dei Filium confiteri? sicut Auctorum ipsorum Eusebius Nicomedienensis Epistola sua prodidit, dicens, Si verum, inquit, Dei Filium, et increatum dicimus, *ὑποούσιον* cum Patre incipimus confiteri. Hæc cum lecta esset Epistola in Concilio Niceno, hoc verbum in Tractatu fidei posuerunt Patres, quod id viderunt adversariis esse formidini, ut tanquam evaginato ab ipsis gladio ipsorum nefandæ caput hæresis ampu-

the truth of those words of our Saviour, which raised a second motion in the Jews to stone him; *I and the Father* John x. 30. *are one*: where the plurality of the verb, and the neutrality of the noun, with the distinction of their persons, speak a perfect identity of their essence. And though Christ say, *the Father is in me, and I in him*; yet withal he saith, *I* John x. 38. John xvi. 28: xvii. 8. *came out from the Father*: by the former shewing the Divinity of his essence, by the latter the origination of himself. We must not look upon the divine nature as sterile¹, but rather acknowledge and admire the fecundity and communicability of itself, upon which the creation² of the world dependeth: God making all things by his Word, to whom he first communicated that omnipotency which is the cause of all things. And this may suffice for the illustration of our third assertion, that the Father hath communicated the divine essence to the Word, who is that *Jesus* who is the *Christ*.

- 136 The fourth assertion followeth, That the communication of the divine essence by the Father, is the generation of the Son; and *Christ*, who was eternally God, not from himself, but from the Father, is the eternal Son of God. That God always had a Son, appeareth by Agur's question in the Proverbs of Solomon; *Who hath established all the ends of the earth? what is his name, and what is his Son's name, if thou canst tell?* Prov. xxx. 4. And it was the chief design of Mahomet to deny this truth, because he knew it was not otherwise possible to prefer himself before our Saviour. One prophet may be greater than another, and Mahomet might persuade his credulous disciples that he was greater than any of the sons of men; but while any one was believed to be the eternal Son of God, he knew it wholly impossible to prefer himself before him. Wherefore he frequently inculcates that blasphemy in his Alcoran³, that God hath no such Son, nor any equal with

tarent.' *S. Ambros. l. iii. de Fide, c. 15.*
[7. Tom. iv. p. 159 G.] De voce 'Ομο-
ούσιος, vide *Dionys. Petav. de Trinii.*
l. iv. c. 6.

¹ Ἀδύνατον γὰρ τὸν Θεὸν εἰπεῖν ἔρη-
μον τῆς φυσικῆς γονιμότητος. *Damasc.*
de Fid. Orthod. l. i. c. 8. [Tom. I. p.
133 B.]

² Εἰ δὲ μὴ καρπογόνος ἐστὶν αὐτῇ ἡ
θεία οὐσία, ἀλλ' ἔρημος, κατ' αὐτοὺς,
ὡς φῶς μὴ φωτίζον, καὶ πηγὴ ξηρά·
πῶς δημιουργικὴν ἐνέργειαν αὐτὸν ἔχει

λέγοντες οὐκ ἀρχίζονται; *S. Athanas.*
Orat. ii. contra Arian. [p. 469. § 2.]

³ This is often repeated there, and particularly in the last chapter but one, called *Alechlās*: [*Sale's Koran*, chap. cxii. Cap. cxii. Tom. i. p. 188. Edit. Bibliandri, Basil, 1550.] 'Est ipse Deus unus, Deus æternus, qui nec genuit, nec genitus est, et cui nullus est æqualis.' And the *Saracenicæ* set forth by Sylburgius, [c. i. p. 2, 25.] mentions this as the first principle of

literal reading of them, apply them so unto David, as that they deny them to belong to Christ; and that upon no other ground, than that by such an exposition they may avoid the Christian's confession. But by the consent of the ancient Jews, by the interpretation of the blessed apostles, we know these words belong to *Christ*, and in the most proper sense to him alone. *For unto which of the angels said he at any time,* Heb. i. 5. *Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee?* as the apostle argues. And if he had spoken them unto any other man, as they were spoken unto him, the apostle's argument had been none at all.

Now that the communication of the divine essence by the Father (which we have already proved) was the true and proper generation by which he hath begotten the Son, will thus appear: because the most proper generation which we know, is nothing else but a vital production of another in the same nature, with a full representation of him from whom he is produced. Thus man begetteth a son, that is, produceth another man of the same human nature with himself; and this production, as a perfect generation, becomes the foundation of the relation of paternity in him that produceth, and of filiation in him that is produced. Thus after the prolific benediction, *Be fruitful and multiply; Adam begat in his own likeness, after his image:* and by the continuation of the same blessing, the succession of human generations hath been continued. This then is the known¹ confession of all men, that a son is nothing but another produced by his father in the same nature with him. But God the Father hath

: *נִבְרָא לִי בְּיָמֵי* id est, in adventu Gog, cf. *ibid.* num. 14.

'In ejusdem *Martini Pug. Fid.* alleg. loco, post ista: juxta sensum literalem, *אֲדִיכִיתִּיר הַמִּיִּים* id est, et ut possit responderi hæreticis, in MSto. i. etiam habetur *הַמִּיִּים* וְהַשְׁבוֹתָ הַמִּיִּים sed in eodem omissa sunt ista: *וְלִפִּי* וְלִפִּי id est, et juxta sensum literalem: solent autem a Rabbinis vocari Christiani *מִיִּים* id est, hæretici seu infideles. Cf. not. ad *Psalm.* xxi. v. 2. n. 1.'

In the ancient MS. of Jarchi in St John's College, Cambridge, before referred to (p. 85), both these expressions occur, *וְהַשְׁבוֹתָ הַמִּיִּים* and *וְלִפִּי*. In the copy of Bomberg's

Bible in the same College, the former expression is defaced, and almost erased; which is also the case in many other passages; for instance, on Is. lii. 13, in Aben Ezra's Commentary. H. J. R.]

¹ *Κοινὸν ὑπάρχει πᾶσι καὶ αὐτοδιδασκὸν ὁμολόγημα, ὡς πᾶσι υἱὸς τῆς αὐτῆς ἐστὶ τῷ γεγεννηκότι οὐσίας καὶ φύσεως.* Phot. *Epist.* i. [c. 8. p. 4.] This is, in the language of Aristotle: *Τὸ ποιῆσαι ἕτερον ὅλον αὐτό: ζῶον μὲν ζῶον, φυτόν δὲ φυτόν.* And St Basil, lib. ii. *contra Eunom.* § 22. fin. [Tom. i. p. 258 D.] *Πατήρ μὲν γὰρ ἐστίν, ὁ ἕτερόν τοῦ εἶναι κατὰ τὴν ὁμοίαν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν τῇ ἀρχῇ παρασχών.*

communicated to the Word the same divine essence by which he is God; and consequently he is of the same nature with him, and thereby the perfect image and similitude of him, and therefore his proper Son. In human generations we may conceive two kinds of similitude; one in respect of the internal nature, the other in reference to the external form or figure. The former similitude is essential and necessary; it being impossible a man should beget a son, and that son not be by nature a man: the latter accidental; not only sometimes the child representing this, sometimes the other parent, but also oftentimes neither. The similitude, then¹, in which the propriety of generation is preserved, is that which consisteth in the identity of nature: and this communication of the divine essence by the Father to the Word is evidently a sufficient foundation of such a similitude; from whence *Christ* is called *the image of God, the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person.*

2 Cor. iv. 4.
Heb. i. 3.

Nor is this communication of the divine essence only the proper generation of the Son, but we must acknowledge it far more proper than any natural generation of the creature, not only because it is in a more perfect manner, but also because the identity of nature is most perfect. As in the divine essence we acknowledge all the perfections of the creatures, subtracting all the imperfections which adhere unto them here in things below; so in the communication we must look upon the reality without any kind of defect, blemish, or impurity. In human generation the son is begotten in the same nature with the father, which is performed by derivation, or decision of part of the substance of the parent: but this decision includeth imperfection, because it supposeth a substance divisible, and consequently corporeal; whereas the essence of God is incorporeal, spiritual, and indivisible; and therefore his nature is really communicated, not by derivation or decision, but by a total and plenary communication. In natural conceptions the father necessarily precedeth the son, and begetteth one younger than himself; for being generation is for the perpetuity of the species, where the individuals succes-

¹ 'Etiam si filius hominis, homo, in quibusdam similis, in quibusdam sit dissimilis patri; tamen quia ejusdem substantiæ est, negari verus filius non potest, et quia verus est filius, negari

eiusdem substantiæ non potest.' *S. August. contra Maximin. Arian.* l. ii. c. 15. § 2. (Vol. VIII. p. 711.) [Tom. VIII. p. 503 E.]

sively fail, it is sufficient if the parent can produce another to live after him, and continue the existence of his nature, when his person is dissolved. But this presupposeth the imperfection of mortality wholly to be removed, when we speak of him who inhabiteth eternity: the essence which God always had without beginning, without beginning he did communicate; being always Father, as always God. Animals when they come to the perfection of nature, then become prolific¹; in God eternal perfection sheweth his eternal fecundity. And
 138 that which is most remarkable, in human generations the son is of the same nature with the father, and yet is not the same man: because though he hath an essence of the same kind, yet he hath not the same essence: the power of generation depending on the first prolific benediction, *increase and multiply*, it must be made by way of multiplication, and thus every son becomes another man. But the divine essence, being by reason of its simplicity not subject to division, and in respect of its infinity incapable of multiplication, is so communicated as not to be multiplied; insomuch that he which proceedeth by that communication, hath not only the same nature, but is also the same God. The Father God, and the Word God; Abraham man, and Isaac man: but Abraham one man, Isaac another man; not so the Father one God, and the Word another, but the Father and the Word both the same God. Being then the propriety of generation is founded in the essential similitude of the Son unto the Father, by reason of the same (nature²) which he receiveth from him; being the full perfect nature of God is communicated unto the Word, and that more intimately and with a greater unity or identity than can be found in human generations: it followeth that this communication of the divine nature is the proper generation by which *Christ* is, and is called the true and proper Son of God. This was the foundation of St Peter's confession, *Thou art the Son of the living God*; this the ground of our Saviour's distinction³, *I go unto my Father*,

Matt. xvi. 16.
 John vi. 69.
 John xx. 17.

¹ Πάντα δὲ ὅσα ἤδη τέλεια γεννᾷ· τὸ δὲ δὲ τέλειον, ἀεὶ καὶ ἀίδιον γεννᾷ. *Euseb. de Præp. Evang. ex Plotino*, l. xi. § 17. [p. 536 A.] 'Ανθρώπων μὲν γὰρ ὄντων τὸ ἐν χρόνῳ γεννᾶν, διὰ τὸ ἀτελὲς τῆς φύσεως· Θεοῦ δὲ ἀίδιον τὸ γέννημα, διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ τέλειον τῆς φύσεως. *S. Athan. Orat. i. contra Arian.* § 14.

[Tom. i. p. 419 A.] This was it which so much troubled the Arians, when they heard the Catholics constantly asserting: *ἀεὶ Θεός, ἀεὶ Τίός· ἅμα Πατήρ, ἅμα Τίός.*

² [The word nature is not in the third edition.]

³ 'Multum distat inter dominatio-

and to your Father. Hence did St John raise a verity, more than only a negation of falsity, when he said, *we are in the true Son*; for we which are in him are true, not false sons; but such sons we are not as the *true Son*. Hence did St Paul draw an argument of the infinite love of God towards man, in that *he spared not his own proper Son*. Thus have we sufficiently shewed, that the eternal communication of the divine essence by the Father to the Word was a proper generation, by which *Christ Jesus* always was the true and proper Son of God: which was our fourth assertion.

1 John v. 20.

Rom. viii. 32.

The fifth and last assertion followeth, that the divine essence was so peculiarly communicated to the Word, that there was never any other naturally begotten by the Father; and in that respect *Christ* is the *only-begotten* Son of God. For the clearing of which truth, it will first be necessary to inquire into the true notion of the *only-begotten*; and then shew how it belongs particularly to *Christ*, by reason of the divine nature communicated by way of generation to him alone. First, therefore, we must avoid the vain interpretation of the ancient heretics¹, who would have the restraining term

nem et conditionem, inter generationem et adoptionem, inter substantiam et gratiam. Ideoque hic non permixte nec passim dicitur, *Ascendo ad Patrem nostrum aut Deum nostrum*; sed *ad Patrem meum et Patrem vestrum, ad Deum meum et ad Deum vestrum*. Aliter enim illi Deus Pater est, aliter nobis. Illum siquidem natura cœquat, misericordia humiliat: nos vero natura prosternit, misericordia erigit. *Capreolus Carthag. Epist. ad Vital. et Constant.* [Sirmondi, Tom. i. p. 375 A.]

¹ This was the fallacy which Eunomius endeavoured to put upon the Church, as appears by those words of his delivered and answered by St Basil: Διὰ τοῦτο γάρ, φησί, μονογενής, ἐπειδή [μόνος] παρὰ μόνου τῆ τοῦ ἀγεννήτου δυνάμει γεννηθείς καὶ κτισθείς τελευτάτος γέγονεν ὑπουργός· *adv. Eunom. l. ii. § 20.* [Tom. i. p. 255 E.] as if *μονογενής* were only παρὰ μόνου, and *unigenitus* were nothing else but *genitus ab uno*. This St Basil refuteth copiously; first, from the language of the Scriptures and the usage of man-

kind: Διὰ τὴν πανουργίαν ἥν περὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ μονογενοῦς ἐκακούργησε, παρὰ τε τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων συνήθειαν, καὶ παρὰ τὴν εὐσεβῆ τῶν γραφῶν παράδοσιν ἐκλαμβάνων αὐτοῦ τὴν διδωσίαν. Μονογενής γὰρ οὐχ ὁ παρὰ μόνου γενομένος, ἀλλ' ὁ μόνος γεννηθείς ἐν τῇ κοινῇ χρήσει προσαγορεύεται. *Ibid.* [p. 256 A.] Secondly, by a retort peculiar to that heresy, which held the Son of God might be called *κτισθείς* as well as *γεννηθείς*, *created* as well as *begotten*, and consequently might be as properly named *μονόκτιστος* as *μονογενής*: Εἰ τοίνυν μὴ παρὰ τὸ μόνος γεγενῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ παρὰ μόνου μονογενής εἶρηται, ταῦτό δέ ἐστι κατὰ σε τὸ ἐκτίσθαι τῷ γεγενῆσθαι, τί οὐχὶ καὶ Μονόκτιστος αὐτὸν ὀνομάζει; *Ibid.* § 21. [p. 256 E.] Thirdly, by a particular instance, shewing the absurdity of such an interpretation, for that thereby no man could properly be called *μονογενής*, because not begotten of one, but two parents: Μονογενής δέ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀνθρώπων οὐδεὶς κατὰ γὰρ τὸν ἡμέτερον λόγον, διὰ τὸ ἐκ

only to belong, not to the Son, but to the Father; as if the *only-begotten* were no more than *begotten* of the Father *only*. Which is both contrary to the language of the Scriptures, and the common custom of men, who use it not for him who is begotten of one, but for him who alone is begotten of any.

Secondly, we must by no means admit the exposition of 139 the later heretics¹, who take the *only-begotten* to be nothing else but the most beloved of all the sons; because Isaac was called the *only son* of Abraham, when we know that he had Ishmael beside; and Solomon said to be the *only-begotten before his mother*², when David had other children even by the mother of Solomon. For the *only-begotten* and the *most-beloved* are not the same; the one having the nature of a cause in respect of the other, and the same cannot be cause and effect to itself. For though it be true, that the only son is the beloved son; yet with this order, that he is therefore beloved, because the only, not therefore the only because beloved. Although therefore *Christ* be the *only-begotten* and the beloved Son of God, yet we must not look upon these two attributes as synonymous, or equally significant of the

Gen. xxii. 2,
12, 16.

συνδυασμοῦ πᾶσιν ὑπάρχειν τὴν γέννησιν· οὐδὲ ἡ Σάρρα μήτηρ μονογενοῦς ἦν παιδός, διότι οὐχὶ μόνῃ αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τοῦ Ἀβραάμ, ἐτεκνώσατο. *Ibid.* [p. 256 E.]

¹ The Socinians make very much of this notion, and apply it so unto Christ, as that thereby they might avoid all necessity of an eternal generation. So the Racovian Catechism: 'Causa cur Christo ista attributa (sc. *proprium et unigenitum Dei Filium esse*) competant, hæc est; quod inter omnes Dei filios et præcipuus sit, et Deo carissimus; quemadmodum Isaac, quia Abrahamo carissimus et hæres exstitit, *unigenitus* vocatus est, Heb. xi. 17. licet fratrem Ismaelem haberet; et Solomon *unigenitus* coram matre sua, licet plures ex eadem matre fratres fuerint, 1 Paral. iii. 1, 2, 3, &c.' Sect. iv. c. 1. p. 113. And that this might be applied to the interpretation of the Creed, Schlichtingius hath inserted it as a material observation: 'Nam hic *unicus* seu *unigena filius* nominatur, qui cæteris longe carior

est Patri, longeque præstantior:' and confirms the interpretation with those two testimonies concerning Isaac and Solomon. [Schlichtingius explains in the same manner the term *unigenitus*, in his Commentary on St John's Gospel i. 11. p. 12. col. 1.] But certainly this observation of theirs is vain, or what else they say is false. For if Christ be called the *Son of God*, because conceived by the Holy Ghost, and none else was ever so conceived, then is he the *only-begotten* by virtue of his generation. And if so, then is he not the *only-begotten*, as Isaac and Solomon were, that is, by the affection and prelation of their parents. Or if Christ were the *only-begotten*, as Isaac and Solomon were, then was he not conceived after a singular manner, for the brethren of Solomon no way differed from him in their generation. It is plain therefore that this interpretation was invented, that when all the rest should fail, they might stick to this.

² (See Prov. iv. 3.)

same thing, but as one depending on the other; unigeniture being the foundation of his singular love. Beside, Isaac was called the only son of Abraham for some other reason than because he was singularly beloved of Abraham, for he was the only son of the free-woman, the only son of the promise made to Abraham, which was first this, *Sarah shall have a son*, and then, *in Isaac shall thy seed be called*. So that Isaac may well be called the only son of Abraham in reference to the promise, as the apostle speaks expressly: *By faith Abraham when he was tried, offered up Isaac, and he that had received the promises offered up his only-begotten son*. Avoiding therefore these two expositions, as far short of the true notion of the *only-begotten*; we must look upon it in the most proper, full, and significant sense, as signifying a son so begotten as none other is, was, or can be: so as the term restrictive *only* shall have relation not only to the Father generating¹, but also to the Son begotten, and to the manner of the generation. It is true, the Father spake from heaven, saying, *Thou art my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased*, and thereby we are to understand, that whosoever of us are beloved by the Father, are so beloved in and through the Son. In the same manner *Christ* is the *only-begotten* Son of God; and as many of us as God hath bestowed his love upon, that we should be called the sons of God, are all brought into that near relation by our fellowship with him, who is by a far more near relation the natural and eternal Son.

Having thus declared the interpretation of the word, that, properly, as primogeniture consisteth in prelation, so unige-

Gen. xviii.
14; xxi. 12

Heb. xi. 17.

Mark i. 11.

¹ Eunomius would have it only *παρὰ μόνου*, in relation to the Father only. St Basil shews that no way proper, and shews that *μονογενής* is not he which *παρὰ μόνου* but *μόνος γεγέννηται*. *adv. Eunom.* l. ii. § 21. [p. 256.] St Cyril (Hierosol.) adds these two *παρὰ μόνου* and *μόνος* together, in relation to the Father and the Son: *Μονογενής κατὰ φύσιν ὁ ἐκ Θεοῦ Πατρὸς ὡρίμασται Λόγος, ὅτι μόνος ἐκ μόνου γεγέννηται τοῦ Πατρὸς*. *Epist.* i. *ad. Regin.* as Ruffinus doth in *unicus*: 'Ideo subjungit unicum hunc esse Filium Dei, unus enim de uno nascitur.' *Expos. Symb.* § 9. p. 20. St Gregory

Nazianzen adds to these two a third, in respect of the manner; *Μονογενής δὲ οὐχ ὅτι μόνος ἐκ μόνου καὶ μόνος, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ μονοτρόπως, οὐχ ὡς τὰ σώματα*. *Orat.* 2. *de Filio*, (*Orat.* 30. § 20. p. 544.) [Tom. i. p. 553 E.] So he, something obscurely and corruptly; but plainly enough in Damascene, who aims often to deliver himself in the words of Nazianzen: *Λέγεται—μονογενής δέ, ὅτι μόνος ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς μόνως ἐγενήθη· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁμοιοῦται ἑτέρα γέννησις τῇ τοῦ Τριῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ γενήσει, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἄλλος Τίς τοῦ Θεοῦ*. *De Orthod. Fid.* l. i. c. 8. [Tom. i. p. 135 A.]

niture in exclusion; and that none can be strictly called the *only-begotten*, but he who alone was so begotten: we shall proceed to make good our assertion, shewing that the divine essence was peculiarly communicated to the Word, by which he was begotten the Son of God, and never any was so begotten beside that Son.

140 And here we meet with two difficulties: one shewing that there were other sons of God said to be begotten of him; to whom either the divine essence was communicated, and then the communication of that to the Word made him not the *only-begotten*; or it was not communicated, and then there is no such communication necessary to found such a filiation: the other, alleging that the same divine essence may be communicated to another beside the Word, and not only that it may, but that it is so, to the person of the Holy Ghost; whence either the Holy Ghost must be the Son of God, and then the Word is not the *only-begotten*; or if he be not the Son, then is not the communication of the divine essence a sufficient foundation of the relation of sonship. These two objections being answered, nothing will remain farther to demonstrate this last assertion.

For the first, we acknowledge that others are frequently called the sons of God, and that *we* call the same God *our Father*, which *Christ* called *his*; that *both he that sanctifieth*, Heb. ii. 11. *and they who are sanctified, are all of one: for which cause he is not ashamed to call us brethren*: we confess that those whom St Paul *hath begotten through the Gospel*¹, may well be termed the *begotten of God*, whose seed remaineth in them: but withal, we affirm that this our regeneration is of a nature wholly different from the generation of the Son. We are first generated², and have our natural being; after

¹ 1 Cor. iv. 15. 'Ἐν γὰρ Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς ἐγέννησα. 1 John iii. 9. Πᾶς ὁ γεγεννημένος ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἁμαρτίαν οὐ ποιεῖ, ὅτι σπέρμα αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ μένει. And more expressly, 1 John v. 1. Πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων, ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστός, ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ γεγέννηται· καὶ πᾶς ὁ ἀγαπῶν τὸν γεννησάντα, ἀγαπᾷ καὶ τὸν γεγεννημένον ἐξ αὐτοῦ. *Quicunque credit Jesum esse Christum illum, ex Deo genitus est; et quicunque diligit eum qui*

genuit, diligit etiam eum qui ex eo genitus est.

² 'Nos genuit Deus, ut filii ejus simus, quos fecerat ut homines essemus. Unicum autem genuit, non solum ut Filius esset, quod Pater non est, sed etiam ut Deus esset, quod et Pater est.' *S. August. de Consens. Evang.* l. ii. c. 3. § 7. [Tom. III. p. 210.] In the book of Celsus, there was a Jew introduced speaking thus to Christ: *Εἰ τοῦτο λέγεις, ὅτι πᾶς ἄνθρωπος κατὰ*

that regenerated, and so receive a spiritual renovation, and by virtue thereof an inheritance incorruptible: whereas the generation of *Christ* admits no regeneration, he becoming at once thereby God, and Son, and Heir of all. The state of sonship which we come into is but of adoption, shewing the generation by which we are begotten to be but metaphorical; whereas *Christ* is so truly begotten, so properly the natural Son of God, that his generation¹ clearly excludeth the name

θελον πρόνοιαν γεγωνώς υἱός ἐστι Θεοῦ, τί ἂν σὺ ἄλλον διαφέρῃς; who is thus answered by Origen: Πρὸς τὸν ἐροῦμεν, ὅτι πᾶς μὲν, ὡς ὁ Παῦλος ὠνόμασε, μηκέτι ὑπὸ φόβου παιδαγωγούμενος, ἀλλὰ δι' αὐτὸ τὸ καλὸν αἰρούμενος, υἱός ἐστι Θεοῦ· οὗτος δὲ πολλῶ καὶ μακρῶ διαφέρει παντὸς τοῦ διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν χρηματίζοντος Τιοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὅστις ὡς περὶ πηγῆς τις καὶ ἀρχὴ τῶν τοιοῦτων τυγχάνει. *Orig. adv. Celsum*, l. i. § 57. [Tom. I. p. 371 F.]

¹ First, it is most certain that the Word of God, as the Word, is not the adopted, but the natural Son of God. 'Nec est itaque Dei Filius Deus falsus, nec Deus adoptivus, nec Deus connuncupatus sed Deus verus.' *S. Hilari. de Trin.* l. v. c. 5. p. 857 D. 'Hic etiam Filius Dei natura est Filius, non adoptio.' *Concil. Tolet. xi.* [Præfatio, *Labbe Concil.* Tom. VI. p. 541 D.] Τὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐστὶ φύσει, καὶ οὐ θέσει, γεννηθεὶς ἐκ Πατρὸς. *S. Cyril. Hierosol. Catech.* II. § 2. [p. 225.] and again: Οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι τὸν Τίον παρήγαγεν, οὐδὲ τὸν μὴ ὄντα εἰς υἱοθεσίαν ἤγαγεν· ἀλλ' ἀδίδος ὢν ὁ Πατήρ, ἀδίδως ἐγέννησε καὶ ἀνεκπρόσωτος Τίον ἔνα μόνον, ἀδελφὸν οὐκ ἔχοντα. *Ibid.* § 5. [p. 233.] This hath been so generally confessed, that Felix and Elipandus, who were condemned for maintaining Christ as a man to be the adopted Son of God, did acknowledge it, as appeareth by the beginning of their book: 'Confitemur et credimus Deum Dei Filium, ante omnia tempora sine initio ex Patre genitum, coæternum et consubstantialem non adoptio, sed genere.' [*Labbe Concil.* Tom. VII. p. 1034 C.] Secondly, it is also certain, that the man Christ Jesus,

taken personally, is the natural, not the adopted Son of God: because the man Christ Jesus is no other person than the Word, who is the eternal and natural Son, and by subsisting in the human nature could not leave off to be the natural Son. The denial of this by Felix and Elipandus was condemned as heretical in the Council of Francford; [*Ibid.* p. 1057.] and their opinion was thus expressed, partly in the words of St Augustin, partly in their own additions: 'Confitemur et credimus eum factum ex muliere, factum sub lege; non genere esse Filium Dei, sed adoptio; non natura, sed gratia.' [*Ibid.* p. 1033 C.] This they maintained by forged testimonies of some fathers, and by the Liturgy of the Church of Toledo, composed by Hildephonsus, as the Roman by Gregory. In the *Mass de Cæna Domini*: 'Qui per adoptivi hominis passionem, dum suo non indulsit corpori:' and in the *Mass de Ascensione Domini*: 'Hodie Salvator noster post adoptionem carnis, sedem repetivit Deitatis.' [*Ibid.* p. 1034 E.] To this the Synod opposed their determination in *Sacrosyllabo*: 'Quod nascetur ex te sanctum vocabitur Filius Dei, non adoptivus sed verus, non alienus sed proprius.' [*Ibid.* p. 1024 D.] And again: 'Porro adoptivus dici non potest nisi is qui alienus est ab eo a quo dicitur adoptatus; et gratis ei adoptio tribuitur, quoniam non ex debito, sed ex indulgentia tantummodo adoptio præstatur: sicut nos aliquando, cum essemus peccando filii iræ, alieni eramus a Deo, per proprium et verum Filium ejus, qui non eguit adoptione, adoptio nobis filiorum donata est.'

of adoption; and not only so, but when he becometh the Son of man, even in his humanity refuseth the name of an adopted Son. For *when the fulness of time was come, God sent forth his Son made of a woman, made under the Law, to redeem them that were under the Law, (not that he, but) that we might receive the adoption of sons.* He then whose generation is totally different from ours whom he calleth brethren; he whom in the sacred Scriptures the Spirit nameth the true Son, the Father sometimes his own, sometimes his beloved, but never his adopted Son¹; he who by those proper and peculiar appellations is distinguished from us², who can claim no higher filiation than that which we receive by the privilege of adoption: he is truly the *only-begotten Son* of God, notwithstanding the same God hath begotten us by his Word; and the reason why he is so, is, because the divine essence was communicated unto him in his natural and eternal generation, whereas only the grace of God is conveyed unto us in our adoption. Indeed, if we were begotten of the essence of God as *Christ* was, or he were only by the grace of God adopted³, as we are, then could he by no propriety of

[*Ibid.* p. 1024 B.] And of this they give us the true ground in the Synodic Epistle: 'Unitas personæ, quæ est in Dei Filio et filio Virginis, adoptionis tollit injuriam.' [*Ibid.* p. 1041 D.]

¹ 'Legi et relegi Scripturas, Jesum Filium Dei nusquam adoptione inveni.' *Ambrosiaster Com. in Ep. ad Rom.* 'Dices enim, Cur times adoptivum Christum Dominum nominare? Dico tibi, quia nec Apostoli eum sic nominaverunt, nec sancta Dei et Catholica Ecclesia consuetudinem habuit sic eum appellare.' *Synod. Epist. Concil. Francoford. [Labbe Concil. Tom. VII. p. 1043 D.]* From whence they charge all those to whom they write that Synodic Epistle, that they should be satisfied with such expressions as they found in the Scriptures: 'Intellegite, fratres, quæ legitis, et nolite nova et incognita nomina fingere, sed quæ in sancta Scriptura inveniuntur tenete, &c.' [p. 1045 D.]

² St Augustin hath observed, that St Paul made use of *υιοθετεια*, that he might distinguish the filiation of Christ from ours: 'At vero etiam nos,

quibus dedit Deus potestatem filios ejus fieri, de natura atque substantia sua non nos genuit, sicut unicum Filium, sed utique dilectione adoptavit. Quo verbo Apostolus sæpe uti non ob aliud intelligitur, nisi ad discernendum Unigenitum.' *De Consens. Evang.* l. ii. c. 3. § 6. [Tom. III. part 2, p. 20 F.] [In the Benedictine Edition the words are, 'Aut vero etiam nos, quibus dedit Deus potestatem filios ejus fieri, de natura atque substantia nos genuit, etc.'] And St Ambrose takes notice, that the name of *true* destroyeth that of *adopted*: 'Adoptivum filium non dicimus filium esse natura; sed eum dicimus natura esse, qui verus est filius.' *De Incarn. Sacr.* c. 8. (Vol. II. p. 723.) Tom. IV. p. 297 D.]

³ 'Si unicus, quomodo adoptivus, dum multi sunt adoptivi filii? Unicus itaque de multis non potest dici.' *Concil. Francof.* [Synodica Epist. Labbe, Tom. VII. p. 1041 C.] 'Quod si etiam Unigenitus, Filius factus dicitur ex gratia, non vere genitus ex natura, proculdubio nomen et veritatem Unigeniti perdidit, postquam fratres ha-

speech be called the *only Son*, by reason of so many brethren: but being we cannot aspire unto the first, nor he descend unto the latter, it remaineth we acknowledge him, notwithstanding the first difficulty, by virtue of his natural and peculiar generation, to be the *only-begotten Son*.

But though neither men nor angels be begotten of the 141 substance of God, or by virtue of any such natural generation be called sons; yet one person we know, to whom the divine essence is as truly and really communicated by the Father as to the Son, which is the third person in the blessed Trinity, the Holy Ghost. Why then should the Word by that communication of the divine essence become the Son, and not the Holy Ghost by the same? or if, by receiving the same nature, he also be the Son of God, how is the Word the *only Son*? To this I answer, that the Holy Ghost receiveth the same essence from the Father which the Word receiveth, and thereby becometh the same God with the Father and the Word: but though the essence be the same which is communicated, yet there is a difference in the communication; the Word being God by generation, the Holy Ghost by procession: and though every thing which is begotten proceedeth¹, yet every thing which proceedeth is not begotten. Wherefore in the language of the sacred Scriptures and the Church², the Holy Ghost is never said to be begotten, but

bere jam cœpit: privatur enim hujus veritate nominis, si in Unigenito non est de Patre veritas naturalis.' *Fulgentius ad Thrasim.* l. iii. c. 3. [*Biblioth. Patr.* Tom. vi. p. 53 c.] 'Si divina illa Filii sempiternaque nativitas non de natura Dei Patris, sed ex gratia creditur substituisse, non debet Unigenitus vocari, sed tantummodo genitus. Quoniam sicut ei nomen geniti largitas adoptionis paternæ contribuit, sic eum ab Unigeniti nomine nobis quoque tributa communio paternæ adoptionis exclusit. Unigenitus enim non vocatur, quamvis genitus possit vocari, cum genitis.' *Ibid.* c. 4. [p. 53 D.]

¹ 'Non omne quod procedit, nascitur; quamvis omne procedat quod nascitur.' *S. August. contra Mac.* l. ii. c. 14. § 1. (Vol. viii. p. 703.) Who gives the same solution to the same

argument: 'Queris a me: Si de substantia Patris est Filius, de substantia Patris est etiam Spiritus Sanctus, cur unus Filius sit, et alius non sit Filius? Ego respondeo, sive capias, sive non capias: De Patre est Filius, de Patre est Spiritus Sanctus; sed ille genitus est, iste procedens.' *Ibid.* Πολλῶ τοῦτον πιθανώτερον, τὸ φάναι ἐξ ἐκείνουγε τοῦ ἀγεννητοῦ φύσαι τὸν Λόγον καὶ τὸ παράγιον Πνεῦμα: τὸν μὲν, ὡς Λόγον, ἐκ τοῦ τοῦ γεννώμενον· τὸ δέ, ὡς Πνεῦμα, ἐκπορευόμενον. ἐμπρόκεισι γὰρ τῷ Λόγῳ τὸ Πνεῦμα, οὐ ἐγγενεώμενον, ἀλλὰ ἐκτὸν καὶ παρομαρτοῦν καὶ ἐκπορευόμενον. *Theodoret. Serm.* 2. Vol. iv. p. 504 B.

² 'Nunquam fuit non Pater, a quo Filius natus, a quo Spiritus Sanctus non natus, quia non est Filius.' *Genad. de Eccles. Dog.* c. 1. 'Deus Pater innascibilis non ex aliquo, Deus

to proceed from the Father; nor is he ever called the Son, but the Gift of God. Eve was produced out of Adam, and in the same nature with him, and yet was not born of him, nor was she truly the daughter of Adam; whereas Seth proceeding from the same person in the similitude of the same nature, was truly and properly the son of Adam. And this difference was not in the nature produced, but in the manner of production; Eve descending not from Adam as Seth did, by way of generation, that is, by natural fecundity.

- 142 The Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father in the same nature with him; the Word proceedeth from the same person in the same similitude of nature also: but the Word proceeding is the Son, the Holy Ghost is not, because the first procession is by way of generation, the other is not. As therefore the regeneration and adoption of man, so the procession of the Holy Ghost, doth no way prejudice the eternal generation, as pertaining solely to the Son of God.

Seeing then our Saviour *Jesus Christ* had a real being and existence before he was conceived by the Virgin Mary; seeing the being which he had antecedently to that conception was not any created, but the one and indivisible divine essence; seeing he had not that Divinity of himself originally, as the Father, but by communication from him; seeing the communication of the same essence unto him was a proper generation; we cannot but believe that the same *Jesus Christ* is the begotten Son of God: and seeing the same essence was never so by way of generation communicated unto any¹, we must also acknowledge him the *only-begotten*, distinguished from the Holy Ghost, as Son; from the adopted children, as the natural Son.

The necessity of the belief of this part of the Article, that *Jesus Christ* is the proper and natural Son of God, begotten of the substance of the Father, and by that singular way of generation the *only Son*, appeareth first in the confirmation of our faith concerning the redemption of mankind.

Filius unigenitus ex aliquo, hoc est, ex Patre, Spiritus Sanctus innascibilis ex aliquo, hoc est, ex Patre.' *Isaac. lib. Fidei*, p. 138. *Opusc. Dogm. Vet. V. Scripti*. Par. 1630. 'Quod neque natum neque factum est, Spiritus Sanctus est, qui a Patre et Filio pro-

cedit.' *S. Ambros. in Symb. Apost. al. de Trinit.* c. 3. [Tom. IV. p. 89 E.]

¹ 'ὅς μὲν οὐκ υἱὸς φυσικῶς ἐκτεταται τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ὡς δὲ μονογενῆς, ἀλλὰ ἔχει ἐν ἐαυτῷ συλλαβῶν, οὐδενὸς καταμεριζομένου πρὸς ἕτερον. *S. Basil. Homil. de Fide*, § 2. [Tom. II. p. 132 B.]

Heb. x. 4.

1 Cor. vi. 20;
vii. 23.

1 Pet. i. 19.

Acts xx. 28.

Heb. ix. 14.

For this doth shew such an excellency and dignity in the person of the Mediator as will assure us of an infinite efficacy in his actions, and value in his sufferings. We know *it is not possible that the blood of bulls and goats should take away sins*: and we may very well doubt, how the blood of him, who hath no other nature than that of man, can take away the sins of other men; there appearing no such difference as will shew a certainty in the one, and an impossibility in the other. But since we may be *bought with a price*, well may we believe the blood of *Christ* sufficiently *precious*, when we are assured that it is the *blood of God*: nor can we question the efficacy of it in *purging our conscience from dead works*, if we believe *Christ offered up himself through the eternal Spirit*. If we be truly sensible of our sins, we must acknowledge that in every one we have offended God; and the gravity of every offence must needs increase proportionably to the dignity of the party offended in respect of the offender: because the more worthy any person is, the more reverence is due unto him, and every injury tendeth to his dishonour; but between God and man there is an infinite disproportion: and therefore every offence committed against him, must be esteemed as in the highest degree of injury. Again, as the gravity of the offence beareth proportion to the person offended; so the value of reparation ariseth from the dignity of the person satisfying; because the satisfaction consisteth in a reparation of that honour which by the injury was eclipsed; and all honour doth increase proportionably as the person yielding it is honourable. If then by every sin we have offended God, who is of infinite eminency, according unto which the injury is aggravated; how shall we ever be secure of our reconciliation unto God, except the person who hath undertaken to make the reparation be of the same infinite dignity; so as the honour rendered by his obedience may prove proportionable to the offence and that dishonour which arose from our disobedience? This scruple is no otherwise to be satisfied than by a belief in such a Mediator as is the *only-begotten Son* of God, of the same substance with the Father, and consequently of the same power and dignity with the God whom by our sins we have offended.

Secondly, The belief of the eternal generation of the Son, by which he is the same God with the Father, is necessary 143

for the confirming and encouraging a Christian in ascribing that honour and glory unto Christ which is due unto him. For we are commanded to give that worship unto the Son which is truly and properly divine; the same which we give unto God the Father, who *hath committed all judgment unto the Son, that all men should honour the Son even as they honour the Father.* As it was represented to St John in a vision, when he heard *every creature which is in heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and such as are in the sea, and all that are in them, saying, Blessing, honour, glory, and power, be unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb, for ever and ever.* Again, we are commanded to *fear the Lord our God, and to serve him*¹; and that with such an emphasis, as by him we are to understand him alone, because *the Lord our God is one Lord.* From whence if any one arose among the Jews, teaching under the title of a prophet to worship any other beside him for God, the judgment of the Rabbins was², that notwithstanding all the miracles which he could work, though they were as great as Moses wrought, he ought immediately to be strangled, because the evidence of this truth, that one God only must be worshipped, is above all evidence of sense. Nor must we look upon this precept as valid only under the Law, as if then there were only one God to be worshipped, but since the Gospel we had another; for our Saviour hath commended it to our observation, by making use of it against the devil in his temptation, saying, *Get thee hence, Satan; for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.* If then we be obliged to worship the God of Israel only; if we be also commanded to give the same worship to the Son, which we give to him; it is necessary that we should believe the Son is the God of Israel. When the Scripture *bringeth in the first-begotten into the world, it saith, Let all the angels of God worship him;* but then the same Scripture calleth that first-begotten *Jehovah*³, and the

John v. 22, 23.

Rev. v. 13.

Deut. vi. 13:
x. 20.

Deut. vi. 4.

Matt. iv. 10.

Heb. i. 6.

Isai. xli. 2.
Psalm xcvi. 5.

¹ The emphasis appears in this, that it is not barely *וְעָבַדוּ אֶת שְׁעָרָיו* *et servies ei*, but *וְעָבַדוּ אֶת יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ* *et ipsi servies*, with such a peculiar restriction, as is expressed by the Chaldee paraphrase, *וְעָבַדוּ וְקִיְמוּ וְרָצוּ* *et in conspectu ejus servies*: by the LXX. *καὶ αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύσεις*, and that restriction approved by our

Saviour, Matt. iv. 10.

² Moses Maim. Præfat. in Seder Zeraim.

³ *Εἰ δὲ μονογενὴς ἐστίν, ὡς περ οὗ ἐστιν, οὐδεμίαν ἄρα ἔχει πρὸς τὰ κτιστὰ κοινωνίαν.* Theodoret. Hæret. Fab. i. v. c. 2. [Tom. iv. p. 253 C.]

Lord of the whole earth. For a man to worship that for God which is not God, knowing that it is not God, is affected and gross idolatry; to worship that as God which is not God, thinking that it is God, is not in the same degree, but the same sin: to worship him as God, who is God, thinking that he is not God, cannot be thought an act in the formality void of idolatry. Lest therefore while we are all obliged to give unto him divine worship, we should fall into that sin which of all others we ought most to abhor, it is no less than¹ necessary, that we should believe that Son to be that eternal God, whom we are bound to worship, and whom only we should serve.

Thirdly, Our belief in *Christ* as the eternal Son of God, is necessary to raise us unto a thankful acknowledgment of the infinite love of God appearing in the sending of his only-begotten Son into the world to die for sinners. This love of God is frequently extolled and admired by the apostles. *God so loved the world*, saith St John, *that he gave his only-begotten Son.* *God commendeth his love towards us*, saith St Paul, *in that while we were yet sinners Christ died for us: in that he spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all.* In this, saith St John again, *was manifested the love of God towards us, because that God sent his only-begotten Son into the world, that we might live through him. Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins.* If we look upon all this as nothing else, but that God should cause a man to be born after another manner than other men, and when he was so born after a peculiar manner, yet a mortal man, should deliver him to die for the sins of the world; I see no such great expression of his love in this way of redemption, more than would have appeared if he had redeemed us any other way. It is true indeed that the reparation of lapsed man is no act of absolute necessity in respect of God, but that he hath as freely designed our redemption as our creation; considering the misery from which we are redeemed, and the happiness to which we are invited, we cannot but acknowledge the singular love of God even in the act of redemption itself; but yet the apostles have raised that consideration higher, and placed the choicest mark of the love of God, in the choosing such means, and performing in that manner our reparation, by sending his *only-begotten* into the

John III. 16.

Rom. v. 8;
viii. 32.

1 John iv. 9,
10.

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¹ [Than is omitted in the third edition.]

world; by not sparing his own Son, by giving and delivering him up to be scourged and crucified for us: and the estimation of this act of God's love must necessarily increase proportionably to the dignity of the Son so sent into the world; because the more worthy the person of Christ before he suffered, the greater his condescension unto such a suffering condition; and the nearer his relation to the Father, the greater his love to us for whose sakes he sent him so to suffer. Wherefore to derogate any way from the person and nature of our Saviour before he suffered, is so far to undervalue the love of God, and, consequently, to come short of that acknowledgment and thanksgiving which is due unto him for it. If then the sending of Christ into the world were the highest act of the love of God which could be expressed; if we be obliged unto a return of thankfulness some way correspondent to such infinite love; if such a return can never be made without a true sense of that infinity, and a sense of that infinity of love cannot consist without an apprehension of an infinite dignity of nature in the person sent: then it is absolutely necessary to believe that Christ is so the *only-begotten Son* of the Father, as to be of the same substance with him, of glory equal, of majesty co-eternal.

By this discourse in way of explication, every Christian may understand what it is he says, and express his mind how he would be understood, when he maketh this brief confession, *I believe in Christ the only Son of God*. For by these words he must be thought to intend no less than this: I do profess to be fully assured of this assertion, as of a most certain, infallible, and necessary truth, that Jesus Christ, the Saviour and Messias, is the true, proper, and natural Son of God, begotten of the substance of the Father; which being incapable of division or multiplication, is so really and totally communicated to him, that he is of the same essence with him, *God of God, Light of light, very God of very God*. And as I assert him so to be the Son, so do I also exclude all other persons from that kind of sonship, acknowledging none but him to be begotten of God by that proper and natural generation: and thereby excluding all which are not begotten, as it is a generation; all which are said to be begotten, and are called sons, but are so only by adoption, as it is natural. And thus I believe in God the Father, and in JESUS CHRIST HIS ONLY SON.

OUR LORD.

AFTER our Saviour's relation founded upon his eternal generation, followeth his dominion in all ancient Creeds¹, as the necessary consequent of his filiation. For as we believe him to be the Son of God, so must we acknowledge him to be *our Lord*, because the only Son must of necessity be heir and Lord of all in his Father's house; and all others which bear the name of sons, whether they be men or angels, if compared to him, must not be looked upon as sons of God, but as servants of *Christ*.

Three things are necessary, and more cannot be, for a 145 plenary explication of this part of the Article; first, the proper notation of the word *Lord* in the Scripture phrase, or language of the Holy Ghost; secondly, The full signification of the same in the adequate latitude of the sense, as it belongs to *Christ*; thirdly, The application of it to the person making confession of his faith, and all others whom he involves in the same condition with himself, as saying not *my*; not *their*, but *our Lord*.

First then we must observe, that not only *Christ* is the *Lord*, but that this title doth so properly belong unto him, that *the Lord* alone absolutely taken is frequently used by the evangelists and apostles determinately for *Christ*², insomuch that the angels observe that dialect, *Come, see the place where the Lord lay*. Now for the true notation of the word³, it will

Matth. xxviii.
6.

¹ For though in the first rules of faith mentioned by Irenæus and Tertullian we find not *Dominum nostrum*, yet in all the Creeds afterwards we find those words; probably inserted because denied by the Valentinians, of whom Irenæus: *Διὰ τοῦτο τὸν Σωτῆρα λέγουσιν, οὐδὲ γὰρ Κύριον ὀνομάζειν αὐτὸν θέλουσι*. l. i. c. 1.

² Mar. xvi. 19, 20. Luke xii. 42; xxiv. 34. John iv. 1; vi. 43; xi. 2; xx. 2, 18, 20, 25; xxi. 7. Acts ix. 1, 6, 10, 11, 15, 17, 27, 31, 42; xi. 16, 24; xiii. 47, &c. *Κύριος*.

³ For whosoever shall consider the signification of *Κύριος* in the Scriptures, I think he will scarce find any footsteps of the same in the ancient Greeks. In our sacred Writ it is the frequent name of God, whereas I

imagine it is not to be found so used by any of the old Greek authors. Julius Pollux, whose business is to observe what words and phrases may be properly made use of in that language, tells us the Gods may be called *Θεοί* or *Δαίμονες*, but mentions not *Κύριος*, as neither proper, nor any name of God with them at all. Nor did they anciently use it in their economics; where their constant terms were not *Κύριος*, but *θεσπότης* and *δοῦλος*; and they had then another kind of notion of it, as appears by the complaint of the servant in Aristophanes. *Plut.* 6.

Τοῦ σώματος γὰρ οὐκ ἐγὼ τὸν κύριον κρατεῖν ὁ δαίμων, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐνσημένον.

In which words, if they were interpreted by the Scripture usage, *Κύριος*

not be so necessary to inquire into the use or origination of the Greek, much less into the etymology of the correspondent Latin, as to search into the notion of the Jews, and the language of the Scriptures, according unto which the evangelists and apostles spake and wrote.

And first, it cannot be denied, but that the word which we translate *the Lord* was used by the interpreters of the Old Testament sometimes for men, with no relation unto any other than human dominion¹. And as it was by the translators of the Old, so is it also by the penmen of the New². But it is most

would signify *the master*, and *ἐρμημέρος* the person *bought*, that is, the servant; whereas the place requires an interpretation wholly contrary; for *ἐρμημέρος* is not here *ἡγορασμένος*, but *δρυοδσας*, or *ὠρησάμενος*, as the scholiast, Suidas, and Moschopolus have observed; that is, not the servant, but the master who bought him. And though those grammarians bring no other place to prove this active signification beside this of Aristophanes, by which means it might be still questionable whether they had rightly interpreted him without any authority, yet Phrynichus will sufficiently secure us of this sense: *Ἐνυχον ἐρμημέρος οὐκίαν ἢ ἀγρόν. ἔταυθα οὐδὲν ἐγγυρεῖ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρῆσθαι μένει τὸ ἐρμημέρος δόκιμον.* *Ἐρμημέρος* then here is he which buyeth, that is, the master; and consequently *κύριος* not the master, but the servant bought, whom he supposeth originally to have power over his own body. Indeed it was not only distinguished, but in a manner opposed to *δεσπότης*: as appears by that observation of Ammonius, thus delivered by Eustathius in *Odyss.* ζ. 146. *Κύριος γυναικὸς καὶ υἱὸν ἀνὴρ καὶ πατὴρ, δεσπότης δὲ ἀργυροπλήτων.*

¹ As *κύριος* is generally translated *κύριος*, when it signifieth *lord* or *master* in respect of a servant or inferior. So Sarah called her husband, *Gen.* xviii. 12. 1 *Pet.* iii. 6. so Eleazer his master Abraham, *Gen.* xxiv. frequently. Thus Rachel saluteth her father Laban, *Gen.* xxxi. 35. and Jacob his brother Esau, *Gen.* xxxiii. 8. Potiphar is the *κύριος*

of Joseph whom he bought, *Gen.* xxxix. 2, &c. and Joseph in power is so saluted by his brethren, *Gen.* xlii. 10. and acknowledged by his servant, *Gen.* xlii. 5. The general name in the law of Moses for servant and master is *παῖς* and *κύριος*, *Exod.* xxi. 2, 4. It is indeed so plain that the ancient Jews used this word to signify no more than human power, that we find *אדם* the name of man so translated, as 1 *Sam.* xvii. 32. *אדם עליו לא ילך לבדו כי ילך אדם אחריו* *καρδία τοῦ κυρίου μου ἐπ' αὐτόν.*

² For *κύριος* is used with relation and in opposition to *παῖδισκη*, *Acts* xvi. 16, in the sense which the later, not the ancient Greeks used it: *Παῖδισκη, τοῦτο ἐπὶ τῆς θερακαίνης οἱ υἱοὶ τιθέσθω· οἱ δὲ ἀρχαῖοι ἐπὶ τῆς νεανίδος*, as Phrynichus observes. As it is opposed to *οἰκέρης*, *Luke* xvi. 13. (according to that of *Etymol.* *Κύριος τῶν πρὸς τὴ ἐστρί, ἔχει δὲ πρὸς τὸν οἰκέρην.*) to *δοῦλος*, *Matt.* x. 24; xviii. 25, &c. And in the apostolical rules pertaining to Christian economics, the master and servant are *δοῦλος* and *κύριος*. As also by way of addition *κύριος τοῦ θερμμοῦ*, *Matt.* ix. 38. *κύριος τοῦ ἀμπελωνος*, *Matt.* xx. 8. *κύριος τῆς οὐκίας*, *Mark* xiii. 35. Inasmuch as *κύριος* is sometimes used by way of address or salutation of one man to another, (as it is now generally among the later Greeks, and as *Dominus* was anciently among the Latins: 'Quomodo obvis, si nomen non occurrat, Dominos salutamus.' *Sen. epist.* 3.) not only of servants to masters, as *Matt.* xiii. 27. or

1 Cor. viii. 6.

1 Cor. viii. 6.

Eph. iv. 6.

Col. iii. 22.

1 Cor. ii. 8;

xv. 47.

Rev. xix. 16.

certain that *Christ* is called *Lord* in another notion than that which signifies any kind of human dominion, because as so, *there are many Lords*, but he is in that notion *Lord*, which admits of no more than *one*. They are only *masters according to the flesh*; he the *Lord of glory, the Lord from heaven, King of kings, and Lord of all other lords*.

Psalm. lxxxiii. 18.

Exod. vi. 3.

Nor is it difficult to find that name amongst the books of ¹⁴⁶ the Law in the most high and full signification; for it is most frequently used as the name of the supreme God, sometimes for *El* or *Elohim*, sometimes for *Shaddai* or the *Rock*, often for *Adonai*, and most universally for *Jehovah*, the undoubted proper name of God, and that to which the Greek translators, long before our Saviour's birth, had most appropriated the name of *Lord*, not only by way of explication, but distinction and particular expression. As when we read, *Thou whose name alone is JEHOVAH, art the most high in all the earth*; and when God so expresseth himself, *I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, by the name of God Almighty, but by my name JEHOVAH was I not known unto them*. In both these places, for the name *Jehovah* the Greek translation, which the apostles followed, hath no other name but *Lord*; and therefore undoubtedly by that word which we translate *the Lord*¹

sons to parents, as Matt. xxi. 30. or inferiors to men in authority, as Matt. xxvii. 63. but of strangers; as when the Greeks spake to Philip, and desired him, saying, *Κύριε, θέλομεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἰδεῖν*, John xii. 21. and Mary Magdalene speaking unto Christ, but taking him for a gardener, *Κύριε, εἰ σὺ ἐβόρασας αὐτὸν*, John xx. 15. And it cannot be denied but this title was sometimes given to our Saviour himself, in no higher or other sense than this; as when the Samaritan woman saw him alone at the well, and knew no more of him than that he appeared to be one of the Jews, she said, *Κύριε, ὅπου ἀνάγημα ἔχεις, καὶ τὸ φεῶν ἐστὶ βαθὺ*, John iv. 11. And the infirm man at the pool of Bethesda, when he wist not who it was, said unto him, *Κύριε, ἀνέστηπον οὐκ ἔχω*, John v. 7. The blind man, to whom he had restored his sight, with the same salutation maketh confession of his ignorance, and his faith, *Τίς ἐστί, Κύριε*;

and *κύριε*, *Κύριε*, John ix. 36, 38.

¹ I know it is the vulgar opinion, that *κύριος* properly answereth unto *אֲדֹנָי*, and the reason why it was also used for *יהוה* is no other than because the Jews were wont to read *Adonai* in the place of *Jehovah*. Of which observation they make great use who deny the Divinity of Christ: 'Quia enim *Adonai* pro *Jehovah* in lectione Hebræorum verborum substitui consuevit, ideo illius etiam interpretatio huic accommodatur,' says *Crellius de Deo et Attrib.* c. 14. [init. Tom. iii. p. 35.] But first it is not probable that the LXX. should think *κύριος* to be the proper interpretation of *אֲדֹנָי*, and give it to *Jehovah* only in the place of *Adonai*; for if they had, it would have followed, that where *Adonai* and *Jehovah* had met together in one sentence, they would not have put another word for *Adonai*, to which *κύριος* was proper, and place *κύριος* for *Jehovah*, to whom of itself (according

did they understand the proper name of God, *Jehovah*. And had they placed it there as the exposition of any other name

to their observation) it did not belong. Whereas we read not only אֲדֹנָי יְהוָה translated *δέσποτα κύριε*, Gen. xv. 2, 8. and אֲדֹנָי יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת ὁ δὲσποτὴς κύριος *Σαβαώθ*, Isai. i. 24. but also אֲדֹנָי יְהוָה κύριος τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν, Nehem. x. 29. Secondly, the reason of this assertion is most uncertain. For though it be confessed that the Masoreths did read אֲדֹנָי where they found יהוה, and Josephus before them expresses the sense of the Jews of his age, that the *τετραγράμματον* was not to be pronounced, and before him Philo speaks as much; yet it followeth not from thence, that the Jews were so superstitious above three hundred years before; which must be proved before we can be assured that the LXX. read *Adonai* for *Jehovah*, and for that reason translated it *Κύριος*. Thirdly, as we know no reason why the Jews should so confound the names of God; so were it now very irrational in some places to read אֲדֹנָי for יהוה: As when God saith, Exod. vi. 3. *I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob*, בָּאֵל שַׁדַּי רָשִׁי יְהוָה לֹא נִדְרַשׁ לֵימֹר though the Vulgar translation renders it, *In Deo omnipotente, et nomen meum Adonai non indicavi eis*, and thereby make an apparent sense no way congruous to the intended importance of the Holy Ghost (for it cannot be imagined either that God should not be known to Abraham by the name *Adonai*, or that it were any thing to the present intentment, which was to encourage Moses and the Israelites by the interpretation of the name *Jehovah*); yet we have no reason to believe that the LXX. made any such heterogeneous translation, which we read, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα μου Κύριος οὐκ ἐδήλωσα αὐτοῖς. Thus again, where God speaks unto Moses, *Ὅστις ἐπείς τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ, Κύριος, ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ὑμῶν, —ἀπέσταλκέ με πρὸς ὑμᾶς, τοῦτό μου ἐστὶν ὄνομα αἰώνιον*, Exod. iii. 15. whosoever thinks *Κύριος* stands for *Adonai*, does injury to the translators; and

whosoever readeth *Adonai* for *Jehovah*, puts a force upon the text. As also when the prophet David saith, *that men may know that thou whose name alone is Jehovah, art the most high over all the earth*, Ps. lxxxiii. 18, I confess the ancient fathers did, together with the Jews, read *Adonai* for *Jehovah* in the Hebrew text, as appeareth by those words of Epiphanius de *Pondoribus*, § 6. Ἀδωναι, ἡλιχά, καριθί, ισμαήλ, *leßserd, akwl* which very corruptly represent part of the first verse of the 141st Psalm, יהוה קראתי יהוה לי ואיהוה קרי' but plainly enough render יהוה Ἀδωναι. Notwithstanding it is very observable, that they were wont to distinguish *Κύριος*, in the Greek translations where it stood for *Jehovah*, from *Κύριος* where it stood for *Adonai*; and that was done by adding in the margin the *tetragrammaton* itself, יהוה which by the ignorance of the Greek scribes, who understood not the Hebrew characters, was converted into four Greek letters, and so made a word of no signification, ΙΙΙΙΙ. This is still extant in the copy of the text of Isaiah printed by Curterius with the Commentary of Procopius, and St Jerome gives an account of it in the Greek copies of his age: 'Nonum (Nomen) *τετραγράμματον*, quod *ανεκφώνητον*, id est, ineffabile, putaverunt, quod his literis scribitur, *jod he tau vau he tau*. Quod quidam non intelligentes, propter elementorum similitudinem, cum in Græcis libris repererint, *πίπι* legere consueverunt.' *Epist.* 136. [Ep. 25. Tom. i. p. 129 c.] Neither did the Greeks only place this ΙΙΙΙΙ in the margin of their translations, but when they described the Hebrew text in Greek characters they used the same ΙΙΙΙΙ for יהוה, and consequently did not read *Adonai* for *Jehovah*. An example of this is to be found in that excellent copy of the prophets according to the LXX. collated with the rest of the translators, in the library of the most

of God *Jehovah*, being the same is certainly attributed unto *Christ* in a notion far surpassing all other lords, which are rather to be looked upon as servants unto him: it will be worth our inquiry next, whether as it is the translation of the name *Jehovah* it belong to *Christ*; or whether though he be Lord of all other lords, as subjected under his authority, yet he be so inferior unto him whose name alone is *Jehovah*, as that in that propriety and eminency in which it belongs unto the supreme God it may not be attributed unto *Christ*.

This doubt will easily be satisfied, if we can shew the name

Ἰω. We have no reason then to conceive either that they so translated it out of the superstition of the Jews (as some would persuade us, whom we have already refuted), or because they had no letters in the Greek language by which they could express the Hebrew name, whereas we find it often expressed even among the Gentile Greeks, but because they thought the Greek κύριος to be a proper interpretation, as being reducible to the same signification. For even they which are pretended to have read *Adonai* for *Jehovah*, as Origen, &c. do acknowledge that the heathens and the ancient heretics descending from the Jews had a name by which they did express the Hebrew *Jehovah*. We know that oracle preserved by Macrobius, *Saturnal.* lib. i. c. 18. [p. 290.]

Φράξο τὸν πόντον ὕδατος θεὸν ἔμμεν Ἰαῷ.
And Diodorus hath taught us from whence that name first came, mentioning Moses in this manner, l. i. c. 94. [p. 59 or 84.] Παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις Μωσὴν τὸν Ἰαῷ ἐπικαλούμενον θεόν.
And Theodoret more expressly, *Quæst.* 15. in *Exod.* [Tom. i. p. 86 A.] Καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὸ Σαμαρείται μὲν Ἰαβὲ, Ἰουδαῖοι δὲ Ἰαῷ. Porphyrius, l. iv. *cont. Christian.* [Appendix ad Scaliger. de *Emendat. Temp.* p. 6.] tells us, Sancho-niathon had his relations of the Jews, παρὰ Ἱερομβάλου τοῦ λεγόμενου θεοῦ τοῦ Ἰενώ. Eusebius [*Demon. Evang.* iv. 17, p. 199 D.] (as we formerly mentioned, p. 71.) said, Ἰωσοῦς ἐστιν, Ἰαῷ σωτηρία. Hesychius, Ἰωδάμ, Ἰαῷ συντέλεια, taking *lō* in composition for the contraction of Ἰαῷ. As Ἰωδός,

ἐμπρεύεται, ὕψιστον πανούργος. And the LXX. Jer. xxiii. 6. have rendered Ἰωσέβερ, id est, Dominus justus, saith St Jerome. And as the heathens and the first Christians, so the heretics had among them the pronunciation and expression of the name Ἰω. As the Valentinian was baptized ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Ἰαῷ. *Iren.* l. i. c. 21. § 3. and the Ophiani had their several gods, among the rest: Ἀπὸ μὲν μαγέτας τὸν Ἰαλθαβαῶθ καὶ τὸν Ἀσταφαῖον, καὶ τὸν Ὀραῖον ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Ἑβραίων γραφῶν τὸν Ἰαῷ, Ἰὰ παρ' Ἑβραίων ὀνομαζόμενον. *Orig. cont. Cels.* l. vi. § 32. [Tom. i. p. 656 E.] So I read it, not as it is in the edition of Hoeschelius, Ἰαῷα in one word, or Ἰαῷα, as our learned countryman Nicolaus Fullerus hath endeavoured in vain to rectify it; but *lαῷ lα*, that is, the Ophiani took the name Ἰαῷ from the Jews, among whom it signifies the same who is called *Iah*. For that it ought so to be read, appeareth by the former words of Origen: Ολοῦνται τὸν διελθόντα τὸν Ἰαλθαβαῶθ καὶ φθάσαντα ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰὰ δεῖν λέγειν, Σὺ δὲ κρυπτομένῳ μυστηρίῳ νλοῖ καὶ πατρὸς ἀρχὸν νυκτοφῆς δεύτερε Ἰαῷ. *Ibid.* § 31. [p. 655 B.] In the printed copy indeed it is *lαδεῖν*, and in the Latin *Iadin*, but without sense: whereas dividing the words, the sense is manifest, and the reason of the former emendation apparent. Being then there were so many among the Greeks, which did in all ages express the Hebrew name, it can be no way probable that the LXX. should avoid it as inexpressible in their language.

Jehovah itself to be given unto our Saviour; it being against all reason to acknowledge the original name, and to deny the interpretation in the sense and full importance of that original. Wherefore if *Christ* be the *Jehovah*, as so called by the Spirit of God; then is he so the *Lord*, in the same propriety and eminency in which *Jehovah* is. Now whatsoever did belong to the *Messias*, that may and must be attributed unto *Jesus*, as being the true and only *Christ*. But the Jews themselves acknowledge that *Jehovah* shall be known clearly in the days of the *Messias*, and not only so, but that it is the name which properly belongeth to him¹. And if they cannot but confess so much who only read the prophecies, as the eunuch did, without an interpreter; how can we be ignorant of so plain and necessary a truth, whose eyes have seen the full completion, and read the infallible interpretation of them? If they could see *Jehovah the Lord of hosts* to be the name of the *Messias*, Isai. viii. 13, 14. who was to them *for a stone of stumbling and rock of offence*, how can we possibly be ignorant of it, who are taught by St Paul, that in *Christ* this prophecy was fulfilled, *As it is written, Behold, I lay in Sion a stumbling-stone, and rock of offence; and whosoever believeth on him shall not be ashamed.* Rom. ix. 33. It was no other than *Jehovah* who spake those words, *I will have mercy* Hos. i. 7. *upon the house of Judah, and will save them by the Lord (Jehovah) their God, and will not save them by bow nor sword².* Where not only he who is described as the original and principal cause, that is, the Father who gave his Son, but also he who is the immediate efficient of our salvation, and that in opposition to all other means or instrumental causes, is called *Jehovah*; who can be no other than our *Jesus*, because *there is* Acts iv. 12. *no other name under heaven given unto men whereby we must be saved.* As in another place he speaketh, *I will strengthen them* Zech. x. 12. *in the Lord (Jehovah), and they shall walk up and down in his name, saith the Lord (Jehovah);* where he which strengtheneth is one, and he by whom he strengtheneth is another, clearly distinguished from him by the personal pronoun, and yet each of them is *Jehovah*, and *Jehovah our God is one Jehovah.* Deut. vi. 4. Whatsoever objections³ may be framed against us, we know

¹ As Midrasch Tillim on Psal. xxi. [fol. r6. col. 1.] Echa Rabati Lam. i. 6.

² Where it is farther observable that the Chaldee paraphrase hath במימרא *by the word of Jehovah*,

for *Jehovah*.

³ Two adversaries we have to the exposition of this place, the Jew and the Socinian; only with this difference, that we find the less opposition from

Jer. xxiii. 6.
6.

Christ is the righteous Branch raised unto David, the King that shall reign and prosper, in whose days Judah shall be saved,

the Jew, from whom, indeed, we have so ample a concession as will destroy the other's contradiction. First, Socinus answers, the name belongeth not to Christ, but unto Israel: and that it so appears by a parallel place in the same prophet, Jer. xxxiii. 15, 16. *Socin. refut. Jac. Wiaki, cap. 6. [Tom. II. p. 601. col. 2.] Catech. Racov. de Pers. Christi, c. 1. Crellius de Deo et Attrib. l. i. c. 11.* To this we first oppose the constant interpretation of the Jews, who attribute the name *Jehovah* to the Messias from this one particular text. As in the Sopher Ikkarim, l. ii. c. 8. יקרא הכתרב שם ויקרא המשיח "The Scripture calleth the name of the Messias, *Jehovah* our righteousness. And in Midrasch Tillim on Psal. xxi. [fol. 16. col. 1.] וקרא למלך המשיח בשמו ומה שמו יהוה ש"י יהוה איש מלחמה יהוה שמו ובמלך המשיח כתיב וזה שמו אשר יקראו יהוה צדקנו *God calleth the [king] Messias by his own name, and his name is Jehovah; as it is said (Exod. xv. 3). The Lord is a man of war, Jehovah is his name. And it is written of the [king] Messias, (Jer. xxiii. 6.) And this is the name which they shall call him, Jehovah our righteousness.* Thus Echa Rabati, Lam. i. 6. מה שמו של משיח אר"י אבא יהוה שמו ש"י וזה שמו אשר יקראו יהוה צדקנו *What is the name of the Messias? R. Abba said, Jehovah is his name; as it is said (Jer. xxiii. 6.) And this is the name which they shall call him, Jehovah our righteousness.* The same he reports of Rabbi Levi. The Rabbins then, though enemies to the truth which we deduce from thence, constrained by the literal importance of the text, did acknowledge that the name *Jehovah* did belong to the Messias. And as for the collection of the contrary from the parallel place pretended, there is not so great a similitude as to enforce the same interpretation. For whereas in Jerem. xxiii. 6. it is expressly said, וזה שמו *this is the [his] name*, in the xxxiii. 16. it is only

וזה without any mention of a name: and surely that place cannot prove *Jehovah* to be the name of Israel, which speaks not one word of the name of Jerusalem: for where we read in Crellius, 'hoc scilicet nomen est,' all but *hoc* is not in Scripture, but the gloss of Crellius, and *hoc* itself cannot be warranted for the interpretation of וזה nor *quo* אשר; the simplest interpretation of those words וזה יהוה אשר יקרא לה *being, iste qui vocabit eam, he which calleth Jerusalem, is the Lord our righteousness, that is, Christ.* And thus the first answer of Socinus is invalid: which he easily foreseeing, hath joined with the Jewish Rabbins in the second answer, admitting that *Jehovah* our righteousness is the name of the Messias, but withal denying that Christ is that *Jehovah*. To which purpose they assert these words, *Jehovah* our righteousness, to be delivered by way of proposition, not of apposition; and this they endeavour to prove by such places of Scripture as seem to infer as much. As Moses built an altar, and called the name of it *Jehovah Nissi*, Exod. xvii. 15. Gideon built an altar unto the Lord, and called it *Jehovah Shalom*, Judg. vi. 24. And the name of the city in the last words of Ezekiel is *Jehovah Shammah*. In all which places it is most certain, that the *Jehovah* is not predicated of that of whose name it is a part; but is the subject of a proposition, given by way of nomination, whose verb substantive or copula is understood. But from thence to conclude, that *the Lord our righteousness* can be no otherwise understood of Christ than as a proposition, and that we by calling him so, according to the prophet's prediction, can understand no more thereby, than that God the Father of Christ doth justify us, is most irrational. For first, it is therefore necessary to interpret those names by way of a proposition of themselves, because *Jehovah* cannot be the predicate of that

and Israel shall dwell safely; we are assured that *this is his* ^{Jer. xxiii. 5.} *name whereby he shall be called, The Lord our Righteousness:* the Lord, that is, *Jehovah*, the expression of his supremacy; and the addition of *our righteousness* can be no diminution to his majesty. If those words in the prophet, *Sing and rejoice,* ^{Zech. ii. 10.} *O daughter of Sion; for lo, I come, and I will dwell in the midst of thee, saith the Lord (Jehovah),* did not sufficiently of themselves denote our Saviour who dwelt amongst us, as they certainly do; yet the words which follow would evince as much; *And many nations shall be joined to the Lord in that* ^{Zech. ii. 11.} *day, and shall be my people; and I will dwell in the midst of thee, and thou shalt know that the Lord of hosts hath sent me unto thee:* for what other Lord can we conceive dwelling in the midst of us, and sent unto us by the Lord of hosts, but *Christ?*

149 And as the original *Jehovah* was spoken of *Christ* by the holy prophets; so the title of *Lord*, as the usual interpretation of that name, was attributed unto him by the apostles. In

which is named; it being most apparent, that an altar or a city built cannot be God: and whatsoever is not *Jehovah* without addition, cannot be *Jehovah* with addition. But there is no incongruity in attributing of that name to Christ, to whom we have already proved it actually given: and our adversaries who teach that the name *Jehovah* is sometimes given to the angels representing God, must acknowledge that it may be given unto Christ, whom they confess to be above all angels, and far more fully and exactly to represent the Father. Secondly, That which is the addition in those names cannot be truly predicated of that thing which bears the name. Moses could not say that altar was his exaltation, nor Gideon that it was his peace. And if it could not so be predicated by itself, it could neither be by apposition, and, consequently, even in this respect, it was necessary to make the name a proposition. But *our righteousness* may undoubtedly be predicated of him, who is here called by the name of *the Lord our righteousness*: for the apostle hath expressly taught us, that he is *made unto us righteousness*, 1 Cor. i. 30. And if it

may be in itself, there can be no repugnancy in its predication by way of apposition. Thirdly, That addition of *our Righteousness* doth not only truly belong to Christ, but in some manner properly and peculiarly so, as in that notion it can belong to no other person called *Jehovah*, but to that Christ alone. For he alone is *the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth*, Rom. x. 4. And when he is said to be *made unto us righteousness*, 1 Cor. i. 30. he is thereby distinguished from God the Father. Being then Christ is thus peculiarly called *our righteousness* under the Gospel, being the place of the prophet forementioned speaketh of this as a name to be used under the Gospel, being no other person called *Jehovah* is ever expressly called *our righteousness* in the Gospel; it followeth, not only that Christ may be so called, but that the prophecy cannot otherwise be fulfilled, than by acknowledging that Christ is *the Lord our righteousness*: and, consequently, that is his name, not by way of proposition, but of apposition and appropriation; so that being both *Jehovah* and *our righteousness*, he is as truly *Jehovah* as *our righteousness*.

that signal prediction of the first age of the Gospel, God promised by Joel, that *whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord* (Jehovah) *shall be delivered*: and St Paul hath assured us that *Christ* is that *Lord*, by proving from thence, that *whosoever believeth on him shall not be ashamed*; and inferring from that, if we confess with our mouth the *Lord Jesus*, we shall be saved. For if it be a certain truth, that *whosoever confesseth the Lord Jesus shall be saved*; and the certainty of this truth depend upon that foundation, that *whosoever believeth on him shall not be ashamed*; and the certainty of that in relation to *Christ* depend upon that other promise, *Whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved*: then must the *Lord* in the thirteenth verse of the tenth chapter to the Romans be the same with the *Lord Jesus* in the ninth verse; or else St Paul's argument must be invalid and fallacious, as containing that in the conclusion which was not comprehended in the premises. But the *Lord* in the ninth verse is no other than *Jehovah*, as appeareth by the prophet Joel from whom that scripture is taken. Therefore our Saviour in the New Testament is called *Lord*, as that name or title is the interpretation of *Jehovah*.

If we consider the office of John the Baptist peculiar unto him, we know it was *he of whom it is written* (in the prophet Malachi), *I will send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before me*: we are sure he which spake those words was (Jehovah) *the Lord of Hosts*; and we are as sure that *Christ* is that *Lord* before whose face John the Baptist prepared the way. *The voice of him that crieth in the wilderness*, (saith Isaiah,) *Prepare ye the way of the Lord* (Jehovah): and *this is he that was spoken of by the prophet Isaiah*, saith St Matthew, this is he of whom his father Zachariah did divinely presage, *Thou, Child, shalt be called the Prophet of the Highest: for thou shalt go before the face of the Lord to prepare his ways*. Where *Christ* is certainly *the Lord*, and *the Lord* undeniably *Jehovah*¹.

¹ I say therefore *undeniably*, because it is not only the undoubted translation of the name יהוה in the prophet (which of itself were sufficient); but also is delivered in that manner which is (though unreasonably) required to signify the proper name of God, *προσωπεύον γὰρ πρὸ προσωπῶν Κυρίου*, not *τὸν* *Κυρίου*, that

is, without, not with, an article. For now our Saviour's Deity must be tried by a new kind of school divinity, and the most fundamental doctrine, maintained as such ever since the apostles' times by the whole Catholic Church, must be examined, censured, and condemned, by *ὁ, ἡ, τό*. Socinus first makes use of this observation against

Nor is this the only notation of the name or title *Lord* taken in a sense divine, above the expression of all mere

Wiekus: [cap. 3. Respons. ad xi. arg. Tom. II. p. 557. col. 1.] and after him Orellius hath laid it as a grave and serious foundation, and spread it out into its several corners, to uphold the fabric of his superstructions. First: 'Vox *Jehovah* magis quam cætera Dei nomina propriorum naturam sequitur; ideo etiam Græca *Kýrios*, cum pro illa ponitur, propriorum indolem, qua licet, semulatur.' *Lib. de Deo*, c. 14. [Tom. III. p. 36.] Secondly: 'Diximus—propriis nominibus articulum libentius subtrahi—licet interim articulum etiam sæpe concinnitatis potius quam necessitatis causa admittant. Idem fit in voce *Kýrios* cum pro *Jehovah* ponitur.' *Ibid.* Thirdly: 'Hæc est causa, cur in Novo Testamento, maxime apud Lucam et Paulum, vox *Kýrios*, cum Deum summum designat, articulo libentius careat;—at cum de Christo subjective usurpatur, raro articulus omittitur.' *Ibid.* What strange uncertainties are these, to build the denial of so important an article as Christ's Divinity upon? He does not say absolutely *Jehovah* is the proper name of God, but only that it doth more follow the nature of proper names than the other names of God. And indeed it is certain that sometimes it hath the nature of an appellative, as Deut. vi. 4. יהוה אחד *The Lord our God is one Lord*; and yet if it be not always and absolutely a proper name, though all the rest were granted to be true, the argument must be of no validity. Again, he cannot say an article is never affixed to a proper name, but only that *libentius subtrahitur*, it is rather omitted than affixed: which yet is far from a certain or a true rule, especially in the language of the New Testament. For no man can deny *Jesus* to be the proper name of Christ, given him according to the law at his circumcision, καὶ ἐκλήθη τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦς, Luke ii. 21, and yet whosoever shall read the Gospel of St Matthew, will find it

ten times δ' Ἰησοῦς with an article, for once Ἰησοῦς without it. And in the Acts of the Apostles, written in a more Attic style, St Paul is oftener styled ὁ Παῦλος than simply Παῦλος. So Balaam, Gallio, &c. Some persons we find in the New Testament, whom, if we should stay till we found them without an article, we should never call by their names at all; as Apelles, Balak, &c. Thirdly, ὁ *Kýrios* is so often used for that God who is the Father with an article, and *Kýrios* for the Son without an article, (for the *Father* Matt. i. 22. ii. 15. v. 33. xxii. 44. Mark xii. 36. Luke i. 6. 9. 15. 25. 46. ii. 15. 22, 23. x. 2. Acts ii. 25. 34. iii. 19. xvii. 27. Rom. xv. 11. 1 Cor. x. 26. xvi. 7. 2 Cor. v. 11. Eph. v. 17. 19. Col. iii. 16. 20. 23. 1 Thess. iii. 3. 2 Tim. i. 16. Heb. viii. 2. 11. xii. 14. Jam. iv. 10. 15. 1 Pet. ii. 3. For the *Son*, Matt. iii. 3. xxii. 43. 45. Mark i. 3. Luke i. 76. ii. 11. iii. 4. xx. 44. John i. 23. Acts ii. 36. x. 36. xi. 16. 21. xv. 11. Rom. i. 7. x. 9. 12. xiv. 6. 8. 14. xvi. 2. 8. 11—13. 22. 1 Cor. i. 3. iv. 17. vii. 22. 25. 39. ix. 1, 2. x. 21. xi. 11. xii. 3. xiv. 37. xv. 58. xvi. 10. 19. 2 Cor. i. 2. ii. 12. iv. 5. x. 17. xi. 17. xii. 1. Gal. i. 3. v. 10. Eph. i. 2. ii. 21. iv. 1. 5. 17. v. 8. vi. 1. 4. 10. 21. 23. Phil. i. 2. 14. ii. 11. 19. 24. 29. iii. 1. 20. iv. 1. 2. 10. Col. i. 2. iii. 17, 18. 24. iv. 1. 7. 17. 1 Thess. i. 1. iii. 8. iv. 1. 15. 17. v. 2. 12. 2 Thess. i. 1, 2. ii. 13. iii. 4. 1 Tim. i. 1. 2 Tim. ii. 24. Tit. i. 4. Philem. 3. 16. 20. Jam. i. 1. 2 Pet. iii. 8. 10. 2 John 3. Jude 14. Rev. xiv. 13. xix. 16). I say, they are thus so often used, that though they equal not the number of their contrary acceptions, yet they come so near, as to yield no ground for any such observation, as if the Holy Ghost intended any such article-distinction. Nay, it is most evident that the sacred penmen intended no such distinction, because in the same place speaking of the same person, they

Psal. cx. 1.

Mal. iii. 1.

human power and dominion; for as it is often used as the interpretation of the name *Jehovah*, so is it also for that of *Adon* or *Adonai*. The Lord said unto my Lord, saith David, that is, in the original, *Jehovah* unto *Adon*; and that *Adon* is the *Word*¹, that *Lord* is *Christ*. We know the temple at Jerusalem was the temple of the most high God, and the Lord of that temple in the emphasis of an Hebrew article was *Christ*, as appeareth by that prophecy², *The Lord^s whom ye seek shall suddenly come to his temple, even the messenger of the covenant, whom ye delight in.*

Now this notation, as it is the interpretation of *Adon*, 151 signifieth immediately and properly *dominion* implying a right of possession, and power of disposing. Which doth not only agree with that other notion of *Jehovah*, but presupposeth it, as following and flowing from it. For he who alone hath a being or existence of himself, and thereby is the fountain of all things beside himself, must be acknowledged to have full power and dominion over all: because every thing must

usually observe the indifferency of adding or omitting the article. As Jam. v. 11. Τὴν ὑπομονὴν ἰὼβ ἠκούσατε, καὶ τὸ τέλος Κυρίου εἶδετε, ὅτι πολὺσπλαγχρὸς ἐστὶν ὁ Κύριος καὶ αἰκτιρῶν. 2 Tim. i. 18. Δψήσας αὐτῷ ὁ Κύριος εὐρεῖν ἔλεος παρὰ Κυρίου ἐν ἐκέντρῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. 1 Cor. vii. 17. Ἐκαστος ὡς κέκληκεν ὁ Κύριος, οὕτω περιπατεῖτω. ver. 22. Ὁ γὰρ ἐν Κυρίῳ κληθεὶς δοῦλος, ἀπελευθέρους Κυρίου ἐστί. See Rom. xiv. 6—8. Wherefore being *Jehovah* is not affirmed absolutely to be a proper name; being if it were, yet it appears that it is not the custom of the New Testament to use every proper name oftener without an article than with one; being ὁ Κύριος is so often taken for him whom they acknowledge God, and Κύριος for him whom they cannot deny to be the Christ: it followeth that Christ, acknowledged to be the *Lord*, cannot by any virtue of an article be denied to be the true *Jehovah*. We must not then think to decide this controversy by the articles, of which the sacred penmen were not curious, and the transcribers have been very careless: nor is there so great uncertainty of the ancient MSS. in any

thing as in the words and articles of Κύριος and Θεός. The Vulgar edition, Rev. i. 8. hath λέγει ὁ Κύριος only, the Complutensis λέγει Κύριος ὁ Θεός, Plantine, λέγει ὁ Κύριος ὁ Θεός, against the Socinian rule, who will have an accession by ὁ to Θεός, and a diminution by ὁ from Κύριος. As Rev. iv. 11. Ἄξιός ἐστι, Κύριε, λαβεῖν τὴν δόξαν in other MSS. Ἄξιός ἐστι, ὁ Κύριος καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ ἄγιος, λαβεῖν τὴν δόξαν. 1 Cor. xi. 27. τὸ ποτήριον τοῦ Κυρίου ἀναξίως others with an addition, τὸ ποτήριον τοῦ Κυρίου ἀναξίως τοῦ Κυρίου. 1 Cor. xiv. 37. the Vulgar edition, ὅτι τοῦ Κυρίου εἰσὶν ἐντολαί, the Complutensis, ὅτι Κυρίου. So where we usually read Χριστός, divers ancient MSS. have Κύριος. Lastly, it is observable that even in these words of the Creed, which we now expound, Κύριος is spoken expressly of Christ without an article, for so we read it: Καὶ εἰς Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, Κύριον ἡμῶν.

¹ Chaldee paraphrase. [חַיְימָא בְּיַד בְּרַחְמֵהּ in verbo suo. Ps. cx. 1.]

² [Prophet, in the third Edition.]

³ קַיָּא.

necessarily belong to him from whom it hath received what it is. Wherefore being *Christ* is the *Lord*, as that title is taken for *Jehovah*, the name of God, expressing the necessary existence and independence of his single being, and consequently the dependency of all others upon him; it followeth, that he be acknowledged also the *Lord*, as that name expresseth *Adon*, signifying power authoritative and proper dominion. Thus having explained the notation of the word *Lord*, which we propounded as the first part of our exposition; we come next to the second, which is, to declare the nature of this dominion, and to shew how and in what respect *Christ* is the *Lord*.

Now for the full and exact understanding of the dominion seated or invested in *Christ* as the *Lord*, it will be necessary to distinguish it according to that diversity which the Scriptures represent unto us. As therefore we have observed two natures united in his person, so must we also consider two kinds of dominion belonging respectively to those natures; one inherent in his Divinity, the other bestowed upon his humanity; one, as he is the Lord the Maker of all things, the other as he is made Lord of all things.

For the first, we are assured that *the Word was God*, that John i. 1. by the same Word *all things were made, and without him was* John i. 3. *not any thing made that was made*; we must acknowledge that whosoever is the Creator of all things must have a direct dominion over all, as belonging to the possession of the Creator, who made all things. Therefore the *Word*, that is, *Christ* as God, hath the supreme and universal dominion of the world. Which was well expressed by that famous confession of no longer doubting, but believing Thomas, *My Lord* John xx. 28. *and my God*.

For the second, it is also certain that there was some kind of *lordship* given or bestowed on *Christ*, whose very unction proves no less than an imparted dominion; as St Peter tells us, that he was *made both Lord and Christ*. What David Acts ii. 36. spake of man, the Apostle hath applied peculiarly unto him, *Thou crownedst him with glory and honour, and didst set him* Psal. viii. 5, 6. *over the works of thy hands: Thou hast put all things in sub-* Heb. ii. 7, 8. *jection under his feet*.

Now a dominion thus imparted, given, derived, or bestowed, cannot be that which belongeth unto God as God,

founded in the divine nature, because whatsoever is such is absolute and independent. Wherefore, this lordship thus imparted or acquired appertaineth to the human nature, and belongeth to our Saviour as the Son of man. The right of judicature is part of this power; and *Christ* himself hath told us, that the Father *hath given him authority to execute judgment, because he is the Son of man:* and by virtue of this delegated authority, the *Son of man shall come in the glory of his Father with his angels, and reward every man according to his works.* Part of the same dominion is the power of forgiving sins; as pardoning, no less than punishing, is a branch of the supreme magistracy: and *Christ* did therefore say to the sick of the palsy, *Thy sins be forgiven thee, that we might know that the Son of man had power on earth to forgive sins.* Another branch of that power is the alteration of the Law, there being the same authority required to abrogate or alter, which is to make a law: and *Christ* asserted himself to be *greater than the temple*, shewing that the *Son of man was Lord even of the sabbath day.*

This dominion thus given unto *Christ* in his human nature 152 was a direct and plenary power over all things, but was not actually given him at once, but part while he lived on earth, part after his death and resurrection. For though it be true that *Jesus knew*, before his death, *that the Father had given all things into his hands:* yet it is observable that in the same place it is written, that he likewise knew *that he was come from God, and went to God:* and part of that power he received when he came from God, with part he was invested when he went to God; the first to enable him, the second, not only so, but also to reward him. *For to this end Christ both died, rose, and revived, that he might be Lord both of the dead and living.* After his resurrection he said to his disciples, *All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. He drunk of the brook in the way, therefore he hath lift up his head.* Because *he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross: therefore God hath also highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name; that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth; and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.* Thus for and after his death he

John v. 27.

Matt. xvi. 27.

Matt. ix. 2. 6.

Matt. xii. 6, 8.

John xiii. 3.

Rom. xiv. 9.

Matt. xxviii. 18.

Psalm. cx. 7.

Phil. ii. 8—11.

was instated in a full power and dominion over all things, even as the Son of man, but exalted by the Father, *who raised* Eph. i. 20—22. *him from the dead, and set him at his right hand in the heavenly places, far above all principality, and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come; and hath put all things under his feet, and gave him to be head over all things to the Church.*

Now as all the power given unto *Christ* as man had not the same beginning in respect of the use or possession; so neither, when begun, shall it all have the same duration. For part of it being merely economical, aiming at a certain end, shall then cease and determinate, when that end for which it was given shall be accomplished: part, being either due upon the union of the human nature with the divine, or upon covenant, as a reward for the sufferings endured in that nature, must be co-eval with that union and that nature which so suffered, and consequently must be eternal.

Of the first part of this dominion did David speak, when by the spirit of prophecy he called his Son his Lord; *The* Psalm. cx. 1. *Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool; where the continuation of Christ's dominion over his enemies is promised to be prolonged until their final and total subjection. For he must reign till* 1 Cor. xv. 25. *he hath put all things [enemies] under his feet. And as we are sure of the continuation of that kingdom till that time, so are we assured of the resignation at that time. For when he shall* 1 Cor. xv. 24. *have put down all rule, and all authority and power, then shall he deliver up the kingdom to God, even the Father. And when* 1 Cor. xv. 23. *all things shall be subdued unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all. Thus he which was appointed to rule* Psalm. cx. 2. *in the midst of his enemies during their rebellion, shall resign up his commission after their subjection.*

But we must not look upon *Christ* only in the nature of a general who hath received a commission, or of an ambassador with perfect instructions, but of the only Son of God, empowered and employed to destroy the enemies of his Father's kingdom: and though thus empowered and commissioned, though resigning that authority which hath already had its perfect work, yet still the only Son and the heir of all

things in his Father's house, never to relinquish his dominion over those whom he hath purchased with his own blood, never to be deprived of that reward which was assigned him for his sufferings: for if the prize which we expect in the race of our imperfect obedience be an immarcessible crown, if the weight of glory which we look for from him be eternal; then cannot his perfect and absolute obedience be crowned with a fading power, or he cease ruling over us, who hath always reigned in us. We shall for ever reign with him, and he will make us priests and kings; but so that he continue still for ever High-priest and King of kings. 153

The certainty of this eternal dominion of *Christ*, as man, we may well ground upon the promise made to David, because by reason of that promise *Christ* himself is called *David*.

Ezek. xxxiv.
23, 24.

For so God speaketh concerning his people; *I will set up one shepherd over them, and he shall feed them, even my servant David; he shall feed them, and he shall be their shepherd. And I the Lord will be their God, and my servant David a prince among them. I the Lord have spoken it.*

2 Sam. vii. 16.

Now the promise was thus made expressly to David, *Thy house and thy kingdom shall be established for ever before thee: thy throne shall be established for ever.* And although that term *for ever*¹ in the Hebrew language may signify oft-times no more than a certain duration so long as the nature of the thing is durable, or at the utmost but to the end of all things; and so the economical dominion or kingdom of *Christ* may be thought sufficiently to fulfil that promise, because it shall certainly continue so long as the nature of that economy requireth, till all things be performed for which *Christ* was sent, and that continuation will infallibly extend unto the end of all things: yet sometimes also the same term *for ever* signifieth that absolute eternity of future duration which shall have no end at all; and that it is so far to be extended particularly in that promise made to David, and to be fulfilled in his Son, is as certain as the promise. For the angel Gabriel did give that clear exposition to the blessed Virgin, when in this manner he foretold the glory of him who was then to be conceived in her womb; *The Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David: and he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever, and of his kingdom there shall be no end.* Nor is this

Luke i. 32, 33.

clearer in Gabriel's explication of the promise, than in Daniel's prevision of the performance, who *saw in the night visions, and behold, one like the Son of man came with the clouds of heaven; and came to the Ancient of days, and they brought him near before him. And there was given him dominion and glory, and a kingdom, that all people [nations] and languages should serve him: his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed.* Dan. vii. 13, 14

Thus *Christ* is *Lord* both by a natural and independent dominion: as God the Creator, and consequently the owner of the works of his hands: and by a derived, imparted, and dependent right, as man, sent, anointed, raised and exalted, and so made *Lord* and *Christ*: which authority so given and bestowed upon him is partly economical, and therefore to be resigned into the hands of the Father, when all those ends for which it was imparted are accomplished: partly so proper to the union, or due unto the passion, of the human nature, that it must be coeval with it, that is, of eternal duration.

The third part of our explication is, the due consideration of the object of *Christ's* dominion, inquiring whose *Lord* he is, and how *ours*. To which purpose first observe the latitude, extent, or rather universality of his power, under which all things are comprehended, as subjected to it. For *he is Lord of all*, saith St Peter, of all things, and of all persons; and he must be so, who made all things as God, and to whom all power is given as man. To him then all things are subjected whose subjection implieth not a contradiction. *For he hath put all things under his feet: but when he saith all things are put under him, it is manifest that he is excepted which did put all things under him.* Acts i. 36. God only then excepted, whose original dominion is repugnant to the least subjection, all things are subject unto *Christ*; whether they be things in heaven, or things on earth. In heaven he is far above all principalities and powers, and *all the angels of God worship him*; on earth *all nations are his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth are his possession.* 1 Cor. xv. 27. Thus *Christ* is certainly *our Lord*, because he is the Lord of all; and when all things were subjected to him, we were not excepted. Heb. i. 6. Psal. ii. 8.

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But in the midst of this universality of *Christ's* regal authority it will be farther necessary to find some propriety

of dominion, by which he may be said to be peculiarly *our Lord*. It is true, he made us, and not we ourselves, we are the work of his hands; but the lowest of his creatures can speak as much. We are still preserved by his power, and as he made us, so doth he maintain us; but at the same time he feedeth the ravens and clotheth the lilies of the field. Wherefore beside his original right of creation, and his continued right of preservation, we shall find a more peculiar right of redemption, belonging properly to the sons of men. And in this redemption, though a single word, we shall find a double¹ title to a most just dominion, one of conquest, another of purchase.

We were first servants of the enemy of God; for him we obeyed, *and his servants we are to whom we obey*: when *Christ through death destroyed him that had the power of death, that is, the devil, and delivered us; he spoiled prin-*

Rom. vi. 16.
Heb. ii. 14.
Col. ii. 15.

¹ For the right understanding of this double title involved in the word *redemption*, it will be necessary to take notice of the ways by which human dominion is acquired, and servitude introduced. 'Servi aut nascuntur, aut fiunt,' saith the Civilian, Justinian, l. i. tit. 3. but in Theology we say more, 'Servi et nascuntur, et fiunt.' Man is born the servant of God his maker, man is made the servant of his Redeemer. Two ways in general they observed by which they came to serve, who were not born slaves: 'Fiunt aut jure gentium, id est, captivitate; aut jure civili, cum liber homo major viginti annis ad pretium participandum esse venundari passus est.' Two ways then also there were by which dominion over those servants was acquired, by conquest or by purchase, and both these were always accounted just. Dionysius Halicarnasseus, an excellent historian, a curious observer of the Roman customs, and an exact judge of their actions, being a Grecian, justifieth the right which the masters in Rome claimed over their servants upon these two grounds: 'Ἐνύχωνος δὴ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις αἱ τῶν θεραπόντων κτήσεις κατὰ τοὺς δικαιολόγους γινόμεναι τρόπους. ἥ γὰρ ὠρησάμενοι παρὰ

τοῦ δημοσίου τοὺς ὑπὸ δόρυ πωλουμένους ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων, ἡ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ συγχωρήσαντος ἅμα ταῖς ἄλλαις ὠφελείαις καὶ δορυαλώτους τοῖς λαβοῦσιν ἔχει, ἡ πριδμένοι παρ' ἐτέρων, κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοῦ τρόπους κυρίων γενομένων ἐκέκτηντο τοὺς δούλους. Hist. l. iv. c. 24. p. 227. ed. Sylburg. Where it is also farther to be observed, that the same persons were made slaves by conquest, and possessed by purchase; by conquest to the city of Rome, by purchase to the Roman citizen. The general first took and saved them, and so made them his, that is, reduced them to the will and power of the state from which he received his commission, and in whose name and for whose interest he fought. This state exposed their interest to sale, and so whatever right had been gained by the conquering sword, was devolved on the Roman citizen for a certain sum of money paid to the state to defray the charges of that war. Thus every lord or master of a slave so taken had full power over him, and possession of him, by right of purchase, unto which he was first made liable by conquest. And though not exactly in that manner, yet by that double right, is Christ become our Lord, and we his servants.

cipalities and powers, and made a show of them openly, triumphing over them. But, contrary to the custom of triumphing conquerors, he did not sell, but buy us; because while he saved us, he died for us, and that death was the price by which he purchased us; even so this dying Victor gave us life: upon the cross, as his triumphant chariot, he shed that precious blood which bought us, and thereby became our Lord by right of *redemption*, both as to conquest and to purchase.

Beside, he hath not only bought us, but provideth for us; whatever we have, we receive from him as the master of the family; we hold of him all temporal and eternal blessings, which we enjoy in this, or hope for in another life. He is the *Prince of life*, and *by him we live*; he is the *Lord of glory*, and we are called by his Gospel to the obtaining of the glory of our Lord. Wherefore he hath us under his dominion; and becomes our Lord by right of *promotion*.

Acts iii. 15.
John vi. 57.
1 Cor. ii. 8.
2 Thess. ii. 14.

Lastly, men were not anciently sold always by others, but sometimes by themselves; and whosoever of us truly believe in *Christ*, have given up our names unto him. In our baptismal vow we bind ourselves unto his service, *that henceforth we will not serve sin; but yield ourselves unto God, as those that*
 155 *are alive from the dead, and our members as instruments of righteousness unto God: that, as we have yielded our members servants to uncleanness, and to iniquity unto iniquity; even so we should yield our members servants to righteousness unto holiness.* And thus the same dominion is acknowledged by compact, and confirmed by covenant; and so Christ becomes our Lord by right of *obligation*.

Rom. vi. 6.
18, 19.

The necessity of believing and professing our faith in this part of the Article appeareth, first, in the discovery of our condition; for by this we know that we are not our own, neither our persons nor our actions. *Know ye not* (saith St Paul) *that ye are not your own? for ye are bought with a price.* And ancient servitude, to which the Scriptures relate, put the servants wholly in the possession¹ of their master; so that

¹ Δούλος κτῆμά τι ἐμψυχῶν, καὶ ὥσπερ ὄργανον πρὸς ὀργάνων πᾶς ὁ ὑπηρέτης. Ἀριστοτ. Πολ. i. i. c. 4. § 2. Τὸ τε γὰρ σῶμά ἐστιν ὄργανον σύμφυτον, καὶ τοῦ δεσπότητος ὁ δούλος ὥσπερ μόριον καὶ ὄργανον ἀφαιρετὸν τὸ δ' ὄργανον

ὥσπερ δούλος ἀψυχῶς. *Id. Eth. Eudem.* l. vii. cap. 9. § 3. And again more expressly: Τίς μὲν οὖν ἡ φύσις τοῦ δούλου, καὶ τίς ἡ δύναμις, ἐκ τούτων ἐγγλῶν. Ὁ γὰρ μὴ αὐτοῦ φύσει, ἀλλ' ἄλλου, ἀνθρώπου δέ, οὗτος φύσει δούλος ἐστίν.

their persons were as properly his as the rest of his goods. And if we be so in respect of *Christ*, then may we not live to ourselves, but to him; for in this the difference of service and freedom doth properly consist¹: we cannot do our own wills², but the will of him whose we are. *Christ* took upon him the form of a servant; and to give us a proper and perfect example of that condition, he telleth us, *I came down from heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me.* First, therefore, we must conclude with the apostle, reflecting upon *Christ's* dominion and our obligation, that *none of us liveth to himself, and no man dieth to himself. For whether we live, we live unto the Lord: whether we die, we die unto the Lord: whether we live therefore, or die, we are the Lord's.*

John vi. 38.

Rom. xiv. 7, 8.

2 Cor. x. 5.

Heb. v. 8, 9.

Secondly, The same is necessary both to enforce, and invite us to obedience; to enforce us, as he is *the Lord*, to invite us, as *Christ the Lord*. If we acknowledge ourselves to be his servants, we must *bring into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ.* He which therefore died, and rose, and revived, that he might become the Lord both of the dead and living, maketh not that death and resurrection efficacious to any but such as by their service acknowledge that dominion which he purchased. He, *though he were a Son, yet learned obedience by the things which he suffered; and being made perfect, he is become the author of eternal salvation unto all them that obey him.* Thus the consideration of the

ἄλλου δ' ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος, διὰ τὸ κτῆμα ᾧ, ἄνθρωπος ὢν. Pol. l. i. c. 4. § 6. So that the definition of a servant according to Aristotle is, He, who being a man, is notwithstanding the possession of a man. And although all relatives be predicated of each other in obliquo, as *pater est filii pater, et filius patris filius, dominus est servi dominus, et servus domini servus*; yet he observes a difference in this, that a servant is not only *servus domini*, but simply *domini*; but the master is not simply *servi*, but *dominus servi*. Ὁ μὲν δεσπότης τοῦ δοῦλου δεσπότης μόνον, ἐκείνου δὲ οὐκ ἐστὶν ὁ δὲ δοῦλος οὐ μόνον δεσπότητος δοῦλός ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅλης ἐκείνου. Ibid. c. 4. § 5. The servant then is so wholly in the possession and for the use of his master, that he is nothing else but a living tool or in-

strument; inasmuch, (says he, *ibid.*) that if all tools were like those of Dædalus, or the tripods of Vulcan, which the poets feigned to move of themselves, artificers would need no under-workmen, nor masters servants.

¹ So Aristotle *Ethic. Nic. l. iv. c. 8. § 29.* Πρὸς ἄλλον ἤν—δουλικόν· [Καὶ πρὸς ἄλλον μὴ δύνασθαι ἤν ἀλλὰ πρὸς φίλον· δουλικόν γάρ.] and in the first of his *Rhetorics* on the contrary: *ἐλευθέρου τὸ μὴ πρὸς ἄλλον ἤν.* c. 9. med. § 27.

² Τὸ ἤν ὡς βούλεται τις, —τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἔργον, —εἴτερ τοῦ δοῦλου ὢτος, τὸ ἤν μὴ ὡς βούλεται. *Aristot. Polit. l. vi. c. 2. § 3.* 'Quid est—libertas? potestas vivendi ut valis.' *Cic. Parad. 5.* [§ 1. Edit. Ernesti, Tom. iv. P. 2. p. 853.]

power invested in him, and the necessity of the service due unto him, should force us to obedience; while the consideration of him whom we are thus obliged to serve should allure and invite us. When God gave the Law with fire and thunder, the affrighted Israelites desired to receive it from Moses, and upon that receipt promised obedience. *Go thou near* Deut. v. 27. *(said they to him), and hear all that the Lord our God shall say; and speak thou unto us, and we will hear it and do it.*

If they interpreted it so great a favour to receive the Law by the hands of Moses; if they made so ready and cheerful a promise of exact obedience unto the Law so given; how should we be invited to the same promise, and a better performance, who have received the whole will of God revealed to us by the Son of man, who are to give an account of our performance to the same man set down at the right hand of the Father? He first took our nature to become our brother, that with so near
 156 a relation he might be made *our Lord*. If then the patriarchs did cheerfully live in the land of Goshen, subject to the power and command of Egypt, because that power was in the hand of Joseph their exalted brother; shall not we with all readiness of mind submit ourselves to the divine dominion now given to him who gave himself for us? Shall all the angels worship him, and all the archangels bow down before him, and shall not we be proud to join with them?

Thirdly, The belief of Christ's dominion is necessary for the regulation of all power, authority, and dominion on earth, both in respect of those which rule, and in relation to those that obey. From hence the most absolute monarchs learn, that the people which they rule are not their own, but the subjects of a greater prince, by him committed to their charge. Upon this St Paul doth ground his admonition to masters, *Give unto your servants that which is just and equal, knowing* Col. iv. 1. *that ye also have a master in heaven.* God gave a power to the Israelites to make hired servants of their brethren, but not slaves; and gives this reason of the interdiction, *For they are* Lev. xxv. 42. *my servants which I brought forth out of the land of Egypt; they shall not be sold as bondmen.* What tenderness then should be used towards those who are the servants of that Lord who redeemed them from a greater bondage, who bought them with a higher price? From hence those which are subject learn to obey the powers which are of human ordination,

Col. III. 22—
24.

because in them they obey the Lord of all. Subjects bear the same proportion, and stand in the same relation to their governors, with servants to their masters: and St Paul hath given them this charge, *Obey in all things your masters according to the flesh; and whatsoever ye do, do it heartily, as to the Lord, and not unto men; knowing that of the Lord ye shall receive the reward of the inheritance: for ye serve the Lord Christ.* Neither do we learn from hence only whom, but how also, to obey. For while we look upon one Lord in heaven, while we consider him as the *Lord of lords*, we regulate our obedience to them by our service due to him, and so are always ready to obey, but *in the Lord*.

Rom. x. 12.

Lastly, This title of our Saviour is of necessary belief for our comfort and encouragement. For being Lord of all, he is able to dispose of all things for the benefit of those which serve him. He who commanded the unconstant winds and stilled the raging seas, he who multiplied the loaves and fishes, and created wine with the word of his mouth, hath all creatures now under exact obedience, and therefore none can want whom he undertaketh to provide for. *For the same Lord over all is rich unto all that call upon him.* Many are the enemies of those persons who dedicate themselves unto his service; but our enemies are his, and part of his dominion is therefore given him, and to continue in him until all his enemies be made his footstool. Great is the power of the lusts of our flesh, which war in our members; but his grace is sufficient for us, and the power of that spirit by which he ruleth in us. Heavy are the afflictions which we are called to undergo for his sake: but if we suffer with him, we shall reign together with him: and blessed be that dominion which makes us all kings, that he may be for ever Lord of lords, and King of kings.

After this explication, every Christian may perceive what he is to believe in this part of the Article, and express himself how he would be understood when he maketh this profession of his faith, I believe in *Christ our Lord*. For thereby we may and ought to intend thus much: I do assent unto this as a certain and infallible truth, taught me by God himself, that *Jesus Christ*, the only Son of God, is the true *Jehovah*, who hath that being which is originally and eternally of itself, and of which all other beings do essentially depend: that by

I 57 the right of emanation of all things from him, he hath an absolute, supreme, and universal dominion over all things as God: that as the Son of man he is invested with all power in heaven and earth; partly economical, for the completing our redemption, and the destruction of our enemies, to continue to the end of all things, and then to be resigned to the Father; partly consequent unto the union, or due unto the obedience of his passion, and so eternal, as belonging to that kingdom which shall have no end. And though he be thus Lord of all things by right of the first creation and constant preservation of them, yet is he more peculiarly the Lord of us who by faith are consecrated to his service: for through the work of our redemption he becomes our Lord both by the right of conquest and of purchase; and making us the sons of God, and providing heavenly mansions for us, he acquires a farther right of promotion, which, considering the covenant we all make to serve him, is at last completed in the right of a voluntary obligation. And thus I believe in CHRIST OUR LORD.

ARTICLE III.

WHICH WAS CONCEIVED BY THE HOLY GHOST,
BORN OF THE VIRGIN MARY.

THESE words, as they now stand, clearly distinguish the conception of *Jesus* from his nativity, attributing the first to the Holy Ghost, the second to the blessed Virgin; whereas the ancient Creeds made no such distinction; but without any particular express mention of the conception, had it only in this manner, *who was born by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary*; or, *of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary*¹; understanding by the word *born*, not only the nativity, but also the

¹ 'Deum Judæi sic prædicant solum, ut negent filium ejus; negent simul cum eo unum esse, qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine.' *Novatianus*. 'Qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine.' *Rufinus in Symbolum*, § 12. [p. 20.] 'Natus de Spiritu S. et Maria Virgine.' *S. August. Ench. ad Laurent.* c. 34. 37. et 38. [Tom. vi. p. 153 E.] As also the Council of Francford in *Sacrostylabo*. [Labbé, Tom. vii. p. 1027 C.] 'Natus est per Spiritum S. ex Virgine Maria.' *S. August. de Fide et Symb.* c. iv. § 8. [Tom. iii. p. 114 C.] 'Nonne de Spiritu S. et Virgine Maria Dei filius unicus natus est?' *Idem, de Prædest. Sanct.* c. 15. [Tom. x. p. 535 B.] *Et paulo post*. 'Quia natus est de Spiritu S. et Maria Virgine.' 'Qui natus est de Spiritu S. ex Maria Virgine.' *S. Leo Epist. x. c. 2.* [p. 878 B.] *Maximus Taurin.* [Homil. 83. op. Rom. 1784.] *Chrysologus* [Serm. 57.] *Etherius Uzam.* [Bibl. Patr. Lugd. Tom. XIII. p. 360.] *Auctor Symbol. ad Catechum.* So also *Venantius Fortunatus.* [Opera, Tom. i. Rom. 1786. This and the preceding references are from Dr Heurtley's valuable *Harmonia Symbolica*, Oxf. 1858.] From whence *Fulgentius de Fide ad Petrum Diaconum*: 'Natum de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine, in Symbolo acceptum, et corde ad justitiam credit, et ore ad salutem S. Ecclesia confiteatur. [c. 2. *Bibliotheca Patr.* Tom. vi.

p. 95 C.] Item prædicandum est quomodo Filius Dei incarnatus est de Spiritu S. ex Maria semper-Virgine.' c. 2. *Capitul. Carol. 82.* and *Alcuinus* l. iii. *de Trinitat.* c. 1. [Tom. i. p. 239.] 'Dicitur in Symbolo Catholicæ fidei, quod Christus de Spiritu S. et ex Maria Virgine sit natus.' In the ancient MS. transcribed by the learned Archbishop of Armagh: Τὸν γεννηθέντα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου. So Paulus Samosatensis in his fifth proposition: Ἰησοῦς ὁ γεννηθεὶς ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου. These words omitted in the Nicene Creed, were put in by the Council of Constantinople, [see Labbé, *Concilia*, Tom. iv. pp. 339, 342.] upon the occasion of the Apollinarian heresy, as was observed by Diogenes bishop of Cyzicum in the Council of Chalcedon: Οἱ γὰρ ἄγιοι πατέρες οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα, τὸ ἐσαρκώθη, ὃ εἶπον οἱ ἄγιοι ἐν Νικαίᾳ πατέρες, ἐσαφήςως εἰσέροντες, ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου. [Labbé, Tom. iv. p. 136 D.] In the several expositions among the Sermons de Tempore, falsely attributed to St Augustin: 'Qui conceptus est de Spiritu S. natus ex Virgine Maria.' So Eusebius Gallicanus, *Homil. ii. de Symbolo*, p. 554 D. And from thence it hath so continued, as we now read it, *Which was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary.*

conception and generation. This is very necessary to be observed, because otherwise the addition of a word will prove the diminution of the sense of the Article. For they which speak only of the operation of the Holy Ghost in Christ's conception, and of the manner of his birth, leave out most part of that which was anciently understood under that one term of being *born* of the Holy Ghost and of the Virgin Mary.

That therefore nothing may be omitted which is pertinent to express the full intent, and to comprehend the utmost signification, of this Article, we shall consider three persons mentioned, so far as they are concerned in it. The first is he who was conceived and born; the second, he by whose energy or operation he was conceived; the third, she who did conceive and bear him.

For the first, the relative in the front of this carries us clearly back unto the former Article, and tells us that he which was thus conceived and born was *Jesus Christ*, the only Son of God. And being we have already demonstrated that this only Son is therefore called so, because he was begotten by the Father from all eternity, and so of the same substance with him; it followeth that this Article at the first beginning, or by virtue of its connexion, can import no less than this most certain, but miraculous, truth, that he¹ which was begotten by the Father before all worlds, was now in the fulness of time *conceived by the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary*. Again, being by the conception and birth is to be understood whatsoever was done toward the production of the human nature of our Saviour; therefore the same relative, considered with the words which follow it, can speak no less than the incarnation of that person. And thus even in the entry of the Article we meet with the incarnation of the Son of God, that great mystery wrapt up in that short sentence of St John, *the Word was made flesh*.

John i. 14.

Indeed the pronoun hath relation not only unto this, but to the following Articles, which have their necessary connexion with and foundation in this third; for he who was *conceived* and *born*, and so made man, did in that human nature suffer, die, and rise again. Now when we say this was the

¹ 'Hunc, quem dudum de Patre intra secreta uteri Virginalis intellige.'
 natum ineffabiliter didicisti, nunc a Ruffin. in *Symb.* § 12. [p. 20.]
 Spiritu Sancto templum fabricatum

Word, and that Word was God, being whosoever is God cannot cease to be so; it must necessarily follow that he was made man by joining the human nature with the divine. But then we must take heed lest we conceive, because the divine nature belongeth to the Father, to which the human is conjoined, that therefore the Father should be incarnate, or *conceived* and *born*. For as certainly as the Son was crucified, and the Son alone; so certainly the same Son was incarnate, and that Son alone. Although the human nature was conjoined with the Divinity, which is the nature common to the Father and the Son; yet was that union made only in the person of the Son. Which doctrine is to be observed against the heresy of the Patripassians¹, which was both very

¹ The heresy of the Patripassians seems only to have relation to the suffering of our Saviour, because the word signifies no more than the passion of the Father. But it is founded in an error concerning the incarnation, it being out of question that he which was made man did suffer. Epiphanius observes, Noetus was the first which taught this heresy, who lived one hundred and thirty years before him, more or less, and when he was questioned for it, he denied it: *διὰ τὸ μηδένα πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἐξεμέσαι ταυτην τὴν περὶ τῆς* *Hæres. lvii. § 1.* [Tom. I. p. 480 A.] But certainly this heresy was ancients than Noetus: for the Patripassians are named by St Cyprian, *Ep. 73.* [p. 200.] and Tertullian his master chargeth it upon Praxeas: 'Duo negotia Diaboli Praxeas Romæ procuravit, Prophetiam expulit, et Hæresim intulit; Paracletum fugavit, et Patrem crucifixit.' *Adv. Præz. c. 1.* [p. 634 O.] And expressing the absurdity of that opinion: 'Itaque post tempus Pater natus et Pater passus, ipse Deus Dominus Omnipotens Jesus Christus prædicatur.' c. 2. And *De Præscr. adv. Hæret.* 'Post hos omnes etiam Praxeas quidam Hæresim introduxit, quam Victorinus corroborare curavit. Hic Deum Patrem Omnipotentem Jesum Christum esse dicit, hunc crucifixum passumque contendit et mortuum; præterea seipsum sibi sedere ad dextram suam, cum profana et sacrilega

temeritate proponit.' c. 53. [p. 255 A.] After Praxeas, Noetus taught the same: *Ἐτόλμῃσε λέγειν τὸν πατέρα πεπονθέναι*, says Epiphanius, and being questioned for it, he answered: *Τί γὰρ κακὸν πεποίηκα; ἔνα θεὸν δοξάζω, ἔνα ἐπίσταμαι, καὶ οὐκ ἄλλων πλὴν αὐτοῦ, γεννηθέντα, πεπονθότα, ἀποθανόντα.* *Hæres. lvii. § 1.* [Tom. I. p. 479 D. 480 B.] He thought the Father and the Son to be the same person, and therefore if the Son, the Father to be incarnate: *Τλωδάρω τὸν Χριστὸν ἐδίδαξε, τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἄγιον πνεῦμα.* *S. Epiphani. Anaceph. [§ 11. Tom. II. p. 145 C.]* After the Noetiani followed the Sabelliani. So Philastrius, c. 54: 'Sabellius—Discipulus ejus, similitudinem sui Doctoris itidem secutus est, et errorem, unde et Sabelliani postea sunt appellati, qui et Patripassiani et Praxeani a Praxeas, et Hermogeniani ab Hermogene, qui fuerunt in Africa, qui et ita sentientes abjecti sunt ab Ecclesia Catholica.' *In Biblioth. Patr. Lat. T. IV. p. 602 B.* So St Augustin: 'Sabelliani dicti sunt quidam Hæretici, qui vocantur et Patripassiani, qui dicunt ipsum Patrem passum fuisse.' *Tract. 36. in Joan.* [Tom. III. Part 2. p. 397 F.] This, I confess, is denied by Epiphanius, who acknowledged Sabellius to have followed Noetus in many things, but not in the incarnation or passion of the Father: *Σαβελλιανοὶ οἱ τὰ ὁμοία ἀνοήτως* (i. ἀνοήτως,

ancient and far diffused, making the Father to be incarnate, and becoming man to be crucified. But this very CREED was always thought to be a sufficient confutation of that fond opinion¹, in that the incarnation is not subjoined to the first,

id est, Νοηταυός, vel ἀνοήτω, id est, Νοητῷ, as St Augustin, *Novato*.) δοξάζοντες παρὰ τοῦτο μόνον λέγονσι γὰρ μὴ πεπονθέναι τὸν πατέρα. *Anaceph.* T. i. l. ii. § 16. This St Augustin wonders very much at in Epiphanius: 'Sabelliani, inquit, similia Noeto dogmatizantes, propter hoc quod dicunt Patrem non esse passum; quomodo de Sabellianis intelligi potest, cum sic innouerint dicere Patrem passum, ut Patripassiani quam Sabelliani crebrius nuncuparentur?' *S. August. Hær.* 41. [Tom. viii. p. 9 E.] Indeed, the Latin fathers generally call the Sabellians Patripassians; and not only so, but Theodoret doth so describe them as professing one person: 'Ἐν μὲν τῇ παλαιᾷ ὡς πατέρα νομοθετῆσαι, ἐν δὲ τῇ καινῇ, ὡς υἱὸν ἐνανθρωπήσαι. *Hær.* Fab. l. ii. c. 9. [Tom. iv. p. 223 D.] After the Sabelliani succeeded in the same heresy the Priscillianistæ, as appeareth by Pope Leo, who shews they taught but one person of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost: 'Quod blasphemie genus de Sabellii opinione sumpserunt, cujus discipuli etiam Patripassiani merito nuncupantur; quia si ipse est Filius qui et Pater, crux Filii Patris est passio, et quicquid in forma servi Filius Patri obediendo sustinuit, totum in se Pater ipse suscepit.' *Ep.* 93. c. i. [p. 932 C.] Thus the Patripassian heresy, beginning from Praxeas and Hermogenes, was continued by Noetus, Sabellius, and Priscillianus, and mingled with all their several heresies, the sum and substance of which is thus well set down by Victorinus Afer: 'Illi (Patripassiani) Deum solum esse dicunt quem nos patrem dicimus; ipsum solum existentem et effectorem omnium, et venisse non solum in mundum, sed et in carnem, et alia omnia quæ nos Filium fecisse dicimus.' *Adv. Arium*, l. i. p. 202 C.

¹ It appeareth plainly that Tertul-

lian confuted Praxeas, by reducing him to these words of the Creed. For when he had first declared: 'Nos unicum quidem Deum credimus (which was the objection of Praxeas) sub hac tamen dispensatione, quam *οικονομία* dicimus, ut unicus Dei sit et Filius sermo ipsius, qui ex ipso processerit, per quem omnia facta sunt, et sine quo factum est nihil.' c. 2. [p. 635 A.] then he subjoineth: 'Hunc missum a Patre in Virginem, et ex ea natum hominem et Deum, filium hominis et filium Dei, et cognominatum Jesum Christum. Hunc passum, hunc mortuum, et sepultum, secundum Scripturas, et resuscitatum a Patre, et in coelos resumptum sedere ad dextram Patris, venturum judicare vivos et mortuos.' *Ibid.* [p. 635 A.] And that we may be assured that he used these words out of the Creed, it followeth: 'Hanc Regulam ab initio Evangelii decurrissæ, &c.' *Ibid.* This is yet farther evident out of Epiphanius, who tells us the Eastern doctors confuted Noetus in the same manner, by reducing him to the words of the Creed: 'Ἐνα Θεὸν δοξάζομεν καὶ αὐτοὶ (just as Tertullian: 'Nos unicum quidem Deum credimus.') ἀλλ' ὡς ὀδῶμεν δικαίως δοξάζειν καὶ ἓνα Χριστὸν ἔχομεν, ἀλλ' ὡς ὀδῶμεν ἓνα Χριστὸν υἱὸν Θεοῦ, παθόντα καθὼς ἔπαθεν, ἀποθάνοντα καθὼς ἀπέθανεν, ἀναστάντα, ἀνελθόντα εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, ὄντα ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ πατρὸς, ἐρχόμενον κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς. *Hær.* 57. § 1. [Tom. i. p. 480 D.] And when the argument of Tertullian against Praxeas, and the Greeks against Noetus drawn from the Creed, did not sufficiently convince the Patripassians, the Church of Aquileia, to exclude them wholly, added these two words to the first article, *invisibilem*, and *impassibilem*. *Invisibilem*, to shew he was not incarnate; *impassibilem*, to shew he was not crucified. So Rufinus in the con-

but to the second, Article; we do not say, *I believe in God the Father Almighty, which was conceived*, but, *in his only Son, our Lord, which was conceived by the Holy Ghost*.

First then, We believe that he which was made flesh was the Word, that he which took upon him the nature of man was not the Father nor the Holy Ghost, nor any other person but the only-begotten Son. And when we say that person was *conceived* and *born*, we declare he was made really and truly man, of the same human nature which is in all other men, who by the ordinary way of generation are conceived and born. For the *Mediator between God and man is the man Christ Jesus*: that since *by man came death, by man also should come the resurrection of the dead*. As sure then as the first Adam and we who are redeemed are men, so certainly is the second Adam and our Mediator man. He is therefore frequently called the *Son of Man*, and in that nature he was always promised. First, to *Eve*, as her seed, and consequently her son. Then to Abraham, *In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed*; and that seed is *Christ*, and so the son of Abraham. Next to David, as his son to sit upon his throne; and so he is made of the seed of David according to the flesh; the son of David, the son of Abraham, and consequently of the same nature with David and with Abraham. And as he was their son, so are we his brethren, as descending from the same father Adam; and therefore it behoved him to be made like unto his brethren. For he laid not hold on the angels, but on the seed of Abraham; and so became not an angel, but a man.

As then man consisteth of two different parts, body and soul, so doth *Christ*; he assumed a body, at his conception, of the blessed Virgin. Forasmuch as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, he also himself likewise took part of the same. The verity of his body stands upon the truth

clusion of his exposition upon these words: *Credo in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem*, addeth: 'His additur invisibilem et impassibilem:' and then gives the reason: 'Sciendum quod duo isti sermones in Ecclesiæ Romanæ Symbolo non habentur. Constat autem apud nos additos Hæreseos causa Sabellii, illius profecto quæ a nostris *Patrispassiana* appellatur, id est, quæ

Patrem ipsum vel ex Virgine natum dicit, et visibilem factum, vel passum affirmat in carne. Ut ergo excluderetur talis impietas de Patre, videntur hæc addidisse majores, et invisibilem Patrem atque impassibilem dixisse. Constat enim Filium, non Patrem, in carne et ex carne natum, et ex natiuitate carnis Filium visibilem et passibilem factum.' *In Symb.* § 7. [p. 19.]

of his nativity¹; and the actions and passions of his life shew the nature of his flesh.

He was first born with a *body* which was *prepared for* Heb. x. 5. him, of the same appearance with those of other infants; he grew up by degrees, and was so far from being sustained without the accustomed nutrition of our bodies, that he was observed even by his enemies to come *eating and drinking*, Matt. xi. 19. and when he did not so, he suffered hunger and thirst. Those ploughers never doubted of the true nature of his flesh, who *ploughed upon his back, and made long furrows*. Psalm. cxix. 8. The thorns which pricked his sacred temples, the nails which penetrated through his hands and feet, the spear which pierced his sacred side, give sufficient testimony of the natural tenderness and frailty of his flesh. And lest his fasting forty days together, lest his walking on the waters and traversing the seas, lest his sudden standing in the midst of his
 160 disciples when the doors were shut, should raise an opinion that his body was not true and proper flesh; he confirmed first his own disciples, *feel and see that a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have*. As therefore we believe the coming of Christ, so must we confess him to have come in the verity of our human nature, even in true and proper flesh. With this determinate expression was it always necessary to acknowledge him: for *every spirit that confesseth* 1 John iv. 2, 3. *Jesus Christ come in the flesh, is of God; and every spirit that confesseth not Jesus Christ come in the flesh, is not of God*. This spirit appeared early in opposition to the apostolical doctrine; and *Christ*, who is both God and man, was as soon denied to be man as God. Simon Magus², the arch-heretic, first began, and many after followed him.

¹ 'Marcion, ut carnem Christi negaret, negavit etiam nativitatem, aut, ut nativitatem negaret, negavit et carnem: scilicet, ne invicem sibi testimonium redderent et responderent natiuitas et caro; quia nec nativitas sine carne nec caro sine nativitate.' *Tertull. de Carne Christi*, c. 1. [p. 358 B.]

² Simon Magus first made himself to be Christ; and what he feigned of himself, that was attributed by others unto Christ. 'Dixerat se in monte Sina Legem Mosi in Patris persona dedisse Judæis, tempore Tiberii in Filii persona putative apparuisse.' *S.*

August. Hæres. 1. [These words are not in the text of the Benedictine edition of Tom. VIII. p. 4, note.] So St Cyril represents him: *Οὐκ ἐστὶ σαρκὶ, ἀλλὰ δοκῆσει, ὡς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦ φανέραι.* *Catech. 6.* [p. 134.] From this *δόκησις* of his invention arose the heresy of the *Δοκηταί*. For Saturnilus or Saturninus followed his disciple Menander with his *putative tantum hominem*, as Irenæus; [Salvatorem autem innatum demonstravit, et incorporalem, et sine figura, putative autem visum hominem. *Irenæus, Hæres. lib. i. c. 22. p. 97. 4.*] and in *phan-*

And certainly, if the Son of God would vouchsafe to take the frailty of our flesh, he would not omit the nobler part, our soul, without which he could not be man. For *Jesus increased in wisdom and stature*; one in respect of his body, the other of his soul. Wisdom belongeth not to the flesh, nor can the knowledge of God, which is infinite, increase: he then, whose knowledge did improve together with his years, must have a subject proper for it, which was no other than a human soul. This was the seat of his finite understanding and directed will, distinct from the will of his Father, and consequently of his divine nature; as appeareth by that known submission, *not my will, but thine be done*. This was the subject of those affections and passions which so manifestly appeared in him: nor spake he any other than a proper language, when before his suffering he said, *My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death*. This was it which on the cross, before the departure from the body, he recommended to the Father: teaching us in whose hands the souls of the departed are: for *when Jesus had cried with a loud voice, he said, Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit; and having thus said, he gave up the ghost*. And as his death was nothing else but the separation of the soul from his body; so the life of *Christ* as man did consist in the conjunction and vital union of that soul with the body. So that he which was *perfect God, was also perfect man, of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting*. Which is to be observed and asserted against the ancient heretics¹, who taught

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tasmate tantum venisse, as Tertullian speaks, *Adv. Hæret.* c. 46. [Christum —venisse in phantasmate. *De Præscript. Hæreticorum*, c. 46. p. 250 B. Rigalt.] After him Valentinus and his followers, Epiphane, Isidorus, and Secundus; then the Marcosians, Heracleonites and Ophites, Cerdon, Marcion, Lucanus, and generally the Manichees. Those were the *δοκῶντες* or *φαντασιασταί*, all conspiring in this, that Christ was not really what he appeared, nor did truly suffer what he seemed to endure. This early heresy appeareth by the opposition which St Ignatius made unto it in his epistles.

¹ Of this kind two several sects were most remarkable, the Arians and the Apollinarians. Arians taught that

Christ had nothing of man but the flesh, and with that the Word was joined. "Ἀρείος δὲ σάρκα μόνον πρὸς ἀποκρυφῆς τῆς θεότητος ὁμολογεῖν ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ἔσθαι ἐν ἡμῖν ἀνθρώπου τοῦτο ἐστὶ τῆς ψυχῆς, τὸν λόγον ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ λέγει γεγενῆσθαι. *Athan. de Adv. Christi, c. Apollinar.* l. ii. § 3. [Tom. I. p. 942 c.] So Felicianus the Arian, in *Vigil. de Unitate Trin.* c. 17. 'Ita enim a majoribus nostris semper est traditum, quod Christi corpus ad vicem animæ communis ipsius Filii Dei habitus animarit; nec occasione animalis spiritus indigens fuerit, cui inhabitans fons vitæ potuit conferre quod vixit.' Eunomius followed him in this particular: "Ἀρείος δὲ καὶ Εὐνόμιος σῶμα μὲν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν εἰληφέναι,

that *Christ* assumed human flesh, but that the Word or his Divinity was unto that body in the place of an informing soul.

161 Thus the whole perfect and complete nature of man was assumed by the Word¹, by him who was *conceived and born* of a woman, and so made a man. And being the divine nature which he had before could never cease to be what before it was, nor ever become what before it was not; therefore he who was God before by the divine nature which he had, was in this incarnation made man by that human nature which he then assumed; and so really and truly was both God and man². And thus this third Article from the conjunction with the second, teacheth us no less than the two natures really distinct in *Christ* incarnate.

For if both natures were not preserved complete and dis-

την θεότητα δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐνηργηκεῖναι τὴν χρεῖαν. *Theodoret. Hæret. Fab. v. 11.* [Tom. IV. p. 278 D.] Apollinaris distinguished between the soul and the mind, the ψυχή and the νοῦς, and acknowledged that the Word assumed the body and the soul, or ψυχή of man, but not the mind or spirit, or the νοῦς, but the Word itself was in the place of that. 'Apollinaristas Apollinaris instituit, qui de anima Christi a Catholica dissenserunt, dicentes, sicut Ariani, Deum Christum carnem sine anima suscepisse. In questione testimonii Evangelicis victi, mentem, qua rationalis est anima hominis, non fuisse in anima Christi, sed pro hac ipsum verbum in ea fuisse, dixerunt.' *Augustin. de Hæresibus*, § 55. This was then the clear difference between the Arian and Apollinarian heresy: 'Apollinaristæ quidem carnis et animæ naturam sine mente assumpsisse Dominum credunt, Ariani vero carnis tantummodo.' *Facundus*, l. ix. c. 3. p. 381. [761 O.] So that two things are to be observed in the Apollinarians, their philosophy and their divinity; their philosophy, in making man consist of three distinct parts, the body, the soul, and the mind; their divinity, in making the human nature of Christ to consist but of two, the body and the soul, and the third to be supplied by the Word. Which is excellently expressed by Nemesius *de Nat. Hom.* in respect of his

philosophy: Τινὲς μὲν, ὡς ἐστὶ καὶ Πλωτῖνος, ἄλλην εἶναι τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ ἄλλον τὸν νοῦν δογματίζαντες, ἐκ τριῶν τὸν ἄνθρωπον συνεστάναι βούλονται σώματος, καὶ ψυχῆς, καὶ νοῦ. Οἷς ἠκολούθησε καὶ Ἀπολλινάριος ὁ τῆς Λαοδικεῖας γενόμενος ἐπίσκοπος· τοῦτον γὰρ πηξάμενος τὸν θεμέλιον τῆς οἰκίας δόξης, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ προσφυκοδόμησε κατὰ τὸ οἰκεῖον δόγμα. c. 1. init. [p. 466 B.] And by Theodoret in respect of his Divinity: Σαρκοθῆναι δὲ τὸν Θεὸν ἐφῆσε λόγον, σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν ἀνειληφῶτα οὐ τὴν λογικὴν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἄλογον, ἣν φυσικὴν, ἡγοῦν ζωτικὴν, τινὲς ὀνομάζουσι. τὸν δὲ νοῦν ἄλλο τι παρὰ τὴν ψυχὴν εἶναι λέγων, οὐκ ἐφῆσεν ἀνειληφῆθαι, ἀλλ' ἀρκέσαι τὴν θείαν φύσιν εἰς τὸ πληρῶσαι τοῦ νοῦ τὴν χρεῖαν. *Hæret. Fab. l. iv. § 8*, [Tom. IV. p. 240 D.]

¹ 'Quid a Patre Christus acceperat, nisi quod et induerat? hominem sine dubio, carnis animæque texturam.' *Tertull. de Resur. Carn. c. 34.* [p. 404 B.] 'Hoc toto credente jam mundo, puto quod et dæmones confiteantur Filium Dei natum de Maria Virgine, et carnem naturæ humanæ atque animam suscepisse.' *S. Hier. inii. Apol. 2. Advers. Rufinum*, col. 745. [Tom. II. p. 493 B.]

² Νῦν δὲ ἐπεφάνη ἀνθρώποις αὐτοῖς οὗτος ὁ λόγος, ὁ μόνος ἀμψυ, Θεὸς τε καὶ ἄνθρωπος. *Clem. Alexandr. adv. Gentis*, c. i. [p. 7. 3.]

tinct in *Christ*, it must be either by the conversion and transubstantiation of one into the other, or by commixtion and confusion of both into one. But neither of these ways can consist with the person of our Saviour, or the office of our Mediator. For if we should conceive such a mixtion and confusion of substances as to make a union of natures, we should be so far from acknowledging him to be both God and man, that thereby we should profess him to be neither God nor man, but a person of a nature as different from both, as all mixed bodies are distinct from each element which concurs unto their composition. Besides, we know there were in *Christ* the affections proper to the nature of man, and all those infirmities which belong to us, and cannot be conceived to belong to that nature of which the divine was but a part. Nor could our humanity be so commixed or confounded with the Divinity of our Saviour, but that the Father had been made man as much as the Son, because the divine nature is the same both of the Father and the Son. Nor ought we to have so low an esteem of that infinite and independent Being¹, as to think it so commixed with or immersed in the creature.

Again, as the confusion, so the conversion, of natures is impossible. For first, we cannot with the least shew of probability conceive the divine nature of *Christ* to be transubstantiated into the human nature; as those whom they call Flandrian Anabaptists² in the Low-Countries at this day maintain. There is a plain repugnancy even in the supposition; for the nature of man must be made, the nature of God cannot be made, and consequently cannot become the nature of man. The immaterial, indivisible, and immortal Godhead cannot be divided into a spiritual and incorruptible soul, and a carnal and corruptible body; of which two humanity consisteth. There is no other Deity of the Father than of the Son; and therefore if this was converted into that humanity, then was the Father also that man, and grew in knowledge, suffered, and died. We must not therefore so far stand upon

¹ 'Absit ita credere, ut conflati quodam genere duas naturas in unam arbitremur redactas esse substantiam: hujusmodi enim commixtio partis utriusque corruptio est. Deus enim qui capax est, non capabilis, penetrans, non penetrabilis, implens, non implebilis, qui ubique simul totus, et ubique

diffusus est per infusionem potentissimæ, misericorditer naturæ mixtus est humanæ, non humana natura naturæ est mixta Divinæ.' *Leporius. Libel. Emend.* [c. 4. p. 397 D.]

² Teste Episcopo, *Instit. Theol.* l. iv. c. 8.

the propriety of speech, when it is written, *The Word was made flesh*, as to destroy the propriety both of the *Word* and of the *flesh*¹.

162 Secondly, We must not, on the contrary, invent a conversion of the human nature into the divine, as the Euty-chians of old did fancy. For sure the incarnation could not at first consist in such a conversion, it being unimaginable how that which had no being should be made by being turned into something else. Therefore the humanity of *Christ* could not at the first be made by being the Divinity of the Word. Nor is the incarnation so preposterously expressed, as if the flesh were made the Word, but that the Word was made flesh. And if the manhood were not in the first act of incarnation converted into the divine nature, as we see it could not be; then is there no pretence of any time or manner, in or by which it was afterwards so transubstantiated². Vain there-

¹ In that proposition, *ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο*, there hath been strange force used by men of contrary judgments, and for contrary ends, as to the word *ἐγένετο*. The Socinians endeavouring to prove it can have no other sense than simply *fuit*, the Word *was* flesh: the Flandrian Anabaptists stretching it to the highest sense of *factum est*, the Word *was made* flesh. It is confessed that the verb *γενεσθαι* in the use of the Greek language is capable of either interpretation: it is also acknowledged that the most ancient interpreters were divided in their renditions. For the Syriac rendered it *ܡܬܠܡܐ ܒܫܪܐ* *Et verbum caro fuit*; the ancient Latin, *Et verbum caro factum est*. It cannot be denied but in the Scriptures it hath been used indifferently in either sense. And the same old Vulgar translation in some places renders it, as the Syriac doth here, Matt. x. 16: *γίνεσθε ὡς φρόνιμοι ὡς οἱ ὄφεις*, *Estate ergo prudentes sicut serpentes*; and 25: *Ἀρκτεὶν τῷ μαθητῇ ὡς ὁ διδάσκαλος αὐτοῦ*, *Sufficiat discipulo ut sit sicut magister ejus*. From whence it is evident that they placed not the force in the signification of the word *γενεσθαι*, but in the circumstance of the matter in which

it was used. Howsoever, neither of these interpretations prove either of these opinions. For if it be acknowledged that the Word was flesh, and it hath been already proved and presupposed by St John in his precedent discourse, that the Word had a former being antecedent to his being flesh; it followeth, that he which was before the Word, and was not flesh, if after he were flesh, must be made such. And so the Socinian observation falls. Again, if he which was made flesh was the Word, and after he was made such was still the Word, as certainly he was, and is still the same; then his being made or becoming flesh can no way evacuate that nature, in which he did before subsist. And so the Flandrian interpretation is of no validity.

² This was the proper opinion of Eutyches, as appeareth by his own confession in the Council of Chalcedon: *Ὁμολογῶ ἐκ δύο φύσεων γεγενῆσθαι τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν πρὸ τῆς ἐνώσεως, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐνωσιν μίαν φύσιν ὁμολογῶ*. Act. 1. [Labbé, Tom. IV. p. 225.] Two distinct natures he confessed at first, but when the union was once made, he acknowledged but one. But when that union was made he expressed not, nor could his followers

fore was that old conceit of Eutyches, who thought the union to be made so in the natures, that the humanity was absorbed and wholly turned into the Divinity, so that by that transubstantiation the human nature had no longer being. And well did the ancient fathers, who opposed this heresy, make use of the sacramental union between the bread and wine and the body and blood of *Christ*, and thereby shewed, that the human nature of *Christ* is no more really converted into the Divinity, and so ceaseth to be the human nature, than the substance of the bread and wine is really converted into the substance of the body and blood, and thereby ceaseth to be both bread and wine. From whence it is by the way observable, that the Church in those days understood no such doctrine as that of transubstantiation¹.

agree; some attributing it to the conception, some to the resurrection, others to the ascension. Howsoever, when they were united, his opinion clearly was, that the human nature was so absorbed into the divine, so wholly made the same, that it ceased wholly to be what it was, and so there was but one, that is, the divine nature remained. This is sufficiently expressed by St Leo, who was the strongest opposer of him, and speaketh thus of his opinion, *Serm. 8. de Nativ.* (c. 3, p. 809 F): 'Hic autem recentioris sacrilegii profanus assertor unitiorem quidem in Christo duarum confessus est naturarum; sed ipsa unitiōe id dixit effectum, ut ex duabus una remaneret, nullatenus alterius existente substantia.' And the Eranistes in the dialogue of Theodoret arguing for that opinion, being urged to declare whether in that union one nature was made of them both, or one remaining, the other did not so, answered plainly: 'Ἐγὼ τὴν θεότητα λέγω μεμενηκέναι, καταποθῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ ταύτης τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα. *Dialog. ii.* [Tom. iv.] p. 77 A.

¹ There can be no time in which we may observe the doctrine of the ancients so clearly, as when they write professedly against an heresy evidently known, and make use generally of the same arguments against it. Now what the heresy of Eutyches was, is cer-

tainly known, and the nature of the sacrament was generally made use of as an argument to confute it. Gelasius, bishop of Rome, hath written an excellent book against Eutyches, *De duabus naturis in Christo*, (*in Biblioth. Patr. Lat. T. v. par. 3. p. 671 B.*) in which he propoundeth their opinion thus: 'Eutychediani dicunt unam esse naturam, id est, Divinam;' [p. 668 D.] and, 'sola existente Deitate, Humanitas illic esse jam destitit.' [p. 688 F.] That then which he disputes against is the transubstantiation of the human nature into the divine. The argument which he makes use of against it is drawn from the eucharist: 'Certe Sacramenta quæ sumimus corporis et sanguinis Christi Divina res est, propter quod et per eadem Divinæ efficiuntur consortes naturæ: et tamen esse non desinit substantia vel natura panis et vini. Et certe imago et similitudo corporis et sanguinis Christi in actione mysteriorum celebrantur. Satis ergo nobis evidenter ostenditur, hoc nobis de ipso Christo Domino sentiendum, quod in ejus imagine profitemur, celebramus, et sumimus, ut sicut in hanc, scilicet, in Divinam, transeant, Sancto Spiritu perficiente, substantiam, permanente tamen in suis proprietate naturæ; sic illud ipsum mysterium principale, cujus nobis efficientiam virtutemque veraciter representant, ex qui-

163 Being then he which is *conceived* was the *only Son of God*, and that *only Son* begotten of the substance of the Father, and so always subsisted in the divine nature; being by the same conception he was made truly man, and consequently assumed an human nature; being these two natures cannot be made one either by commixtion or conversion, and

bus constat proprie permanentibus, unum Christum, quia integrum verumque, permanere demonstrant.' In which words it is plain he affirms the union of the human nature of Christ to be the principal mystery, the representation of that mystery to be in the sacrament of the eucharist: he concludes from thence, that as in the representation the substance of the bread and wine remaineth in the propriety of their own nature, so the human nature of Christ in the greater mystery doth still remain. In the margin of this place in the *Bibliotheca Patrum* there is printed *Caute*, as if there could be any danger in observing the sense of the fathers, when they speak so expressly and considerably. In the same manner we find a disputation between an heretic and a catholic in the second dialogue of Theodoret, where Eranistes, as an heretic, asks Orthodoxus by what names he calls the bread and wine after consecration; who answers, The Body and Blood of Christ: from whence Eranistes argues, [Tom. iv.] p. 85 B: "Ὅπερ τολῶν τὰ σύμβολα τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ σώματος τε καὶ αἵματος ἄλλα μὲν εἶσι πρὸ τῆς ἱερατικῆς ἐπικλήσεως, μετὰ δὲ γε τὴν ἐπικλήσιν μεταβάλλεται καὶ ἕτερα γίνεται· οὕτω τὸ δεσποτικὸν ὄμα μετὰ τὴν ἀνδλησιν εἰς τὴν οὐσίαν μεταβλήθη τὴν θεῶν· *As the symbols of the body and blood of Christ are one thing before consecration, and after that change their name, and become another; so the body of Christ after his ascension is changed into the divine substance.* To this Orthodoxus answers: 'Ἐδῶς αἰς ὕψους ἀρκεῖται, *You are taken in your own nets.* Οὐδὲ γὰρ μετὰ τὸν ἀγιασμὸν τὰ μυστικὰ σύμβολα τῆς οἰκίας ἐξίσταται φύσει, μένει γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας οὐσίας, καὶ τοῦ σχήματος, καὶ τοῦ εἶναι, καὶ ὁρατὰ

ἐστὶ καὶ ἀπὸ, ὅλα καὶ πρότερον ἦν· *The bread and wine even after consecration leave not their own nature, but remain in their former substance, shape, and form.* In the same manner: Καὶ ἐκεῖνο τὸ ὄμα τὸ μὲν πρότερον εἶδος ἔχει καὶ σχῆμα καὶ περιγραφὴν, καὶ ἀπαξ ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν, τὴν τοῦ σώματος οὐσίαν· *The body of Christ hath the same form, figure, and shape, and indeed the same bodily substance.* And when Eranistes still objects, that the bread is called the body, and not bread; Orthodoxus answers that he is mistaken: Οὐ γὰρ ὄμα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄρτος ζωῆς ὀνομάζεται, οὕτως αὐτὸς ὁ Κύριος προσηγόρευσε, καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ὄμα θεῶν ὀνομάζομεν ὄμα· *For it is not only called the body, but also bread of life, and the body itself we call the divine body.* Who sees not then, that Theodoret believed no more that the bread is converted into the body, than that the body is converted into the Divinity of Christ? Who perceives not that he thought the bread to be as substantially and really bread after the consecration, as the body of Christ is really a body after his ascension? The same argument is used by St Chrysostom upon the same occasion against the Apollinarians in his epistle *ad Cesarium*, not yet published in Greek, and by Ephraïmus in *Photii Bibliotheca* against the Eutychians. As therefore all the μεταστοιχείωσις of the sacramental elements maketh them not cease to be of the same nature which before they were; so the human nature of Christ, joined to the divine, loseth not the nature of humanity, but continueth with the Divinity as a substance in itself distinct; and so Christ doth subsist not only *ex*, but in *duabus naturis*, as the Council of Chalcedon determined against Eutyches.

yet there can be but one *Christ* subsisting in them both, because that only Son was he which is conceived and born: it followeth, that the union which was not made in the nature, was made in the person of the Word; that is, it was not so made, that out of both natures one only should result, but only so, that to one person no other should be added.

Nor is this union only a scholastic speculation, but a certain and necessary truth, without which we cannot have one Christ, but two Christs, one Mediator, but two Mediators; without which we cannot join the second Article of our CREED with the third, making them equally belong to the same person; without which we cannot interpret the sacred Scriptures, or understand the history of our Saviour. For certainly he which was before Abraham, was in the days of Herod born of a woman: he which preached in the days of Noah, began to preach in the reign of Tiberius, being at that time about thirty years of age; he was demonstrated the Son of God with power, who was the seed of David according to the flesh; he who died on the cross, raised him from the dead who died so, being *put to death through the flesh, but quickened by the Spirit*; he was *of the fathers as concerning the flesh, who was over all, God blessed for ever*. Being these and the like actions and affections cannot come from the same nature, and yet must be attributed to the same person; as we must acknowledge a diversity of natures united, so must we confess the identity of the person in whom they are conjoined, against the ancient heresy of the Nestorians¹, condemned in the Council of Ephesus.

1 Pet. III. 18.

Rom. ix. 5.

¹ This heresy doth most formally contradict these words of the Creed, because it immediately denies this truth, that the eternal Son of God was conceived and born. And in vain did Nestorius seek not only to avoid it in the Nicene Creed, but to make use of the words of the Creed even against the unity of the person of Christ. St Cyril had well objected the series, order, and consequence of that confession: 'Ἡ ἀγία φησὶ καὶ μεγάλη Σύνοδος, αὐτὸν τὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ Πατρὸς κατὰ φύσιν γεννηθέντα υἱὸν μονογενῆ, τὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ ἀληθινόν, τὸ φῶς τὸ ἐκ τοῦ φωτός, τὸν δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα πεποιήκεν ὁ Πατήρ, κατελθεῖν, σαρκωθῆναι, ἐνανθρωπήσαι, παθεῖν, [ἀναστῆ-

ναι τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ ἀνελθεῖν εἰς οὐρανοῦς.] [Tom. v. par. 2.] *Epist.* 5. p. 25 D. [The last words are not in Aubert's edition.] The strength of this objection lies in this, that Christ, the only-begotten Son, begotten of the Father before all worlds, was incarnate. The answer of Nestorius was in this manner: Πιστεύομεν εἰς τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ· σκόπησων ὅπως τὸ, Κύριος, Ἰησοῦς, Χριστός, καὶ μονογενής, καὶ υἱός, πρότερον θέντες, τὰ κοινὰ τῆς θεότητος καὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος, ὡς θεομελούς, ὀνόματα τότε τῇ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως, καὶ τοῦ πάθους, καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἐποικοδομοῦσι παραδοσῶν. *Ibid.* p. 26 B. And the strength, or rather

BY THE HOLY GHOST.

HAVING thus dispatched the consideration of the first Person concerned in this Article, and the actions contained in it so far as distinctly from the rest they belong to him, we descend unto the other two concerned in the same; and first to him whose operation did precede in the conception, the Holy Ghost. Which second part some may think to require a three-fold consideration; first, of the conception; secondly, of the person; thirdly, of the operation. But for the person or existence of the Holy Ghost, that is here only mentioned obliquely, and therefore to be reserved for another Article, where it is propounded directly. And for the conception itself, that belongeth not so properly to the Holy Ghost, of whom the act cannot be predicated. For though Christ *was conceived by the Holy Ghost*, yet the Holy Ghost did not conceive him, but said unto the Virgin, *Thou shalt conceive*. There remaineth therefore nothing proper and peculiar to this second part, but that operation of the Holy Ghost in *Christ's* conception, whereby the Virgin was enabled to conceive, and by virtue whereof *Christ* is said to be *conceived* by him. Luko i. 31.

the weakness, thereof is this: that first the Council placed the name of Jesus Christ, and the only-begotten Son, names common to the Divinity and humanity of Christ: and then upon them built the doctrine of his incarnation. Whereas it is evident that, supposing the *only-begotten* a term common to the humanity and Divinity, yet the Council clearly expounds it of the eternal generation, adding immediately, *begotten of his Father before all worlds*; neither is there any word between that exposition and the incarnation, but such as speak wholly of Christ as God. Therefore that only-begotten Son, who was *begotten of his Father before all worlds*, descended from heaven, and was incarnate. Thus St Cyril in his second epistle to Nestorius, and Nestorius in his second to him. Which mistake of his seems yet more strange to me, when I consider in the same epistle of Nestorius that fundamental truth asserted, which of itself sufficiently, nay, fully confutes

his heresy: for he acknowledgeth the name of Christ to be, *δραβούρ καὶ παθνήρῃς οὐσίας ἐν μοναδικῇ προσώπῳ προσηγούαν σημεῖον*, *Ibid.* [p. 26 E.] and consequently, Christ himself to be a single person in a double nature, passible and impassible: which once granted, it evidently followeth, that he which was born from eternity, was also born in time, for by those several natures he had those several natures; that he which was impassible as God, might, and did suffer as man, because the same person was of an impassible and a passible nature; impassible as God, passible as man. Wherefore by that which Nestorius hath confessed, and notwithstanding that which he hath objected, it is evident out of the Nicene Creed, that the Son of God, begotten of his Father before all worlds, was incarnate and made man; and as evident out of the Apostles' Creed, especially expounded by the Nicene, that the same only-begotten Son was conceived by the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary.

Now when we say the conception of our Saviour was wrought by the operation of the Spirit, it will be necessary to observe, first, What is excluded by that attribution to the Spirit; secondly, What is included in that operation of the Spirit.

For the first of these, we may take notice in the salutation of the angel, when he told the blessed Virgin she should conceive and bring forth a son, she said, *How shall this be, seeing I know not a man?* By which words she excludeth first all men, and then herself: all men, by that assertion, *I know not a man*; herself, by the question, *How shall this be, seeing it is so?* First, our Melchizedeck had no father on earth; in general, not any man, in particular, not Joseph. It is true, *his mother Mary was espoused to Joseph*: but it is as true, *before they came together, she was found with child of the Holy Ghost*. We read in St Luke, that *the parents brought up the child Jesus into the temple*: but these parents were not the father and the mother, but as it followeth, *Joseph and his mother marvelled at those things which were spoken of him*. It is true, Philip calleth him *Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Joseph*: and, which is more, his mother said unto him, *Behold, thy father and I have sought thee sorrowing*: but this must be only the reputed father of *Christ*, he being only *as was supposed, the son of Joseph, which was the son of Eli*. Whence they must needs appear without all excuse, who therefore affirm our Saviour to have been the proper son of Joseph, because the genealogy belongs to him; whereas in that very place where the genealogy begins, Joseph is called the supposed father. How can it then therefore be necessary *Christ* should be the true son of Joseph, that he may be known to be the son of David, when in the same place where it is proved that Joseph came from David, it is denied that *Christ* came from Joseph? And that not only in St Luke, where Joseph begins, but also in St Matthew, where he ends the genealogy. *Jacob begat Joseph the husband of Mary, of whom was born Jesus, who is called Christ*¹. Howsoever then the genealogies are described, whether one belong to Joseph, the other to Mary, or

¹ Indeed in our translation, *whom* may relate to both, as well as one, and to Joseph as well as Mary; but in

the original it evidently belongs to Mary: Τὸν Ἰωσήφ τὸν ἀνδρα Μαρίας, ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη Ἰησοῦς.

both to Joseph, it is from other parts of the Scriptures infallibly certain, not only that *Christ* descended lineally from David according to the flesh, but also that the same *Christ* was begotten of the Virgin Mary, and not by Joseph.

Secondly, As the blessed Virgin excluded all mankind, and particularly Joseph, to whom she was then espoused, by her assertion; so did she exclude herself by the manner of the question, shewing that of herself she could not cause any such conception. Although she may be thought the *root of Jesse*, yet could she not germinate of herself; though Eve were the mother of all living, yet generation was founded on the divine benediction which was given to both together: for *God blessed them, and said unto them, Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth.* Though *Christ* was promised as the *seed of the woman*, yet we must not imagine that it was in the power of woman to conceive him. When the Virgin thinks it impossible she should conceive because she knew not a man, at the same time she confesseth it otherwise as impossible, and the angel acknowledgeth as much in the satisfaction of his answer, *For with God nothing shall be impossible.* God then it was who immediately and miraculously enabled the blessed Virgin to conceive our Saviour; and while Mary, Joseph, and all men are denied, no person which is that God can be excluded from that operation. Gen. i. 28. Luke i. 37.

But what is included in the conception by the Holy Ghost, or how his operation is to be distinguished from the conception of the Virgin, is not so easily determined. The words by which it is expressed in Scripture are very general: First, as they are delivered by way of promise, prediction, or satisfaction to Mary; *The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee:* Secondly, as they suppose the conception already past: *When his mother Mary was espoused to Joseph, before they came together, she was found with child of the Holy Ghost;* and give satisfaction unto Joseph, *Fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife; for that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost.* Luke i. 35. Matt. i. 18. Matt. i. 20. now being the expressions in the Scriptures are so general, that from thence the operation of the Spirit cannot precisely be distinguished from the concurrence of the Virgin; much less shall we be able exactly to conclude it by that late distinction made in this Article, *conceived by the Holy Ghost,*

Isai. vii. 14.

born of the Virgin: because it is certain that the same Virgin also conceived him according to the prophecy, *Thou shalt conceive and bear a son:* and therefore notwithstanding that distinction, the difficulty still remains, how he was conceived by the Spirit, how by the Virgin. Neither will any difference of prepositions¹ be sufficient rightly to distinguish these opera-

¹ *As conceptus de Spiritu Sancto, natus ex Maria Virgine.* St Augustin indeed hath delivered a distinction between *de* and *ex*, after this manner, speaking to those words of the apostle: *Quoniam ex ipso, et per ipsum, et in ipso, sunt omnia.* '*Ex ipso autem non hoc significat quod de ipso. Quod enim de ipso est, potest dici ex ipso; non autem omné quod ex ipso est, recte dicitur de ipso. Ex ipso enim cælum et terra, quia ipse fecit ea; non autem de ipso, quia non de substantia sua. Sicut aliquis homo si gignat filium, et faciat domum, ex ipso filius, ex ipso domus; sed filius de ipso, domus de terra et ligno.*' *De Nat. Boni adv. Manich.* [c. 26, 27. Tom. VIII. p. 360 D.] This distinction having no foundation in the Latin tongue, is ill made use of for the illustration of this Article, because in the Greek language of the Testament there is no such diversity of prepositions, for as we read of Mary, *ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη ὁ Ἰησοῦς*, so also of the Holy Ghost, *ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας τοῦ πνεύματος ἐγεννήθη ὁ υἱος τοῦ θεοῦ*, and *τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ γεννηθὲν ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος ἑστὶν υἱος τοῦ θεοῦ*. It is therefore said as well *ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος*, as *ἐκ Μαρίας*. Again, the Vulgar observeth no such difference, as rendering for the one, *de qua natus est Jesus*, and for the other, *in utero habens de Spiritu Sancto*. Correspondently in the Greek Creeds, *συλληφέντα ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος, γεννηθέντα ἐκ Μαρίας*, or as in the Nicene, *ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ Μαρίας*. And the Latin not only *de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine*, but sometimes *de Spiritu Sancto et Maria Virgine*, and *de Maria Virgine*, Chrysologus and St Augustin often *de Trinitate*. Wherefore in vain have the schools first accepted of St Augustin's distinction, and then applied it to Christ's conception; first taking

the preposition *de* to signify no less than a procession from the substance of the cause, and then acknowledge Christ so begotten of the Holy Ghost, because the eternal Son who was so begotten was of the same substance with the Holy Ghost. Thus Thomas Aquinas has delivered the subtilty, *Sum. Par. 3. q. 32. a. 2:* '*In Spiritu Sancto duplex habitudo consideratur respectu Christi. Nam ad ipsum Filium Dei, qui dicitur esse conceptus, habet habitudinem consubstantialitatis; ad corpus autem ejus habet habitudinem causæ efficientis. Hæc autem præpositio de utramque habitudinem designat, sicut cum dicimus hominem aliquem esse de suo patre. Et ideo convenienter, dicere possumus Christum esse conceptum de Spiritu Sancto hoc modo, quod efficientia Spiritus Sancti referatur ad corpus assumptum, consubstantialitas vero ad personam assumentem.*' But this distinction of consubstantiality and effective causality can make nothing for the propriety of the phrase; for the preposition *de* signifieth the material cause as well as the efficient, it must do so in respect of that which is the effect, if it require that the thing which is made, be made of the substance of that *de quo est*: then must Christ, according unto that which is made, be made of the substance of the Holy Ghost; or, to speak in the words of the Scripture, '*Quod in ea natum est, de Spiritu Sancto est.*' Where either that which was conceived in the Virgin must be acknowledged of the substance of the Holy Ghost, or else the preposition *de* must not be taken in St Augustin's sense. However, being there is but one preposition *ἐκ*, common to both in the original Greek; being the vulgar translation useth *de*

tions. Wherefore there is no other way to bound or determine the action of the Holy Ghost, but by that concurrence of the Virgin which must be acknowledged with it. For if she were truly the mother of *Christ* (as certainly she was, and we shall hereafter prove,) then is there no reason to deny to her in respect of him whatsoever is given to other mothers in relation to the fruit of their womb; and consequently, no more is left to be attributed to the Spirit, than what is necessary to cause the Virgin to perform the actions of a mother. When the Scripture speaketh of regeneration, or the second birth, it denieth all which belongeth to natural procreation, describing the *sons of God* as begotten *not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God*: and in the incarnation of our Saviour, we remove all will or lust of the flesh, we deny all will of man concurring; but as the *bloods* in the language of the Hebrews did signify that substance of which the flesh was formed in the womb, so we acknowledge in the generation of *Jesus Christ* that he was made of the substance of his mother. John 1. 13.

But as he was so made of the substance of the Virgin, so was he not made of the substance of the Holy Ghost, whose essence cannot at all be made. And because the Holy Ghost did not beget him by any communication of his essence, therefore he is not the father of him, though he were conceived by him. And if at any time I have said, *Christ* was begotten by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, if the ancients speak as if he generated¹ the Son, it is not so to be understood, as if the Spirit did perform any proper act of generation, such as is the foundation of paternity.

Again, as the Holy Ghost did not frame the human nature of *Christ* out of his own substance; so must we not believe that he formed any part of his flesh of any other substance than of the Virgin. For certainly he was of the fathers

indifferently for either; being where they have distinguished *de* and *ex*, they have attributed *ex*, which doth not signify consubstantiality, to the Virgin, of whom they confess he did assume the substance of his body, and *de*, which signifieth (as they say) consubstantiality, to the Holy Ghost, of whose substance he received nothing: it followeth, that the difference in the

prepositions can no way declare the different concurrence of the Spirit and the Virgin in *Christ's* conception.

¹ As Chrysologus, *Serm.* 57. [p. 703 n]: 'Ubi Spiritus generat, Virgo paritur, totum divinum geritur, nihil humanum.' And *Serm.* 62. [p. 707 r]: 'Stupenti mundo solus aperi quid est quod Spiritus generat, Virgo concipit, Virgo parit.'

according to the flesh, and was as to that truly and totally the son of David and of Abraham. The Socinians, who will acknowledge no other way before *Christ's* conception by which he could be the only-begotten Son of God, have been forced to invent a strange conjunction in the nature of *Christ*: one part received from the Virgin, and so consequently from David and from Abraham, from whom that Virgin did descend; another framed by the Spirit¹, and conjoined with it; by the one part of which humanity he was the son of man, as by the other part he was the Son of God.

The belief of this is necessary to prevent all fear or 167
suspicion of spot in this Lamb, of sin in this *Jesus*. What-

¹ 'Deus ipsemet ad sanguinem Mariæ addidit aliam materiam, ex quibus deinde Christus conceptus et natus est.' *Smalcus, De Vero et Naturali Dei Filio*, c. 2. 'Verum manet generationem et hanc dici posse, quatenus in Deum ea cadere potest, si ad sanguinem Mariæ addita sit ex parte Dei materia, ex qua cum sanguine Mariæ juncta natus sit Christus.' *Ib.* c. 3. What this was thus added to the substance of the Virgin, he elsewhere explains: 'Nos Dei virtutem in Virginis uterum aliquam substantiam creatam vel immisisse aut ibi creasse affirmamus, ex qua, juncto eo quod ex ipsius Virginis substantia accessit, verus homo generatus fuit.' This he doth not only without any authority affirm, but ground upon it the sonship of Christ. For so it follows: 'Alias enim homo ille Dei Filius a conceptione et nativitate proprie non fuisset.' And again: 'Necessitas magna fuit ut Christus ab initio vitæ suæ esset Dei Filius, qualis futurus non fuisset, nisi Dei virtute aliquid creatum fuisset quod ad constituendum Christi corpus una cum Mariæ sanguine concurrir.' Thus while they deny the eternal generation of the Son, they establish a temporal in such manner as is not consonant with that word which they pretend wholly to follow, and have made a body of Christ partly descending from the Father, partly not: and whereas as man he is like to us in all things, sin only excepted; they have invented a body,

partly like ours, partly not, and so in no part totally like. Indeed some of the ancients did speak so as to make the Holy Ghost the *semen Dei*; as Tertullian: 'Ergo jam Dei Filius ex Patris Dei semine, id est, Spiritu, ut esset et hominis filius, caro ei sola erat ex hominis carne sumenda sine viri semine. Vacabat enim viri semen apud habentem Dei semen.' *De Car. Christ.* c. 18. [p. 373 B.] And St Hilary calls it: 'Sementivam ineuntis Spiritus efficaciam.' *L. 2. de Trin.* c. 26. [p. 801 O.] But in this they only understood the operation of the Spirit, *loco seminis*. And whosoever spake of any proper *semen*, they abhorred; as appears by the 191st Sermon *de Tempore*: 'Nec ut quidam sceleratissimi opinantur, Spiritum Sanctum dicimus pro semine fuisse, sed potentia et virtute Creatoris operatum.' I know not whether be the greatest folly; to make the Holy Ghost the father, as these men have done, by creating part of his body by way of seminal conjunction; or to make the same Spirit mother of Christ, as the Nazarenes did: 'In Evangelio Hebræorum quod lectitans Nazareni, Salvator inducitur loquens, *Modo me arripuit mater mea, Spiritus Sanctus*.' There is only this difference, that one is founded upon no authority of Scripture, the other upon the authority of a pretended, but no Scripture: the one maketh the Holy Ghost a partial, the other a total mother.

soever our original corruption is, however displeasing unto God, we may be from hence assured there was none in him, in whom alone God hath declared himself to be well pleased. *Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean?* Job xiv. 4. saith Job; a clean and undefiled Redeemer out of an unclean and defiled nature? He whose name is Holiness, whose operation is to sanctify, the Holy Ghost. Our *Jesus* was like unto us in all things as born of a woman, sin only excepted, *as conceived by the Holy Ghost*. This original and total sanctification of the human nature was first necessary, to fit it for the personal union with the Word, who, out of his infinite love, humbled himself to become flesh, and at the same time, out of his infinite purity, could not defile himself by becoming sinful flesh. Secondly, The same sanctification was as necessary in respect of the end for which he was made man, the redemption of mankind: that as the first¹ Adam was the fountain of our impurity, so the second Adam should also be the pure fountain of our righteousness. *God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh,* Rom. vii. 3. *condemned sin in the flesh;* which he could not have condemned, had he been sent in sinful flesh. *The Father made* 2 Cor. v. 21. *him to be sin for us, who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him;* which we could not have been made in him, but that he *did no sin,* and 1 Pet. ii. 22. *knew no sin.* For whosoever is sinful wanteth a Redeemer; and he could have redeemed none, who stood in need of his own redemption. We are redeemed *with the precious blood* 1 Pet. i. 19. *of Christ:* therefore precious, because of a *Lamb without blemish, and without spot.* Our atonement can be made by no other high-priest than by him who is *holy, harmless, un-* Heb. vii. 26. *defiled, and separate from sinners.* We cannot know that 1 John iii. 5. *he was manifested to take away our sins*², except we also know that *in him is no sin.* Wherefore, being it is so necessary to believe the original holiness of our human nature in

¹ 'Illud tamen unum peccatum, quod tam magnum in loco et habitu tantæ felicitatis admissum est, ut in uno homine originaliter, atque, ut ita dixerim, radicaliter, totum genus humanum damnaretur, non solvitur ac diluitur nisi per unum Mediatorem Dei et hominum, hominem Christum Jesum, qui solus potuit ita nasci, ut

ei non opus esset renasci.' *S. August. Enchirid.* cap. 48. § 1 4. [Tom. vi. p. 157 D.] (Vol. vi. p. 214.)

² 'In quo non est peccatum, ipse venit auferre peccatum. Nam si esset in illo peccatum, auferendum esset illi, non ipse auferret.' *S. August. Tract. 4. in Ioan.* § 8. [Tom. iii. Part 2. p. 622 F.]

the person of our Saviour; it is as necessary to acknowledge that way by which we may be fully assured of that sanctity, his conception by the Holy Ghost.

Again, it hath been observed¹ that by this manner of *Christ's* conception is declared the freedom of the grace of God. For as the Holy Ghost is God, so is he also called the Gift of God: and therefore the human nature in its first original, without any precedent merit², was formed by the Spirit, and in its formation sanctified, and in its sanctification united to the Word; so that the grace was coexistent, and in a manner connatural with it. The mystery of the incarnation is frequently attributed in the Scriptures to the love, mercy, and goodness of God. *Through the tender mercy of our God the day-spring from on high hath visited us.* In this the kindness and love of God our Saviour toward man appeared. And though these and such other Scriptures speak properly of the love and mercy of God to man alone, offered unto him in the incarnation of our Saviour, and so directly exclude the merits of other men only; yet because they speak so generally with reference to God's mercy, they may well be thought to exclude all universally. Especially considering the impossibility of merit³ in *Christ's* humanity, in respect of his conception; because all desert necessarily precedeth its reward, and *Christ* was not man before he was conceived, nor can that merit which is not.

Thirdly, Whereas we are commanded to be holy, and that even as he is holy; by this we learn from what foundation this holiness must flow. We bring no such purity into the

Luke i. 78.

Tit. iii. 4.

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¹ By St Augustin: 'Ex hoc quod de Spiritu Sancto est secundum hominem nativitas Christi, quid aliud quam ipsa gratia demonstratur.' *Anchir.* c. 37. § 11. [Tom. vi. p. 154 F.] (p. 211.)

² 'Modus iste quo natus est Christus de Spiritu Sancto non sicut filius, et de Maria Virgine sicut filius, insinuat nobis gratiam Dei, qua homo, nullis præcedentibus meritis, in ipso exordio naturæ suæ quo esse coepit, Verbo Dei copularetur in tantam personæ unitatem, ut idem ipse esset Filius Dei qui filius hominis, et filius hominis qui Filius Dei: ac sic naturæ humanæ susceptione fieret quodammodo ipsa gratia illi homini naturalis,

quæ nullum peccatum posset admittere. Quæ gratia propterea per Spiritum Sanctum fuerat significanda, quia ipse propriè sic est Deus, ut dicatur etiam Dei Donum.' *Id. ibid.* c. 40. § 12. [Tom. vi. p. 155 F.] (p. 212.)

³ 'Cum ad naturam Dei non pertineat humana natura, ad personam tamen unigeniti Filii Dei per gratiam pertinet humana natura; et tantam gratiam, ut nulla sit major, nulla prorsus æqualis. Neque enim illam susceptionem hominis ulla merita præcesserunt, sed ab illa susceptione merita ejus cuncta coeperunt.' *S. August. Tract. 82. in Joan.* [Tom. iii. Part 2. p. 514 E.] (p. 717.)

world, nor are we sanctified in the womb; but as he was sanctified at his conception, so are we at our regeneration. He was conceived not by man, but by the Holy Ghost, and we are *born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God.* The same overshadowing power which formed his human nature, reformeth ours; and the same Spirit assureth us a remission of our sins¹, which caused in him an exemption from all sin. He which was born for us upon his incarnation, is born within us upon our regeneration².

All which considered, we may now render a clear explication of this part of the Article, whereby every person may understand what he is to profess, and express what is the object of his faith, when he saith, I believe in *Jesus Christ, which was conceived by the Holy Ghost.* For hereby he ought to intend thus much: I assent unto this as a most necessary and infallible truth, that the only-begotten Son of God, begotten by the Father before all worlds, very God of very God, was conceived and born, and so made man, taking to himself the human nature, consisting of a soul and body, and conjoining it with the divine in the unity of his person. I am fully assured that the Word was in this manner made flesh, that he was really and truly conceived in the womb of a woman, but not after the manner of men; not by carnal copulation, not by the common way of human propagation, but by the singular, powerful, invisible, immediate operation of the Holy Ghost, whereby a Virgin was beyond the law of nature enabled to conceive, and that which was conceived in her was originally and completely sanctified. And in this latitude I profess to believe in *Jesus Christ, WHICH WAS CONCEIVED BY THE HOLY GHOST.*

BORN OF THE VIRGIN MARY.

THE third person considerable in this third Article, is represented under the threefold description of her *name, condition, and action.* The first telleth us who it was, it was

¹ 'Ea gratia fit ab initio fidei sue homo quicumque Christianus, qua gratia homo ille ab initio suo factus est Christus. De ipso Spiritu et hic renatus, de quo est ille natus. Eodem Spiritu fit in nobis remissio peccatorum, quo Spiritu factum est ut nullum haberet ille peccatum.' *S. August. de*

Prædest. Sanct. c. 15. [§ 31. Tom. x. p. 535 D.] (Vol. II. p. 810.)

² 'Nolite desperare; quod semel natum est ex Maria, quotidie et in nobis nascitur.' *S. Hieron. Comm. in Psal. lxxxiv. 17.* [Inter *Spuria Hieronymi*, Tom. VII. Append. ix. p. 227.]

Mary; the second informeth us what she was, a *virgin*; the third teaches us what she did, she conceived and bare our Saviour, and brought forth the Son of God; which was *born of the Virgin Mary*.

The evangelist, relating the annunciation, taketh particular notice of this name; for shewing how an angel was sent unto a *virgin espoused to a man*, he first observeth that his name was *Joseph*: and then that the *virgin's name was Mary*; not for any peculiar excellency in the name itself, or any particular application to the *Virgin* arising from the origination of it, as some have conceived¹; but only to denote that singular

Luke i. 27.

¹ For some have thought the dignity of the Virgin to be denoted in her name. As Gregory Nyssen (or rather his interpolator), *Homil. in Natal. Christi* [Tom. III. p. 346 D]: 'Ἐπειδὴν ἐτέχθη τὸ παῖδον, ὠνόμασε μὲν αὐτὴν Μαρίαν, ὡς ἂν καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐκωνυμίας τὸ θεόδοτον διασημανθῇ τῆς χάριτος. Mistaking, as I conceive, the origination of Mary for that of Anna, her mother מרים. Thus he thought *grace*, others *dominion*, to be contained in her name: 'Ἡ Μαρία ἐρμηνεύεται κυρία, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐλπίς. Κύριον γὰρ ἔτεκε τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου Χριστόν. *Auctor Homil. de Laud. B. Mariæ, sub nomine Epiphaniï.* [Tom. II. p. 292 B.] Τίκεται τοιγαροῦν ἡ χάρις (τοῦτο γὰρ ἡ Ἀνὰ ἐρμηνεύεται) τὴν κυρίαν τοῦτο γὰρ τῆς Μαρίας σημαίνει τὸ ὄνομα. *Damasc. Orthod. Fid. l. iv. [c. 14. Tom. I. p. 275 A.] S. Hieron. de Nom. Hebraicis, col. 1478. [Tom. VIII. p. 92.]: 'Sciendum quod Maria sermone Syro Domina nuncupetur.' So Chrysologus: 'Dignitas Virginis annunciat ex nomine: nam Maria Hebræo sermone, Latine Domina nuncupatur. Vocat ergo Angelus Dominam, ut Dominatoris genetricem trepidatio deserat servitutis, quam nasci et vocari Dominam ipsa sui germinis fecit et impetravit auctoritas.' *Serm. 142. (p. 765 D.) 'Sermone Syro Maria Domina nuncupatur, et pulcre quia Dominum genuit.' Isidor. Hispal. Orig. l. vii. c. 10. The same Isidore with others gives another etymology: 'Maria illuminatrix, sive stella maris; genuit enim lumen mundi.' *Ibid. [fol.***

6. H. 13.] And Bernard, *Homil. 2. super Missus est*: 'Loquemur pauca et super hoc nomine, quod interpretatum maris stella dicitur, et matri Virgini valde convenienter aptatur. Ipsa namque aptissime sideri comparatur, quia sicut sine sui corruptione sidus suum emittit radium, sic absque sui læsione Virgo parturit filium.' So far not amiss. But when from a bad etymology he makes worse divinity, calling her the *Star of Jacob*, and attributing unto her the light of our minds, the life of our graces and extirpation of our vices (the work of the Spirit of Christ), when in the midst of all our temptations, horrors of conscience, and depths of despair, he adviseth us immediately to a 'Respice Stellam, Mariam cogita, Mariam invoca;' his interpretation can warrant no such devotion. This etymology also descends from St Jerome, who in his interpretation of the names in Exodus, as from Philo: 'Mariam illuminatrix mea, vel illuminans eos, aut smyrna maris, vel stella maria.' *De Nom. Hebr. col. 1454. [Tom. III. p. 21.]* And again, on the names in St Matthew: 'Mariam plerique æstimant interpretari, illuminant me isti, vel illuminatrix, vel smyrna maris; sed mihi nequaquam videtur. Melius autem est ut dicamus sonare eam stellam maris, sive amarum mare.' *Ibid. col. 1478. [p. 92.] 'Ἐρμηνεύεται πάλιν ἡ Μαρία σμύρνα θαλάσσης. Homil. de Laudibus D. Mariæ. 'Dictæ sunt et ante Mariæ multe: nam et Maria soror Aaron dicta fuit, sed illa Maria*

person which was then so well known to all men, being espoused unto Joseph, as appeareth by the question of his admiring countrymen, *Is not this the carpenter's son? Is not his mother called Mary?* Otherwise the name was common even at that time to many; to the sister of Lazarus, to the mother of James and Joses, to the wife of Cleophas, to the mother of John, whose surname was Mark, to her which was of Magdal in Galilee, to her who bestowed much labour on St Paul. Nor is there any original¹ distinction between the name of these, and of the mother of our Lord. For as the name of *Jesus* was the same with *Joshua*, so this of *Mary* was the same with *Miriam*². The first of which name recorded

Matt. xiii. 55.

John xi. 1.
Matt. xxvii.
56.
John xix. 25.
Acts xii. 12.
Luke viii. 2.
Rom. xvi. 6.

amaritudo maris vocabatur.' *S. Ambros. Instit. Virg.* c. 5. [Tom. iv. p. 421 A.] Indeed, that *ab amaritudine*, without the adjection of *mare*, is the etymology observed by the Jews; as appears by the author of the life of Moses, who relating how Amram took Jochebed to wife, and of her begat a daughter, addeth, כי חוקרא שמה מרים, וחקרא בעת הדיא החלו המצרים בני חם למורד בשר חוקרא חיי בני ישראל *She was called Miriam, because at that time the Egyptians, who were the offspring of Cham, made the lives of the sons of Israel bitter.* And in the like manner Sedar Olam, נקרא שמה מרים על שם מידור

¹ This is to be observed, by reason of some learned men, who make the name of the Virgin different from that of others called Mary in the Gospel, upon two grounds, in respect of the accent, and the termination; the one being *Μαριάμ*, the other *Μαρία*: the first with a Hebrew termination, indeclinable, and the accent in *ultima*; the latter with a Greek termination, declinable, and the accent in *penultima*. As *Ὁνομα τῆς παρθένου Μαριάμ*, Luke i. 27. in the nominative: *Ἀποκατάσταται σὺν Μαριάμ*, Luke ii. 5. in the dative: *Μη φοβηθῆς παραλαβεῖν Μαριάμ*, Matt. i. 20. in the accusative: and *μη φοβου, Μαριάμ*, Luke i. 30. in the vocative case. All which belong to the Virgin, who is never named *Μαρία*: as none of the rest by any of the evangelists is ever called *Μαριάμ*. But notwithstanding this

observation, we find the same Virgin's name declined: as, *Μνηστευθελος τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Μαρίας*, Matt. i. 18. and, *Σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ Μαρίᾳ τῇ μητρὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ*, Acts i. 14. both which must come from the Greek termination *Μαρία*, in *redo*. And, on the contrary, that Mary which St Paul mentioneth, hath the same Hebrew termination with the Virgin, *Ἀσπασασθε Μαριάμ, ἥτις πολλὰ ἐκοιτάσεν εἰς ἡμᾶς*, Rom. xvi. 6. Beside, the Syriac translation makes no difference between the name of these and of the Virgin; as *מרים* מנדליא ומרים אמה דיעקוב Mark xv. 40. So again, *מרים* מנדליא ומרים אחרת, Matt. xxviii. 1. And therefore there can be no sufficient foundation for any such distinction.

² For whereas we first read, *Exod. xv. 20. מרים והנביאה*, the LXX. translate it, *Μαριάμ ἡ προφητις*, and the Vulgar Lat. *Maria Prophetissa*. The Hebrew first was *מרים* *Miriam*; the Syriac altering the pronunciation, not the letters, *מרים* *Marjam*, as for *מנדל*, *מנדל*. And because the Greek language admitteth no *jod* consonant, they pronounced it *Μαριάμ*. Though sometimes indeed, even the Greeks did use the barbarous pronunciation in the barbarous words, as Lucian with the Latins makes *Ἰουδαῖος* of three syllables,

Ἰουδαῖος ἔπρεον μῦρον ἐξῆδει λαβεῖν.

Tragopodagra, 172.

Mic. vi. 4.

was the daughter of Amram, the sister of Moses and Aaron, a prophetess; to whom the bringing of Israel out of Egypt is attributed as well as to her brethren. *For I brought thee up out of the land of Egypt* (saith the Lord), *and redeemed thee out of the house of servants; and I sent before thee Moses, Aaron, and Miriam.* As she was exalted to be one of them who brought the people of God out of the Egyptian bondage; so was this Mary exalted to become the mother of that Saviour, who through the Red sea of his blood hath wrought a plenteous redemption for us, of which that was but a type: and even with the confession of the lowliness of a handmaid she seems to bear that exaltation in her name¹.

Beside this name of the blessed Virgin, little hath been 170 discovered to us. *Christ*, who commended the faith of the centurion, the love of Mary Magdalen, the excellences of John

Again, because no Greek word endeth in μ , to make it current in that language, it was necessary to alter the termination, according to their custom; as for Annibal 'Αννίβας, Asdrubal 'Ασδρούβας, Amilkar 'Αμιλκας, and Kdiw, Kdiw. This was to be done sometimes by addition; as Νώχ Νώχως, 'Αβέλ 'Αβελος, Δαμύχ Δάμεχος, 'Ιαρέθ 'Ιαρεθός, 'Ενώς 'Ενωσος, Σήθ Σήθος, 'Αδάμ 'Αδαμος, 'Αβραάμ 'Αβρααμος and 'Αβραάμης. And so for Μαριάμ, Μαριάμμη or Μαριάμνη. Josephus, [*Ant. Jud.* ii. 9. § 4. Tom. i. p. 75. 40.] Μαριάμνη τοῦ πατρὸς ἀδελφή, of Miriam the sister of Moses; whom in another place [*Ant. Jud.* iv. 4. § 6. Tom. i. p. 145. 35.] he calls ἀδελφή αὐτοῦ Μαριάμνη. [In both these passages of Josephus the name is Μαριάμνη in Hudson's edition.] Therefore he thought the name of *Miriamne* to be the same with *Miriam*. And as the Greeks were wont to add their own terminations to exotic words; so did they at other times leave out the exotic terminations, if thereby their own were left. As for אביה et אביה 'Abia and 'Αββα, אמה et אמה 'Amd and Zapd, תרה et תרה, for Μαριάμ Mapla. Wherefore from the Hebrew *Mirjam* came, by variety of pronunciation, at first the Syriac *Marjam*; and from the Syriac *Marjam*, at first,

only by variation of the pronunciation *Mapidu*, then for the propriety of termination, *Mapla*.

¹ For though that interpretation *Domina* may seem to some conveniently enough from מרא, yet that being rather from the Chaldees, cannot so well agree with *Miriam*; nor is the μ so properly added at the end, as to the beginning of a Hebrew word, where it is usually in words of simple signification Heemantical. Again, though מר may signify *smyrna maris*, or *illuminatrix*, which St Jerome rejected; and *stella* (or rather *stilla*, which is properly מר) *maris*, or *amarum mare*, which he rather embraced: yet these compositions are not so proper or probable at all, especially in a name dissyllable. Though the Jews themselves deduce it from מרר, to signify the *bitterness* of the Egyptian bondage, as we read in Midraash מררע, beside the two authors before quoted נקראת מרים שמרררררררררר את חייה yet still the addition of the final *mem* is not proper; or if that should stand for מר there were no good account to be given of the *jod*. Whereas if we deduce it from the *radix* מרר with the addition of the Heemantic *mem*, the notation is evident, and the signification clear, as of one exalted above others.

the Baptist, hath left not the least encomium of his mother. The evangelists, who have so punctually described the city, family, and genealogy, of Joseph, make no express mention of her relations, only of her cousin Elizabeth, who was of the tribe of Levi, *of the daughters of Aaron*. Although it be of Luke i. 5. absolute necessity to believe that he which was born of her descended from the tribe of Judah, and the family of David; yet hath not the Scripture clearly expressed so much of her, nor have we any more than an obscure tradition of her parents Joacim and Anna¹.

Wherefore the title added to that name maketh the distinction: for as divers characters are given to several persons by which they are distinguished from all others of the same
 171 common nomination, as Jacob is called Israel, and Abraham the Friend of God, or Father of the faithful; so is this Mary sufficiently characterized by that inseparable companion of her name, *the Virgin*². For the full explication whereof more

¹ I call this a *tradition*, because not in the written word: and *obscure*, because the first mention we find of it was in the fourth century. Epiphanius first informs us, who speaking of Joseph, says he knew thus much: Γυναῖκα μὲν ᾗδεν αὐτὴν τῇ πλάσει, καὶ θήλειαν τῇ φύσει, καὶ ἐκ μητρὸς Ἀννης, καὶ ἐκ πατρὸς Ἰωακείμ. *Hæres.* 78. § 17. [Tom. I. p. 1049 D.] Again: Εἰ ἀγγέλους προσκυνεῖσθαι οὐ θέλει, πόσω μᾶλλον τὴν ἀπὸ Ἀννης γεγεννημένην, τὴν ἐκ τοῦ Ἰωακείμ τῇ Ἀννᾷ δεδωρημένην; *Hæres.* 79. § 5. [p. 1060 C.] where he makes mention of the history of Mary, and the tradition concerning her nativity. Ἡ τῆς Μαρίας ἱστορία, καὶ παραδόσεις ἔχουσιν, ὅτι ἐρρέθη τῷ πατρὶ αὐτῆς Ἰωακείμ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, ὅτι ἡ γυνὴ σου συνελήφθη, &c. [ibid.] *Damasc. Orthod. Fid.* l. iv. c. 14. Tom. I. p. 235. *et Orig. contra Celsum de Panthera*, l. i. § 32. [Tom. I. p. 350.] What this history of Mary was, or of what authority those traditions were, we cannot learn out of Epiphanius. What the interpolator of Gregory Nyssen's Homily produceth, he confesseth taken from apocryphal writings. And divers of the like relations descended from the prime and greatest heretics. The Gnostics had a book

among them, which was called Γέννα Μαρίας. *Epiphanius. Hæres.* 26. § 12. [Tom. I. p. 94 A.] Amongst the Manichees Seleucus wrote the history of the Virgin. And the *Protevangelium Jacobi* deceived many in relations of this nature. Among which many being certainly false, it is not now easy (if at all possible) to distinguish what part of them or particular is true. 'Quod de generatione Mariæ Faustus posuit, quod patrem habuerit ex tribu Levi sacerdotem quendam nomine Joachim, quia Canonicum non est, non me constringit,' saith St Augustin, l. xliiii. *contra Faustum*, c. 9. [Tom. viii. p. 303 A.] (p. 247.)

² Τίς πότε, ἢ ἐν ποίᾳ γενεᾷ τετὸν καλεῖν τὸ ὄνομα Μαρίας τῆς ἁγίας, καὶ ἐρωτώμενοι οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ ἡρώεκε τό, παρθένον; Ἐξ αὐτῶν γὰρ τῶν ἐπιθέτων ὀνομάτων καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς ὑποφαίνει τὰ τεκμήρια. Ἀξιώματα μὲν γὰρ ὀνομασίῳ ἐληφάσω οἱ δίκαιοι ἐκδότω πρεπόντως, καὶ ὡς ἤρμοξε. Καὶ τῷ μὲν Ἀβραὰμ προσετέθη τό, φίλος Θεοῦ, καὶ οὐ διαλυθήσεται· τῷ δὲ Ἰακώβ, τὸ Ἰσραὴλ καλεῖσθαι, καὶ οὐκ ἀλλοιωθήσεται· καὶ τοῖς Ἀποστόλοις, τὸ Βοανεργῆς, τουτέστιν, υἱὸς βροντῆς, καὶ οὐκ ἀποκαταλειφθήσεται· καὶ τῇ ἁγίᾳ Μαρίᾳ, τό, παρθένος, καὶ οὐ τραπήσεται.

cannot be required, than that we shew, first, That the *Messias* was to be born of a virgin, according to the prediction of the prophets; secondly, That this Mary, of whom *Christ* was born, was really a virgin when she bare him according to the relations of the evangelists; thirdly, That being at once the mother of the Son of God, and yet a virgin, she continued for ever in the same virginity, according to the tradition of the fathers and the constant doctrine of the Church.

The obdurate Jew, that he might more easily avoid the truth of the second, hath most irrationally denied the first; resolved rather not to understand Moses and the prophets, than to acknowledge the interpretation of the apostles. It will therefore be necessary from those oracles which were committed unto them, to shew the promised *Messias* was to be born after a miraculous manner, to be the son of a woman, not of a man. The first promise of him seems to speak no less, *the seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head*; for as the name of *seed* is not generally or collectively to be taken for the generation of mankind, but determinately and individually for that one seed, which is *Christ*; so the woman is not to be understood with relation unto man, but particularly and determinately to that sex from which alone immediately that seed should come.

According to this first evangelical promise followed that prediction of the prophet, *The Lord hath created a new thing on the earth, A woman shall compass a man*. That new creation of a man is therefore *new*, and therefore a *creation*, because wrought in a woman only, without a man, compassing a man. Which interpretation of the prophet is ancient, literal, and clear¹; and whatsoever the Jews have invented to

Epiphan. Hæres. 78. § 6. [Tom. 1. p. 1038 A.]

¹ For it is not to be denied that the proper signification of סבב is *circundare* or *cingere*. R. Judah has observed but one interpretation of this verb, כולם עין אחד: and Kimchi testifieth that all words which come from the root סבב signify *incompassing* or *circumcision*. Therefore those words, נקה חסוב נבר must literally import no less than that *a woman shall encompass, or enclose a man*, which, with the addition of a *new creation*, may

well bear the interpretation of a miraculous conception. Especially considering that the ancient Jews did acknowledge this sense, and did apply it determinately to the *Messias*: as appeareth in *Beresheet Rabba*, Parash. 89; where shewing that God doth heal with that with which he woundeth, he saith, As he punished Israel in a virgin, so would he also heal them with a virgin, according to the prophet, *The Lord hath created a new thing on the earth, A woman shall compass a man*. By the testimony of R. Huna in the

elude it, is frivolous and forced. For while they force the phrase of *compassing a man*, in the latter part of the predication, to any thing else than a conception, they do not only wrest the Scripture, but contradict the former part of the promise, making the new creation neither new, as being often done, nor a creation, as being easy to perform.

But if this prophecy of Jeremy seem obscure, it will be sufficiently cleared by that of Isaiah, *Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Emmanuel.* Isai. vii. 14. The ancient Jews immediately upon the promulgation of the Gospel¹, understanding well how near this place did press 172 them, gave three several answers to this text: First, denying that it spake of a virgin at all²; secondly, asserting that it could not belong to *Jesus*³; thirdly, affirming that it was fully

name of R. Idi, and R. Joshua the son of Levi, *זה מלך המשיח של היום לידתו* *This is Messiah the King, of whom it is written, (Psal. ii. 7.) This day have I begotten thee.* And again in Midrash Tillim, upon the 2nd Psalm, [fol. 3. col. 4.] R. Huna in the name of R. Idi, speaking of the sufferings of the Messiah, saith, That when his hour is come, God shall say, *עלי לבראתו ביום חדש* *I must create him with a new creation.* And so (by virtue of that new creation) he saith, *This day have I begotten thee.* From whence it appeareth that this sense is of itself literally clear, and that the ancient Rabbins did understand it of the Messiah; whence it followeth that the later interpretations are but to avoid the truth which we profess, that Jesus was born of a virgin, and therefore is the Christ.

¹ How soon these objections were made use of by the Jews, will appear by Justin Martyr, the first writer which made any considerable explication and defence of the Christian religion; who, in his dialogue with Trypho the Jew, shews us what were the objections of the Rabbins: 'Επει δὲ ὑμεῖς καὶ οἱ διδασκαλοὶ ὑμῶν τολμᾶτε λέγειν, μὴδὲ εἰρηθεῖν ἐν τῇ προφητείᾳ τοῦ Ἡσαίου, Ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει, ἀλλ', Ἰδοὺ ἡ νεῖκος ἐν γαστρὶ λήψεται, καὶ τέξεται υἱόν. p. 262. [p. 224. 21. Thirlby.]

And Tertullian, whose works are full of the divinity of Justin: 'Si quando ad dejiciendos aliquos ab hac divina prædicatione, vel convertere singulos simplices quosque gestitis, mentiri audetis, quasi non *Virginem*, sed *juvenculam*, concepturam et parituram Scriptura contineat.' *Advers. Judæos*, cap. 9. [p. 217 A. p. 487 D.] et *adv. Marcionem*, lib. iii. cap. 13.

² And as they soon began, so did they go on, with this objection: 'Quum hodie toto jam credente mundo, argumententur Judæi, Isaiâ dicente (de Maria et virginitate ejus,) [These words are omitted in the Benedictine Edition.] *Eccæ virgo in utero concipiet, et pariet filium*, in Hebræo *juvenculam*, scriptum esse non *virginem*, id est, *Alma*, non *bethula*.' *S. Hieron. adv. Helvid.* col. 439. [Tom. II. p. 209 B.]

³ 'Dicunt Judæi, Provocemus istam prædicationem Esaiæ, et faciamus comparisonem, an Christo, qui jam venit, competat illi primo nomen quod Esaias prædicavit, et insignia ejus quæ de eo nuntiavit. Equidem Esaias prædicat eum Emmanuelem vocari oportere, dehinc virtutem sumpturum Damasci et spolia Samariæ adversus regem Assyriorum. Porro, inquit, iste qui venit neque sub ejusmodi nomine est editus, neque re bellica functus.' *Tertull. adv. Judæos*, c. 9. [p. 216 A.]

completed in the person of Ezechias¹. Whereas the original word was translated *a virgin*, by such interpreters² as were Jews themselves, some hundred years before our Saviour's birth. And did not the notation of the word, and frequent use thereof in the Scriptures, persuade it, the wonder of the *sign* given by the *Lord himself* would evince as much. But as for that conceit, that all should be fulfilled in Hezekiah, it is so manifestly and undoubtedly false, that nothing can make more for the confirmation of our faith. For this sign was given and this promise made (*a virgin shall conceive and bear a son*) at some time in the reign of Ahaz. This *Ahaz reigned but sixteen years in Jerusalem*; and Hezekiah his son, who succeeded him, *was twenty and five years old when he began to reign*, and therefore born several years before Ahaz was king, and consequently not now to be conceived when this sign was given. Thus while the ancient Jews name him only to fulfil the prophecy in whom it is impossible it should be fulfilled, they plainly shew, that for any knowledge which they had, it was not fulfilled till our Saviour came: and therefore they cannot with any reason deny but that it belonged unto the *Messias*, as divers of the ancient Rabbins thought and confessed: and is yet more evident by their monstrous error, who therefore expected no *Messias* in Israel³,

¹ Kings xvi. 2

² Kings xviii. 2

¹ So Justin testifieth of the Jews, speaking to Trypho, and in him to them: 'Ἐξηγείσθε τὴν προφητείαν ὡς εἰς Ἑζεκιαν τὸν γεγόμενον ὑμῶν βασιλέα. § 43. p. 262. [224. 26. Thirlby.] And Trypho replies again to Justin: 'Ἰδωμεν καὶ ὡς ἐκέλευεν εἰς Χριστὸν τοῦτον τὸν ὑμέτερον ἀποδεικνύεις εἰρησθαι' ἡμεῖς γὰρ εἰς Ἑζεκιαν αὐτὴν λέγομεν πεποφηγεύσθαι. § 77. p. 302. [303. 35. Thirlby.]

[Confutat Judæorum commentum illud de Hezechia Epiphanius, in *Hæresi* 30. cap. 31. p. 158. Ed. Petavii: sed notæ numerales a librariis mire admodum ibidem corruptæ sunt. M. J. Routh.]

² The LXX. 'Ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ λήψεται. It is true, the rest of the interpreters, concurring with the objection of the Jews, translated it 'Ἰδοὺ ἡ νεάνις, i. e. *adolescentula*, or *juvencula*. But as their antiquity, so

their authority is far short of the LXX., especially in this case. I shall not need to shew how the origination of מלך from עלה proves no less. We know the affinity of the Punic tongue with the Hebrew; and by the testimony of St Jerome, 'Lingua Punica, quæ de Hebræorum fontibus manare dicitur, proprie virgo *alma* appellatur.' [Commentar. in *Isaiam*, lib. 3. c. 7. Tom. iv. p. 109 B.]

³ It is the known saying of Hillel, recorded in Sanhedrin, c. Chelâk, [fol. 98, col. 2.] ארץ ישראל שכבר נהנה מן המשיח *There is no Messias to the Israelites, because they have already enjoyed him in the days of Hezekiah*. Divers of the latter Rabbins endeavour to mollify these words of Hillel by their several expositions, but in vain. And R. Joseph understood him better, who thought he took away all expectation of a Messias, and there-

because they thought whatsoever was spoken of him to have been completed in Hezekiah. Which is abundantly enough for our present purpose, being only to prove that the *Messias* promised by God, and expected by the people of God before and under the Law, was to be conceived and born of a virgin.

Secondly, As we are taught by the predictions of the prophets, that a virgin was to be mother of the promised *Messias*; so are we assured by the infallible relations of the evangelists, that this *Mary* the mother of *Jesus*, whom we believe to be *Christ*, was a *virgin* when she bare him, when she brought forth her first-born son. That she was a *virgin* when and after she was espoused unto Joseph, appeareth by the narration of St Luke; *for the angel Gabriel was sent from God* Luke i. 26, 27. *to a virgin espoused to a man whose name was Joseph.* After the salutation of that angel, that she was still so, appeareth by her question, *How shall this be, seeing I know not a man?* That she continued so after she conceived by the Holy Ghost, is evident from the relation of St Matthew: for when she was *espoused unto Joseph, before they came together, she was found with child of the Holy Ghost.* Matt. i. 18. That she was a virgin not only while she was with child, but even

173 when she had brought forth, is also evident out of his application of the prophecy: *Behold, a virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son.* Matt. i. 23. For by the same prediction it is as manifest that a *virgin* should bring forth, as conceive a son¹. Neither was her act of parturition more contradictory to virginity, than that former of conception.

fore fairly prayed for him, *Condonet Dominus hoc R. Hillel.* Howsoever, it appears that from two principles, whereof one was false, he gathered that false conclusion. For first, he thought those words in Isaiah were spoken of the *Messias*: which proposition was true. Secondly, he conceived that those were spoken of Hezekiah, and fulfilled in him: which proposition was false. From hence he inferred, that the Israelites were not to expect a *Messias* after Hezekiah: which conclusion was also false.

¹ *Hæc est virgo quæ in utero concepit, virgo quæ peperit filium. Sic enim scriptum est, Ecce virgo in utero concipiet, et pariet Filium.* Non enim

concepturam tantummodo Virginem, sed et parituram Virginem dixit.' *S. Ambros. Epist. 7. ad Siricium.* [Tom. v. p. 186 B.] So he argued from the prophecy, and St Augustin from the Creed: '*Quo si vel nascente corrumpetur ejus integritas, non jam ille de Virgine nasceretur; eumque falso, quod absit, de virgine Maria tota confiteretur Ecclesia, quæ, imitans ejus matrem, quotidie parit membra ejus, et Virgo est.*' *Enchir. c. 34.* [Tom. vi. p. 154 A.] (p. 210.) As also St Ambrose in the same epistle [p. 186 A]: '*Quæ potuit Virgo concipere, potuit Virgo generare; quum semper conceptus præcedat, partus sequatur. Sed si doctrinis non creditur sacerdotum,*

Thirdly, We believe the mother of our Lord to have been not only before and after his nativity, but also for ever, the most immaculate and blessed Virgin. For although it may be thought sufficient as to the mystery of the incarnation¹, that when our Saviour was conceived and born, his mother was a virgin; though whatsoever should have followed after, could have no reflective operation upon the first-fruit of her womb; though there be no farther mention in the CREED, than that he was *born of the Virgin Mary*: yet the peculiar eminency and unparalleled privilege of that mother, the special honour and reverence due unto that Son, and ever paid by her, the regard of that Holy Ghost who came upon her, and the power of the Highest which overshadowed her, the singular goodness and piety of Joseph, to whom she was espoused, have persuaded the Church of God in all ages to believe that she still continued in the same virginity, and therefore is to be acknowledged the *Ever-Virgin Mary*². As if the gate of the sanctuary in the prophet Ezekiel were to be understood of her: *This gate shall be shut, it shall not be opened, and no man shall enter in by it; because the Lord, the God of Israel, hath entered in by it, therefore it shall be shut.*

Ezek. xlv. 2.

Many, indeed, have taken the boldness to deny this truth, because not recorded in the sacred writ³; and not only so,

credatur oraculis Christi, credatur monitis Angelorum,—credatur Symbolo Apostolorum, quod Ecclesia Romana intermatum semper custodit et servat.' And St Basil upon occasion of the same prophecy: 'Ἡ αὐτὴ γυνὴ καὶ παρθένος καὶ μήτηρ, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀγιασμῷ τῆς παρθενίας μένουσα, καὶ τῇ τῆς τεκνογονίας εὐλογίᾳ κληρονομοῦσα. *Homil. in Sanctam Christi Generationem*, § 4. [Tom. II. p. 595 D.] 'Virgo peperit, quia Virgo concepit.' *Vigil. de unitate Trinit.* c. 10.

¹ Μέχρι γὰρ τῆς κατὰ τὴν οικονομίας ὑπηρεσίας ἀναγκαῖα ἡ παρθενία, τὸ δ' ἐπεξῆς ἀπολυπραγμάτῳ τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ μυστηρίου καταλείψωμεν. [The word *καταλείψωμεν* is omitted in the Benedictine edition on the authority of MSS.] *S. Basil. Homil. in Sancti Christi Generat.* § 5. [Tom. II. p. 600 A.]

² For so the Greek Church always

called her 'Ἀειπαρθένος, and from them the Latins, *Semper Virgo*. [Suicer quotes Chrysostom, *Homil. lxii.* Tom. VI. Δέσπονα ἀγία καὶ ἀειπαρθένος, and *Hom. cxi.* Tom. V. Θεοτόκος καὶ ἀειπαρθένος Μαρία. Dr Burton refers to Athanasius, *Orat. ii. cont. Arian.* 70. p. 538. In Ps. lxxiv. 11, p. 1151. In Luc. p. 1271: and observes, that the Virgin Mary was so called at the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. (Evang. II. p. 324), and in the Confession of Faith published by the emperor Justin II. in the sixth century, *ibid.* pp. 429, 430.]

³ First we read in the time of Origen, that some did maintain the virginity of Mary no longer than to Christ's nativity. 'In tantum nescio quis prorupit insaniam, ut assereret negatam fuisse Mariam a Salvatore, eo quod post natiuitatem illius juncta fuerit Josepho.' *Homil. 7. in Lucam.*

but to assert the contrary as delivered in the Scriptures; but with no success. For though, as they object, St Matthew testifieth that Joseph *knew not Mary until she had brought forth her first-born son*, from whence they would infer, that 174 afterwards he knew her; yet the manner of the Scripture

[Tom. III. p. 940 B]. Tertullian himself was produced as an assertor of the same opinion; nor does St Jerome deny it, though I think he might have done it. Apollinarius, or at least his followers, delivered the same, says Epiphanius, and Eunomius with his, τὸν Ἰωσήφ μετὰ τὴν ἀφραστον κυφορίαν συνάπτειν οὐ πεφρίκασιν τῇ παρθένῳ, as Photius out of Philostorgius. [Philostorgius, *Eccles. Hist.* lib. vi. § 2. Tom. III. p. 500 D. Edit. Valesii.] Not that these words in Photius were the words of Philostorgius, for he was clearly an Eunomian, and therefore would never express their opinions with an οὐ πεφρίκασιν. And as he always commended Eunomius, so he was not commended but by an Eunomian, that is, a man of his own sect. As that epigram,

Εὐνομίανός.

Ἰστορεῖν ἐτέλεσσα θεοῦ χάριτος σφῆψιν.

Which I therefore mention, because Gotofred hath made an unnecessary emendation in the verse, ἐτέλεσσ' ἀδελφόν, and a worse interpretation in the inscription, taking the Eunomian to be a Catholic, and the name of a sect for the name of a man; and confirming this error by a greater mistake, saying, Eunomianus was the name of a man, twice spoken of in Suidas, once in Εὐνομίανός and again in Ελουσε. It is true indeed Suidas saith expressly, Εὐνομίανός, ὄνομα κύριον, and immediately adds these words, τὸν δὲ Εὐνομίανόν Ελουσε Βελισάριος τὸ θεῖον λουτρὸν, as if Belisarius had baptized one whose name was Eunomianus. But the words are taken out of Procopius in *Hist. Arcana*, p. 2, from whence it appears that he who was baptized was by name Theodosius, and by sect an Eunomian. And whatsoever his name was, who wrote that epigram on the history of Philostorgius, he was cer-

tainly by sect an Eunomian, and that was intended in the inscription, written without question by some Catholic, who thought no man could commend the History of Philostorgius but one of his own opinion. These contradictors of the perpetual virginity of the mother of our Lord afterwards increased to a greater number, whom Epiphanius [*Hæc.* 78. Tom. I. p. 1033] calls by a general name *Antidicomarianæ*. And from him St Augustine: '*Antidicomarianæ* [Antidicomarites] appellati sunt Hæretici, qui Mariæ Virginitati usque adeo contradicunt, ut affirmant eam post Christum natum viro suo fuisse commixtam.' *De Hæres.* 56. [Tom. VIII. p. 14 F.] (p. 19.) condemned under that name by the sixth general Council, *Act.* 11. The same were called by the Latins, *Helvidiani*, from Helvidius (a disciple of Auxentius the Arian), whose name is most made use of, because refuted by St Jerome. He was followed by Jovinian, a monk of Milan, as St Jerome testifieth; though St Augustin delivereth his opinion otherwise: '*Virginitatem Mariæ destruebat, dicens eam pariendo fuisse corruptam.*' *Hæres.* 82. And Bonosus, a bishop in Macedonia, referred by the Council of Capua to the judgment of Anysius, bishop of Thessalonica, was condemned for the same, as appeareth by the 79th Epistle of St Ambrose, [*Ep.* 5. Tom. v. p. 183 M.] written to Theophilus and Anysius: '*Sane non possumus negare de Mariæ filiis jure reprehensum, meritoque vestram Sanctitatem abhorruisse, quod ex eodem utero virginali, ex quo secundum carnem Christus natus est, alius partus effusus sit.*' This is the catalogue of those by the ancients accounted heretics, for denying the perpetual virginity of the mother of our Lord.

Gen. xviii.
16.Deut. xxxiv.
6.

1 Sam. xv. 25.

2 Sam. vi. 23.

Matt. xxviii.
20.

language produceth no such inference¹. When God said to Jacob, *I will not leave thee until I have done that which I have spoken to thee of*, it followeth not that when that was done, the God of Jacob left him. When the conclusion of Deuteronomy was written, it was said of Moses, *No man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day*; but it were a weak argument to infer from thence, that the sepulchre of Moses hath been known ever since. When Samuel had delivered a severe prediction unto Saul, he *came no more to see him until the day of his death*; but it were a strange collection to infer, that he therefore gave him a visit after he was dead. *Michal the daughter of Saul had no child unto the day of her death*; and yet it were a ridiculous stupidity to dream of any midwifery in the grave. Christ promised his presence to the apostles *until the end of the world*: who ever made so unhappy a construction as to infer from thence, that for ever after he would be absent from them?

Again, it is true that Christ is termed the *first-born son of Mary*², from whence they infer she must needs have a

¹ For in the word *ἕως* there is no such force. Τὸ ἕως οὐ πάντως ἀντι-
διαίρεται τῷ μέλλοντι, ἀλλὰ τὸ μέχρι
μὲν τοῦδε τίθηται, τὸ ὑπὲρ τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ
ἀναβαίνει. S. Greg. Naz. Orat. 2. de
Filio. [Orat. 30. § 4. Tom. i. p. 542 A.]
Τὸ ἕως πολλαχοῦ χρόνου μὲν τινα δοκεῖ
περιορισμὸν ὑποφαίνειν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν
ἀλήθειαν τὸ ἀόριστον δεικνυσιν. S.
Basil. Homil. in Sanctum Christum
Generat. § 5. (Tom. II. p. 600 A.) Ἔθος
τῇ γραφῇ τὴν ῥῆσιν ταύτην μὴ ἐπὶ
διωρισμένον τίθεναι χρόνον. S. Chry-
sost. in Matt. Homil. 5. Τὸ ἕως πολ-
λάκις καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ διηγεκῶς ἐν τῇ θεῷ
γραφῇ εὐρίσκομεν κείμενον. Isidor.
Pelus. lib. i. ep. 18. [p. 6 B.] Τὸ ἕως
πολλαχοῦ οὐκ ἐπὶ χρόνον λέγει, ἀλλ'
ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πράγματος. Adrian.
Isag. in S. S. [Critici Sacri, Tom. IX.
p. 19. I.] Τὸ ἕως ἐνίοτε μὲν πρὸς
ἀντιδιαστολὴν τοῦ ἐφεξῆς χρόνου πα-
ραλαμβάνεται, ἐνίοτε δ' οὖν ἐπὶ δηλώσει
μεγάλων μὲν ἔργων καὶ θεοσπεπῶν
καθάπερ καὶ νῦν οὐ μὲν πρὸς ἀντιδια-
στολὴν ἑτέρου χρόνου τινός, ἀλλὰ καὶ
τοῦναντίον εἰς ὑποδήλωσιν ἀπεράτου
διαστήματος. Phot. ep. 30. [p. 89.]
In the same manner it is observed by

the Greek grammarians of πρὶν, that
if any one declared that he did it not
πρὶν before such a thing were done, it
followeth not that he did it when or
after that thing was done. As when
Helena saw and knew Ulysses a spy
in Troy, she promised upon oath that
she would discover him to none till he
was safe returned to the Grecian fleet;

— Καὶ ἄμοσα καρτερὸν ἔρκον,
Μὴ μὲν πρὶν Ὀδυσῆα μετὰ Τρώεσσι ἀναφῆναι,
Πρὶν γε τὸν ἐς νῆας τε θοᾶς κλισίας τ' ἀφί-
κεσθαι. Od. A. v. 253.

And yet it is not likely (says Eusta-
thius) that Helena did ever discover
Ulysses to the Trojans after he was
returned: Ἐν δὲ τῷ, Μὴ πρὶν Ὀδυσῆα
Τρωσὶν ἀναφῆναι, πρὶν αὐτὸν ἐς νῆας
ἰκεῖσθαι, εἴπερ μὴ δοκεῖ πιθανὸν ἢ εὐλό-
γιστον τὸ ἀναφῆναι θῶος τὸν Ὀδυσῆα
τοῖς Τρωσὶν, ἐνθυμητὸν τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ,
μὴ πρὶν ποιῆσαι τὸ δὲ τι πρὶν ἂν τότε
γένηται, (ἦτις ἐν τῇ Α βασιλίδι τῆς
'Πριάδος κείται) [29.] καὶ φανείται ἐκεῖ-
θεν, ὡς οὐκ εἰκὸς τὴν Ἑλένην εἰπεῖν τοῖς
'Ιλιεύσι περὶ τοῦ Ὀδυσσεὺς οὐδὲ θεεῖς
νῆας καὶ κλισίας ἀφίκετο αὐτός. A ne-
gation anteceding πρὶν or ἕως, is no
affirmation following them.

² For I shall not deny that Christ

second; but might as well conclude, that wheresoever there is one, there must be two. For in this particular the Scripture-notion of priority excludeth an antecedent, but inferreth not a consequent: it supposeth none to have gone before, but concludeth not any to follow after. *Sanctify unto me* (saith Exod. xiii. 2. God) *all the first-born*; which was a firm and fixed law, immediately obliging upon the birth: whereas if the first-born had included a relation to a second, there could have been no present certainty, but a suspension of obedience; nor had the first-born been sanctified of itself, but the second birth had sanctified the first. And well might any sacrilegious Jew have kept back the price of redemption due unto the priest¹, nor could it have been required of him, till a second offspring had appeared; and so no redemption at all had been required for an only son. Whereas all such pretences were unheard of in the Law, because the original Hebrew word² is not capable of any such construction; and in the Law itself it carrieth with it a clear interpretation, *Sanctify unto me all* Exod. xiii. 2. *the first-born: whatsoever openeth the womb among the children of Israel both of man and beast, it is mine.* The apertion of the womb determineth the first-born³; and the law of redemption excludeth all such tergiversation: *Those that are redeemed, from a month old thou shalt redeem*; no staying to make up the relation, no expecting another birth to perfect the redemption. Being then *they brought our Saviour to Jerusalem to present him to the Lord; as it is written in the Law of the* Numb. xviii. 16. Luke ii. 22.

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was called the *first-born* in respect of his mother, though Epiphanius thought that a sufficient answer: *Ὁὐκ εἶπεν, ὅτι ἐγέννησε τὸν πρωτότοκον αὐτῆς· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔγω αὐτῆν, ἕως θροῦ ἐγέννησε τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς. καὶ οὐκ εἶπε, τὸν πρωτότοκον αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ τὸν πρωτότοκον.* *Ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τῷ υἱῷ αὐτῆς ἐσήμεναι, ἐξ αὐτῆς κατὰ σάρκα γεγεννησθαι· ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ τοῦ πρωτότουκου ἐκωνυμία οὐκέτι τὸ αὐτῆς ἔθετο, ἀλλὰ πρωτότοκον μόνον.* *Haeres.* 78. § 17. [Tom. I. p. 1049 B.] As if her son the first-born were not her first-born son. *Ὁὐ πάντως ὁ πρωτότοκος πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιγονομένους ἔχει τὴν σύγκρισιν, ἀλλ' ὁ πρῶτος διαβολῶν μῆτραν Πρωτότοκος ὀνομάζεται.* *S. Basil. Hom. in Sanctam Christi Gener.* § 5. (Tom. II. p. 600 B.) 'Primogenitus est non tantum post quem et alii,

sed ante quem nullus.' *S. Hieron. adv. Helvid.* col. 443. (§ 5. Tom. II. p. 214 E.) It is observed by Servius, on that of Virgil's *Aeneid*, I. 5, 'Trojæ qui primus ab oris,' that *primus* is *post quem nullus*.

¹ Thus Jerome makes his plea: 'Quid me in unius mensis stringis articulo? quid primogenitum vocas, quem an fratres sequantur ignoro? Expecta donec nascatur secundus. Nihil debeo sacerdoti, nisi et ille fuerit procreatus, per quem es qui ante natus est incipiat esse primogenitus.' *Advers. Helvid.* col. 443. (p. 215 C.)

² בכור.

³ 'Definivit sermo Dei, quid sit Primogenitum; Omne, inquit, quod aperit vulvam.' *S. Hier. adv. Helv.* col. 443. (p. 215 A.)

Lord, Every male that openeth the womb shall be called holy to the Lord; it is evident he was called the first-born of Mary according to the notion of the Law of Moses, and consequently that title inferreth no succession, nor proveth the mother to have any other offspring.

Indeed, as they thirdly object, it cannot be denied but that we read expressly in the Scriptures of the brethren of our Lord: *He went down to Capernaum, he, and his mother, and his brethren*, and *While he talked unto the people, his mother and his brethren stood without, desiring to speak with him*. But although his mother and his brethren be named together, yet they are never called the sons of his mother; and the question is not whether *Christ* had any brethren, but whether his mother brought forth any other children? It is possible Joseph might have children before Mary was espoused to him; and then as he was reputed and called our Saviour's father, so might they well be accounted and called his brethren, as the ancient fathers¹, especially of

John ii. 12.

Matt. xii. 46.

¹ [Hi enim, filii qui Joseph dicebantur, non erant orti de Maria. *Origen. in Lucam*, Tom. III. p. 940 c. col. 1.] Origen first delivereth it on St Matt. [*Origen. in Matt.* xiii. 55. Tom. III. p. 463 E.] (Vol. x. 17), and Eusebius sheweth his opinion, speaking of St James the brother of our Lord. *Hist. Eccl.* l. ii. c. 1. [p. 30 A.] *Τότε δὴτα καὶ Ἰάκωβον τὸν τοῦ Κυρίου λεγόμενον ἀδελφόν, οὗτι δὴ καὶ οὗτος Ἰωσήφ ὀνόμαστο παῖς, τοῦ δὲ Χριστοῦ πατὴρ ὁ Ἰωσήφ.* So we read, as it is set forth by R. Stephanus. But in my book, collated with an ancient MS. *Ὅτι δὲ καὶ οὗτος υἱὸς ἦν τοῦ Ἰωσήφ τοῦ νομιζομένου οὐλοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ Χριστοῦ.* Which is much more plain; for *ὀνόμαστο παῖς* is nothing so pertinent in this particular, as *υἱὸς ἦν*. So Epiphanius: *Ἦν γὰρ ὁ Ἰάκωβος οὗτος υἱὸς τοῦ Ἰωσήφ ἐκ γυναίκος τοῦ Ἰωσήφ, οὐκ ἀπὸ Μαρίας.* *Hæres.* 29. § 4. [Tom. i. p. 119 A.] And *Hæres.* 42. [*Refut.* 12. p. 326 B.] speaking of the rest he calls them: *τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰωσήφ ἐκ τῆς ὁμοιωσάμενός αὐτοῦ ἑτέρας γυναικός.* Thus St Hilary: *Homines pravissimi hinc præsumunt opinionis suæ auctoritatem, quod plures Dominum nostrum fratres habuisse*

sit traditum. Qui si Mariæ illi fuissent, et non potius Joseph ex priore conjugio suscepti,' &c. *Com. in Matt.* c. 1. [§ 4. p. 612 D.] Thus also St Ambrose de *Virg.* [c. 6. Tom. iv. p. 422 c. *Comment. in Galat.* i. 19.] And generally all the fathers to that time, and the Greeks afterwards. St Chrysostom, St Cyril, Euthymius, Theophylact, Ecumenius, and Nicephorus. These all seem to have followed an old tradition, which is partly still continued, in Epiphanius: *Ἐσχέ δὲ οὗτος ὁ Ἰωσήφ τὴν μὲν πρώτην αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Ἰούδα καὶ κύσκει αὐτῷ αὐτῇ παῖδας τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἑξ, τέσσαρας μὲν ἄρρενας, θηλείας δὲ δύο.* *Hæres.* 78. § 7. [Tom. i. p. 1039 B.] The first of these six children was James: *μετ' αὐτὸν δὲ γίνεται παῖς Ἰωσήφ καλούμενος, εἰτα μετ' αὐτὸν Συμεὼν, ἔπειτα Ἰούδας καὶ δύο θυγατέρες, ἡ Μαρία, καὶ ἡ Σαλώμην καλούμενη.* *Ibid.* § 8. [p. 1040 A.] Thus had the Greeks a distinct relation of the sons and daughters of Joseph, and of the order of their generation. Whose authority I shall conclude with that of Jobius, *Eccl.* l. ix. *Ἔδει πατέρα καὶ ἀδελφοὺς ἐπὶ γῆς ὀνομάσαι τὸν ἀπάτορα, οὐκ ἐκ*

the Greek Church, have taught. Nor need we thus assert that Joseph had any offspring, because the language of the Jews includeth in the name of *brethren* not only the strict relation of fraternity, but also the larger of consanguinity; and therefore it is sufficient satisfaction for that expression, that there were such persons allied unto the blessed Virgin.

We be brethren, said Abraham unto Lot; when Abraham was Gen. xiii. 8.

the son of Terah, Lot of Haran, and consequently not his brother, but his nephew, and, as elsewhere properly styled, *the son of his brother*. *Moses called Mishaël and Elzaphan the* Gen. xii. 5.
Lev. i. 4.

sons of Uzziel the uncle of Aaron, and said unto them, Come near, carry your brethren from before the sanctuary: whereas those brethren were Nadab and Abihu, the sons, not of Uzziel, but of Aaron. *Jacob told Rachel that he was her father's brother, and that he was Rebekah's son;* whereas Rebekah was Gen. xxix. 2.

the sister of Rachel's father. It is sufficient, therefore, that the evangelists, according to the constant language of the Jews, call the kindred of the blessed Virgin the brethren and sisters of her only Son; which indeed is something the later, but the most generally approved, answer¹.

τῶν ληστών καὶ πονηρῶν τοὺς ἐξελέξατο, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ διαλάμποντας· τοιοῦτος γὰρ Ἰωσήφ, καὶ οἱ τοῦτου παῖδες. *In Phot. Biblioth. 222. c. 38. col. 642. [39.]* And that of Amphilochius Jun. Ἐπιστήσαν δὲ ποτε καὶ οἱ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ υἱοί, καθὼς μαρτυρεῖ ὁ Εὐαγγελιστής, καὶ τῇ περὶ διδασκόμενοι τὸ ἀληθές, γεγραφήκασιν Ἰάκωβος καὶ Ἰούδας παρὶ τῷ κοσμή, Θεοῦ καὶ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ δούλους ἑαυτοὺς εἶναι. *Orat. in Deip. in fin.* [Theophylact supposes that Joseph married Mary the wife of his brother Cleophas, after his brother's death, and had four sons and two daughters. Note on Origen, Tom. III. p. 463.]

¹ The first, I conceive, who returned this answer was St Jerome, in a tractate written in his youth at Rome against Helvidius; wherein, after a long discourse of several acceptions of *brethren* in the Scriptures, he thus concludes: 'Restat igitur, ut fratres eos intelligas appellatos cognatione, non affectu; non gentis privilegio, non natura. Quomodo Lot Abraham, quomodo Jacob Laban est

appellatus frater.' *Adv. Helvid. col. 448. (Tom. II. p. 223 A.)* And as for the other opinion of those which went before him, he says it was grounded merely upon an apocryphal history, *Com. in Matt. c. xii. 49. col. 639. (Tom. VII. p. 86 B.)* 'Quidam fratres Domini de alia uxore Joseph filios suspicantur, sequentes deliramenta Apocryphorum, et quamdam Melcham vel Escham mulierculam confingentes.' Indeed Origen himself, followed in this particular by the Greek Church, did confess no less: who tells the authors from whom that interpretation first arose: τοὺς δὲ ἀδελφοὺς Ἰησοῦ φασι τῶς εἶναι (ἐκ παραδόσεως ὁμώμενοι τοῦ ἐπιγεγραμμένου κατὰ Πέτρον εὐαγγελίου, ἢ τοῦ βιβλίου Ἰακώβου)—υἱοὺς Ἰωσήφ ἐκ προτέρας γυναίκος. *In Matt. xiii. 55.* This *Jacobus* mentioned by Origen, is the same with him whom Eustathius mentions in *Hexaemero*, p. 70. ed. Lugd. 1629. Ἀξίον δὲ τὴν ἱστορίαν, ἣν διέξειμι περὶ τῆς ἁγίας Μαρίας Ἰακώβος τῆς, ἐκδοθεῖς. Where he reckons Joseph inter τοὺς χηρῶντας, and Epiphanius calls

And yet this difficulty, though usually no farther considered, is not fully cleared; for they which impugned the perpetual virginity of the mother of our Lord, urged it farther, pretending that as the Scriptures called them the brethren of *Christ*, so they also shewed them to be the sons of Mary the mother of *Christ*. For first, the Jews express them particularly by their names, *Is not his mother called Mary? and his brethren, James, and Joses, and Simon, and Judas?* Therefore James and Joses were undoubtedly the brethren of *Christ*, and the same were also as unquestionably the sons of Mary¹; for among the women at the cross we find *Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James and Joses*. Again, this Mary they think can be no other than the mother of our Lord, because they find her early in the morning at the sepulchre with Mary Magdalene and Salome; and it is not probable that any should have more care of the body of the son than the mother². She then who was certainly present at the

Matt. xiii. 56.

Matt. xxvii. 56.

Mark xvi. 1.

Ἰάκωβος Ἐβραῖος, Lib. de Vit. B. Mariæ Virg. St Jerome therefore observing that the former opinion of Joseph's sons was founded merely upon an apocryphal writing, and being ready to assert the virginity of Joseph as well as Mary, first invented the other solution in the kindred of Mary, as founded not only in the language, but also testimony of the Scriptures: 'Quidam fratres Domini de alia uxore Joseph filios suspicantur, sequentes deliramenta Apocryphorum, et quandam Melcham vel Escham mulierculam confingentes. Nos autem sicut in libro quem contra Helvidium scripsimus, continetur, fratres Domini non filios Joseph, sed consobrinos Salvatoris, Mariæ liberos intelligimus materteræ Domini, quæ esse dicitur mater Jacobi minoris et Joseph et Judæ, quos in alio Evangelii loco fratres Domini legimus appellatos. Fratres autem consobrinos dici omnis Scriptura demonstrat.' *S. Hier. in Matt.* xii. 49. col. 639. [Tom. vii. p. 86 B.] After St Jerome, St Augustin embraced this opinion: 'Consanguinei Virginis Mariæ fratres Domini dicebantur. Erat enim consuetudinis Scripturarum appellare fratres quoslibet consanguineos et cognationis propinquos.' *In Joan.*

Tract. 28. § 3. [Tom. iii. par. 2. p. 369 B.] item *Tract.* 10. § 2. [p. 268 B.] et *contra Faustum*, lib. xxii. c. 35. [Tom. viii. p. 271 F.] Although therefore he seem to be indifferent in his exposition of the Epistle to the Galatians, i. [19. Tom. iii. par. 2. p. 688 D.] 'Jacobus Domini frater, vel ex filiis Joseph de alia uxore, vel ex cognatione Mariæ matris ejus, debet intelligi:' yet because this exposition was written while he was a presbyter, and those before-mentioned after he was made a bishop; therefore the former was taken for his undoubted opinion; and upon his and St Jerome's authority, hath been generally since received in the Latin Church.

¹ From this place Helvidius argued: 'Hæc eadem vocabula ab Evangelistis in alio loco nominari, et eosdem esse fratres Domini, filios Mariæ.' *S. Hier. advers. Helv.* col. 444. (§ 11. Tom. ii. p. 217 A.) And from the next he concluded: 'Ecce Jacobus et Joses, filii Mariæ, iidem quos Judæi fratres appellaverunt.' *Ibid.* col. 445. (p. 217 D.)

² Here Helvidius exclaiming triumphed: 'Quam miserum erit et impium de Maria hoc sentire, ut cum aliæ femine curam sepulture Jesu habue-

cross, was not probably absent from the *sepulchre*: wherefore they conclude, she was the mother of *Christ*, who was the mother of James and Joses, the brethren of *Christ*.

And now the urging of this argument will produce a greater clearness in the solution of the question. For if it appear that Mary the mother of James and Joses was different and distinguished from Mary the Virgin; then will it also be apparent that the brethren of our Lord were the sons of another mother, for James and Joses were so called. But we read in St John, that *there stood by the cross of Jesus, his mother, and his mother's sister, Mary the wife of Cleophas, and Mary Magdalene.* John xix. 25. In the rest of the evangelists we find at the same place *Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James and Joses;* Matt. xxvii. 56. and again at the *sepulchre, Mary Magdalene and the other Mary:* Mark xv. 40. wherefore that *other Mary*, by the conjunction of these testimonies, appeareth to be *Mary the wife of Cleophas, and the mother of James and Joses;* Matt. xxviii. 1. and consequently James and Joses, the brethren of our Lord, were not the sons of Mary his mother, but of the other Mary¹, and therefore called his brethren according to the language of the Jews, because that the other Mary was the sister of his mother.

Notwithstanding therefore all these pretensions, there can be nothing found to raise the least suspicion of any interruption of the ever-blessed Mary's perpetual virginity. For as
177 she was a virgin when she conceived, and after she brought forth our Saviour; so did she continue in the same state and condition, and was commended by our Saviour to his beloved disciple, as a mother only now of an adopted son.

The third consideration belonging to this part of the Article is, how this Virgin was a mother, what the foundation was of her maternal relation to the Son of God, what is to be attributed unto her in this sacred nativity, beside the immediate work of the power of the Highest, and the influence of the Holy Ghost. For we are here to remember again the most ancient form of

rint, matrem ejus dicamus absentem!' *Ibid.* col. 445. (p. 218 A.)

¹ 'Jacobus qui appellatur frater Domini, cognomento Justus, ut nonnulli existimant, Joseph ex alia uxore, ut autem mihi videtur, Mariæ sororis Matris Domini, cujus Joannes in libro suo meminit, filius.' *S. Hieron. in Ca-*

talogo Script. Eccles. n. 4. col. 346. (Tom. II. p. 815 A.) 'Sicut in sepulcro ubi positum est corpus Domini, nec antea nec postea mortuus jacuit: sic uterus Mariæ nec antea nec postea quicquam mortale suscepit.' *S. August. in Ioan. Tract. 28. [§ 3. Tom. III. par. 2. p. 369 c.] (p. 508.)*

this Article, briefly thus delivered, *born of the Holy Ghost, and the Virgin Mary*; as also that the word *born*¹ was not taken precisely for the nativity of our Saviour, but as comprehending in it whatsoever belonged to his human generation; and when afterward the conception was attributed to the Spirit, the nativity to the Virgin; it was not so to be understood, as if the Spirit had conceived him, but the blessed Virgin, by the power and operation of the Spirit.

First, therefore, we must acknowledge a true, real, and proper conception, by which the Virgin did conceive of her own substance the true and real substance of our Saviour², according to the prediction of the prophet, *Behold, a virgin shall conceive*, and the annunciation of the angel, *Behold, thou shalt conceive in thy womb*³. From whence our Saviour is expressly termed by Elizabeth *the fruit*⁴ of her womb.

Secondly, As she did at first really and properly conceive, so did she also nourish and increase the same body of our Saviour, once conceived, by the true substance of her own; by which *she was found with child of the Holy Ghost*, and is described going with Joseph *to be taxed, being great with child*⁵, and pronounced happy by that loud cry of the woman in the Gospel, *Blessed is the womb that bare thee*⁶.

Thirdly, When *Christ* was thus conceived, and grew in the womb of the blessed Virgin, she truly and really did bring forth her Son, by a true and proper parturition; and *Christ* thereby was properly born, by a true nativity⁷. For as we read, *Elizabeth's full time came that she should be delivered; and she brought forth a son*; so in the like simplicity of expression, and propriety of speech, the same evangelist speaks of Mary, *The days were accomplished that she should be delivered; and she brought forth her first-born son*.

¹ Γεννηθέντα.

² 'Quamvis tantum ad nativitatem carnis ex se daret, quantum ex se feminæ edendorum corporum susceptis originibus impenderent,' &c. *S. Hilar. l. x. de Trinit. c. 15. (p. 1045 B).*

³ That is, by a proper conception, συλλαβεῖν ἐν γαστρὶ: the Syriac in one word בָּטַן 'ac si diceret, *ventrescere*.' So the LXX. translated the simple ΠΥΗ ἐν γαστρὶ λήγεται, *Is. vii. 14.* As therefore ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχων expresseth a proper gravitation, so doth ἐν γαστρὶ συλλαβεῖν a proper conception. Ac-

cording to that expression of Gregory Nazianzen: Θεϊκῶς μὲν, ὅτι χωρὶς ἀνδρός· ἀνθρωπικῶς δέ, ὅτι νόμῳ κνήσεως. *Ep. i. ad Cledon. [Tom. II. Ep. ci. p. 85 c.]*

⁴ Heb. בָּטַן פֶּרִי

⁵ Οὐδὲν ἐγκύον.

⁶ Ἡ κοιλία ἡ βαστάσασά σε.

⁷ Πεκληροφορημένους εἰς τὸν Κόριον ἡμῶν, ἀληθῶς ὄντα ἐκ γένους Δαβὶδ κατὰ σάρκα, υἱὸν Θεοῦ κατὰ θέλημα καὶ δύναμιν Θεοῦ, γεγεννημένον ἀληθῶς ἐκ παρθένου. *S. Ignat. Epist. ad Smyr. § 1. i.*

Wherefore from these three, a true conception, nutrition, and parturition, we must acknowledge that the blessed Virgin was truly and properly the mother of our Saviour¹. And so is she frequently styled the *mother of Jesus*, in the language Luke i. 48. of the evangelists, and by Elizabeth particularly, the *mother of her Lord*, as also by the general consent of the Church (because he which was so born of her was God)² the *Deipara*³; which being a compound title begun in the Greek Church, was

¹ 'Veri et proprii filii quis nisi absurdissimus neget vere et proprie esse matrem?' *Facundus*, l. i. c. 4. [init. p. 671 B.] 'Hoc et ad credendum difficile, et dignum controversia videbatur, utrum Deum illa Virgo genuerit, cæterum quod vere et proprie genuerit, quicquid est ille quem genuit, nulli dignum disceptationis apparet.' *Ibid.* [p. 671 D.]

² Πῶς γὰρ οὐ Θεοτόκος ἡ Θεὸν υἱὸν ἔχουσα; *Theod. Abucara*, [*Dialogus cum Nestoriano*, 14. p. 407 D.]

³ This name was first in use in the Greek Church, which delighting in the happy compositions of that language, called the blessed Virgin Θεοτόκων. From whence the Latins in imitation styled her 'Virginem Deiparam et Deigenitricem.' Meursius, in his Glossary, sets the original of this title in the time of Justinian: 'Iditum hoc nomen est matri Domini ac Servatoris nostri Jesu Christi a Synodo V. Constantinopolitana tempore Justiniani.' Whereas this was not the original, but the confirmation of that title. 'In hac Synodo Catholice est institutum, ut Beata Maria semper virgo Θεοτόκος diceretur; quia sicut catholica fides habet, non hominem solum, sed vere Deum et hominem, genuit.' *Paul. Warnef. de Gest. Longobard.* l. vi. c. 14. [*Biblioth. Pat. Lat.* Tom. VIII. p. 187 E.] So speaketh he of the same Synod; and it is true, for the sixth Canon of the same runneth thus: Εἰ τις καταχρηστικῶς ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀληθῶς Θεοτόκων λέγει τὴν ἁγίαν, ἐνδοξον, δειπαρθένον Μαρίαν—ἢ κατὰ ἀναφορὰν—ἀλλὰ μὴ κυρίως καὶ κατ' ἀλήθειαν Θεοτόκων αὐτὴν ὁμολογεῖ—ὁ τοιοῦτος ἀνάθεμα ἐστω. [*Labbe*, Tom. v. p. 572 c.] Otherwise

in this Council was but confirmed what had been determined and settled long before; and therefore Photius says thereof, *Epist.* i. [c. 15. p. 11.] Αὐτῇ ἡ—Σύνοδος Νεστορίου πάλιν τὰ μαρὰ παραφυρόμενα ὀνόματα εἰς τὸ παντελὲς ἐξετέρισε: that it utterly cut off the heresy of Nestorius, which then began to grow up again. Now part of the heresy of Nestorius, was the denial of this Θεοτόκος, and the whole was nothing else but the ground of that denial. And therefore being he was condemned for denying of it, that title must beacknowledged authentic, which he denied from the time of the Council of Ephesus; in which those fathers, saith Photius, expressly: τὴν πανόχραντον αὐτοῦ (Χριστοῦ) καὶ δειπαρθένον μητέρα κυρίως καὶ ἀληθῶς καλεῖσθαι καὶ ἀνευφημεῖσθαι Θεοτόκων παραδεδύκασι. *Epist.* i. [c. 12. p. 8.] And that it was so then is manifest, because by the denial of this the Nestorian heresy was first discovered, not in Nestorius himself, but in his presbyter Anastasius, who first in a sermon magisterially delivered: Θεοτόκων τὴν Μαρίαν καλεῖτω μηδὲς. *Socrat. Eccl. Hist.* l. vii. c. 32. [p. 304 D.] and *Liberat. Breviar.* c. 4. as also Evagrius and Nicephorus. Upon which words arising a tumult, Nestorius took his presbyter's part, teaching the same doctrine constantly in the Church, καὶ πανταχοῦ τὴν λέξιν τοῦ Θεοτόκος ἐκβάλλον. And hereupon the tumult grew so great, that a general Council for that reason was called by Theodosius junior, τοῦ Νεστορίου τὴν ἁγίαν Μαρίαν εἶναι Θεοτόκων ἀρνούμενου, as Justinian testifieth, *Ep. ad V. Synodum*. In which, when all things seemed

resolved into its parts by the Latins, and so the Virgin was plainly named the mother of God¹.

clearly to be carried against Nestorius and his faction, he hoped to have reconciled all by this feigned acknowledgment: *Λεγέσθω καὶ Θεοτόκος ἡ Μαρία, καὶ πανσόφως τὰ λυπηρά. Socrat. l. vii. c. 34. [p. 307 c.] Liberat. Brev. c. 6.* It is plain then, that the Council of Ephesus, which condemned Nestorius, confirmed this title *Θεοτόκος*, I say, confirmed it; for it is evident that it was before used in the Church, by the tumult which arose at the first denial of it by Anastasius; and so confirmed it as received before, because they approved the epistles of St Cyril, who proved it by the usage of those fathers which preceded him. Where by the way it is observable, that while St Cyril produceth nine several fathers for the use of this word, and both before and after he produceth them, affirmeth that they all did use it; there are but three of them who expressly mention it, Athanasius, Antiochus, and Ammon, *Epist. ad Reginas de Rect. Fid. [Tom. v. par. 2. p. 48.]* And it is something to be admired, that he should so name the other six, and recite those places out of them which had it not, when there were before him so many beside them that used it. As Gregory Nazianzen: *Εἰ τις οὐ Θεοτόκον τὴν Mariam ὑπολαμβάνει, χωρὶς ἐστὶ τῆς θεότητος. Epist. i. ad Cledon. [Epist. ci. Tom. ii. p. 85 c.]* and in his first oration *de Filio [Orat. 29. § 4. Tom. i. p. 525 D.]* speaking of the difference of his generation from that of others: *Ποῦ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς σοῖς ἔγνω Θεοτόκον παρθένον;* And St Basil asserteth: *μὴ καταδέχεσθαι τῶν φιλοφροσύνων τὴν ἀκοήν, ὅτι ποτὲ ἐπαύσατο εἶναι παρθένος ἡ Θεοτόκος. Hom. in Sanct. Christ. Gen. § 5. [Tom. ii. p. 600 A.]* And that in the time of St Basil and St Gregory this term was usual, appeareth by the objection of Julian, who derided the Christians for thinking God could be born of a woman: *Θεοτόκον δὲ ὑμεῖς οὐ πάυσετε Mariam καλοῦντες. S. Cyril. Alex. c. Jul. [lib. viii. Tom. vi. p. 262 D.]*

Before both these Eusebius speaketh of Helena, who built a church at Bethlehem: *Ἡ βασιλὶς ἡ θεοσεβειστὰ τῆς Θεοτόκου τὴν κύσιν μῆμασι θανμαστοῖς κατεκόσμη. De vita Const. l. iii. c. 43. [p. 416 A. See Burton's note.]* And before Eusebius, Alexander bishop of Alexandria: *Ἀπαρχὴ γέγονεν ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, σῶμα φορέσας ἀληθῆς, καὶ οὐ δοκῆσαι, ἐκ τῆς Θεοτόκου Μαρίας. Ep. ad Alex. apud Theod. l. i. c. 4. [p. 18 D.]* Before him Dionysius Alexand. calls our Saviour: *τὸν σαρκωθέντα ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου καὶ Θεοτόκου Μαρίας. Epist. ad Paulum Samosat. p. 276 c.* And speaking of the words of Isaiah, a virgin shall conceive: *Δεκνυσιν ὅτι ἡ Θεοτόκος τῷ συνέλαβεν, ἡ παρθένος δηλωῶτι. Resp. ad Quæst. 5.* And in the answer to the same question: *Πνεύματι ἁγίῳ ᾤδρασται, καὶ σκέπεται τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ ὑψίστου ἡ δειμνιστος σπητὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ, Μαρία ἡ Θεοτόκος καὶ παρθένος.* And again: *Οὕτως λέγει καὶ περὶ τοῦ γεννηθέντος ἐκ τῆς Θεοτόκου.* In answer to the seventh question: *Διὰ τὸ φεύγειν εἰς Αἰγύπτον τὸν Ἰωσήφ ὅμα τῇ Θεοτόκῳ Mariā ἐν ἀγκάλαις φερούσῃ τὴν καταφυγὴν ἡμῶν.* And so often. Nay, yet before him Origen did not only use, but expound at large the meaning of that title *Θεοτόκος*, in his first tome on the Epistle to the Romans, as Socrates and Liberatus testify. Well therefore did Antiochus [John], bishop of Antioch, urge the ancient fathers against Nestorius, calling it: *πρόσφορον ὄνομα καὶ τετράμμενον πολλοῖς τῶν Πατέρων.* And again: *Πολλοῖς τῶν Πατέρων καὶ συντεθέν, καὶ γραφέν, καὶ ῥηθέν.—Τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα, says he, οὐδεὶς τῶν Ἐκκλησιαστικῶν διδασκάλων παρήτηται: οἱ τε γὰρ χρησάμενοι αὐτῷ πολλοὶ καὶ ἐπίσημοι, οἱ τε μὴ χρησάμενοι οὐκ ἐπελάβοντο τῶν χρησαμένων. Concil. Ephes. Par. i. c. 25. § 4. [Epistola Joannis Epis. Antioch. Labbé, Tom. iii. p. 392 E.]*

¹ Although *Θεοτόκος* may be extended to signify as much as the mother of God, because *τίκτω* doth

178 The necessity of believing our Saviour thus to be *born of the Virgin Mary*, will appear both in respect of her who was the mother, and of him who was the Son.

sometimes denote as much as *γεννήν*, and therefore it hath been translated *Dei genitrix* as well as *Deipara*; yet those ancient Greeks which call the Virgin *Θεοτόκος*, did not call her *μητέρα τοῦ Θεοῦ*. But the Latins translating *Θεοτόκος Dei genitrix*, and the Greeks translating *Dei genitrix Θεοῦ μήτηρ*, they both at last called her plainly the *mother of God*. The first which the Greeks observed to style her so, was Leo the Great, as was observed by Ephraim, Patriarch of Theopolis, whose words have been very much mistaken by two learned men, Dionysius Petavius and Leo Allatius, who have produced them to prove that Leo Magnus was the first man which ever used the word *Θεοτόκος*. A strange error this must needs appear in so great a person as a patriarch, and that of the Greek Church; and indeed not imaginable, considering how well he was versed in those controversies, and how he compared the words of Leo with those of the ancient Greek fathers, and particularly of St Cyril. His words are these, in his Epistle *ad Zenobium*: *Πρώτος ἐν ἁγίοις Λέων ὡς εἶπεν αὐταῖς λέξεσιν, ὡς μήτηρ Θεοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ ἁγία Θεοτόκος, τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ πατέρων διακρυσσίοις ῥήμασι μὴ τοῦτο φημένων*: that is, 'Leo was the first who in plain terms called the *Θεοτόκος*, (that is, *Mary*), the *mother of God*; whereas the fathers before him spake not the same in express words.' Petavius and Allatius have clearly mistaken the proposition, making the subject the predicate, and the predicate the subject, as if he had first called the *mother of God Θεοτόκος*, whereas he is said first to call the *Θεοτόκος mother of God*, as appeareth by the article added to the subject, not to the predicate. But if that be not sufficient, his meaning will appear by another passage to the same purpose, in his Epistle *ad Syncreticum*: *Ὅτι μήτέρα Θεοῦ πρώτων μὲν ἡ Ἐλισαβὲτ ἀνέειπεν, ἐν οἷς λέγει,*

Καὶ πῶθεν μοι τοῦτο, ἵνα ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ Κυρίου μου ἔλθῃ πρὸς με; Σαφέστερον δὲ τῶν ἄλλων μετὰ ταῦτα τῇ λέξει πρῶτος ὁ δοσιος Λέων ὁ Πάπας προήνεγκε. Therefore as he took the *Lord and God* to be synonymous; so he thought Elizabeth first styled *Mary*, the *mother of God*, because she called her the *mother of her Lord*; 'and after Elizabeth, Leo was the first who plainly styled her so, that is, the *mother of God*.' And that we may be yet farther assured of his mind, he produceth the words of Leo the pope, in his epistle to Leo the emperor: *Ἀναθεματίζεσθω Νεστόριος, ὁ τῇ μακαρῶν καὶ Θεοτόκων Μαρῶν οὐχὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀνθρώπου δὲ μόνον, πιστεύων εἶναι μητέρα.* The sentence which he translates is this: 'Anathematizetur ergo Nestorius, qui beatam Virginem Mariam non Dei, sed hominis tantummodo, credidit genitricem.' *Ep.* 97. c. 1. [p. 930 A.] Where plainly *genitrix Dei* is translated *μήτηρ Θεοῦ*, and *Θεοτόκος* is added by Ephraim out of custom in the subject, being otherwise not at all in Leo's words. It is therefore certain that first in the Greek Church they termed the blessed Virgin *Θεοτόκος*, and the Latins from them *Dei genitrix*, and *mater Dei*, and the Greeks from them again *μήτηρ Θεοῦ*, upon the authority of Leo, not taking notice of other Latins, who styled her so before him.

[Nunc demum cuique constare potest vocem *Θεοτόκος* Origeni adhibitam esse in Tractatu ejus super Lucæ Evangelium. Nam apud *Analecta Vet. Patrum edita Venetiis anno 1781 inter Eclogas commentarii Origenis in Lucam ad p. 87. vox ista invenitur: atque illam ῥῆσιν, in qua vox exstat, Origenis revera esse ostendunt tum qui antecedunt loci, tum qui sequuntur. Nam utroque Origeni attribuendos esse potest probari ex ejusdem Homilias in Lucam, quæ partim Græcæ, partim Hieronymo interprete, supersunt. Id autem noto, propterea quod ῥῆσις statim antecedens*

In respect of her, it was therefore necessary, that we might perpetually preserve an esteem of her person proportionable to so high a dignity. It was her own prediction, ¹⁷⁹

Luke i. 48. *From henceforth all generations shall call me blessed*¹; but the obligation is ours, to call her, to esteem her so. If Elizabeth² cried out with so loud a voice, *Blessed art thou among women*, when *Christ* was but newly conceived in her womb; what expressions of honour and admiration can we think sufficient, now that *Christ* is in heaven, and that mother with him? Far be it from any Christian to derogate from that special privilege granted her, which is incommunicable to any other³. We cannot bear too reverend a regard unto the 'mother of our Lord,' so long as we give her not that worship which is due unto the Lord himself. Let us keep the language of the primitive Church: 'Let her be honoured and esteemed, let him be worshipped and adored⁴.'

In respect of him it was necessary, first, that we might be assured he was *made*, or *begotten of a woman*, and consequently that he had from her the true nature of man. *For he took not on him the nature of angels*, and therefore saved none of them, who, for want of a Redeemer, are *reserved in*

illam in qua vox Θεοτόκος adhibetur, habentemque voces τοῦ αὐτοῦ more Collectaneorum ex Patribus super S. Scripturam præfixas, ἀντιτύπος ibidem dicitur. Denique addam rem similiter se habentem circa ἡρώς Origeni ascribendas in sequentibus a me esse deprehensam. Vide et Georgium Syncellum in Chronograph. p. 219. Ed. Gear. S. Hippolytum citantem, qui Origeni æqualis fuit.

Archelaus Episcopus urbis in finibus Mesopotamiae sitæ, qui anno Christi 277 cum Manete, sive Manichæo, disputationem habuit, vocem Θεοτόκος de Beata Virgine adhibuit. Ita enim Vetus Interpres ejus disputationis ad pag. 172. Ed. Fabricii inter Opera Hippolyti: 'Et sicut non super omnes homines Spiritus habitare poterat, nisi super eum qui de Maria Dei genetrice natus est, ita, &c.'—*M. J. Rouilh.*]

¹ 'Non sequanda est mulieribus cunctis quæ genuit majestatem.' *Auctor lib. de singular. Clericorum.*

² 'Elisabet et Zacharias—nos do-

cere possunt, quanto inferiores sunt beatæ Mariæ matris Domini sanctitate, quæ conscientia in se habitantis Dei libere proclamatur, *Ecce ergo ex hoc beatam me dicent omnes generationes.*' *S. Hier. adv. Pelag. lib. i. col. 831. (Tom. II. p. 698 A.)*

³ 'Absit ut quisquam S. Mariam divinæ gratiæ privilegiis, ut speciali gloria, fraudare conetur.'

⁴ [Ἡ Μαρία ἐν τιμῇ, ὁ Κύριος προσκυνεῖσθω.] 'Ἐν τιμῇ ἔστω Μαρία, ὃ δὲ Πατὴρ, καὶ Τίος, καὶ ἄγιον Πνεῦμα προσκυνεῖσθω. Τῇ Μαρίας μηδὲς προσκυνεῖτω. *S. Epiphani. Hæres. 79. § 7. [Tom. I. p. 1064 D.]* Ἐὶ καλλίστη ἡ Μαρία, καὶ ἄγλα, καὶ τετιμημένη, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰς τὸ προσκυνεῖσθαι. *Ibid.* 'Ἡμεῖς δὲ τῶν μὲν ὁραμένων θεολογοῦμεν οὐδέν· τῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων τοὺς ἐν ἀρετῇ διατρέψαντας, ὡς ἀνθρώπους ἀρίστους, γεραίρομεν· μόνον δὲ τὸν τῶν ὅλων προσκυνούμεν Θεὸν καὶ Πατέρα, καὶ τὸν ἐκείνου γε Ἀδύον, καὶ τὸ πανάγιον Πνεῦμα. *Theod. Therapeut. Serm. 2. [Tom. IV. p. 502 C.]*

everlasting chains under darkness, unto the judgment of the great day. And man once fallen had been, as deservedly, so irrevocably condemned to the same condition, but that *he took* Heb. ii. 16. upon him the seed of Abraham. For being we are partakers of flesh and blood, we could expect no redemption but by him who likewise took part of the same. We could look Heb. ii. 14. for no Redeemer, but such a one who by consanguinity was our brother¹. And being there is but one Mediator between God and man, the man *Christ Jesus*, we cannot be assured 1 Tim. ii. 5. that he was the *Christ*, or is our *Jesus*, except we be first assured that he was a man. Thus our Redeemer, the man *Christ Jesus*, was born of a woman, that he might redeem both men and women²; that both sexes might rely upon him, who was of the one, and from the other.

Secondly, It was necessary we should believe our Saviour conceived and born of such a woman as was a most pure and immaculate virgin. For as it behoved him in all things to be made like unto us; so in that great similitude a dissimilitude was as necessary, that he should be *without sin*³. Our Heb. iv. 16. *Passover is slain*, and *Behold the Lamb that taketh away* 1 Cor. v. 7. *the sins of the world*; but the lamb of the passover must be John i. 29. *without blemish*. Whereas then we draw something of corruption and contamination by our seminal traduction from the first Adam; our Saviour hath received the same nature, without any culpable inclination, because born of a virgin, without any seminal traduction. Our High-priest is *separate* Exod. xii. 5. *from sinners*, not only in the actions of his life, but in the Heb. vii. 26.

¹ Under that notion did the ancient Jews expect him, as appeareth by the Targum, Cantic. viii. וְבִהְיוּתָּא זִמְנָא יִתְגַּלִּי מַלְכָּא מְשִׁיחָא לְכַמְשָׁרָא דִּישְׂרָאֵל וַיִּמְרְקוּ לֵיהּ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲרָא חַדָּא עֲמָנָא לָאחַ *When the Messiah shall reveal himself to the congregation of Israel, the sons of Israel shall say unto him, Thou shalt be unto us a brother.*

² 'Hominis liberatio in utroque sexu debuit apparere. Ergo, quia virum oportebat suscipere, qui sexus honorabilior est, consequens erat ut feminei sexus liberatio hinc apparet, quod ille vir de femina natus est.' *S. August. de divers. Quest. lxxxiii. 11. 1. quest. [Tom. vi. p. 3 D.] (p. 4.)* 'Nolite vos ipsos contemnere, viri, Filius

Dei virum suscepit: nolite vos ipsas contemnere, foeminae, Filius Dei natus ex foemina est.' *Idem de Agone Christiano, c. xi. § 12. [Tom. vi. p. 184 A.] (p. 151.)*

³ 'Nec eum in peccatis mater ejus in utero aluit, quem Virgo concepit, Virgo peperit.' *S. August. Tract. 4. in Joan. § 10. [Tom. iii. par. 2. p. 231 c.] (p. 316.)* 'Ergo ecce Agnus Dei. Non habet iste traducem de Adam; carnem tantum sumpsit de Adam, peccatum non assumpsit.' *Ibid.* 'Verbum caro factum in similitudine carnis peccata omnia nostra suscepit, nullum reatus vitium ferens ex traduce praevaricationis exortum.' *Joan. IV. Epist. ad Constantinum.*

production of his nature. For as Levi was in the loins of Abraham¹, and paid tithes in him, and yet *Christ*, though the son of Abraham, did not pay tithes in him, but receive them in Melchizedeck: so though we being in the loins of 180 Adam, may be all said to sin in him; yet *Christ*, who descended from the same Adam according to the flesh, was not partaker of that sin, but an expiation for it. For he which is contained in the seminal virtue of his parent, is some way under his natural power, and therefore may be in some manner concerned in his actions: but he who is only from him by his natural substance according to a passive or obedi-
 ential power, and so receiveth not his propagation from him, cannot be so included in him, as to be obliged by his actions, or obnoxious to his demerits.

Thirdly, It was necessary that we should believe *Christ* born of that person, that Virgin Mary which was espoused unto Joseph, that thereby we might be assured that he was of the family of David. For whatsoever promises were made of the *Messias*, were appropriated unto him. As the seed of the woman was first contracted to the seed of Abraham, so the seed of Abraham was next appropriated to the Son of David. He was to be called the *Son of the Highest*, and the Lord God was to give unto him the throne of his father David. When Jesus asked the Pharisees, *What think ye of Christ? whose Son is he? they said unto him, The Son of David.* When Herod demanded of the chief priests and scribes, *where Christ should be born; they said unto him, In Bethlehem of Judea*, because that was the city of David, whither Joseph went up with Mary, his espoused wife, because he was of the house and lineage of David. After John the Baptist, the forerunner of *Christ*, was born, Zacharias blessed the Lord God of Israel, who had raised up a horn of salvation for us in the house of his servant David. The woman of Canaan, the blind men sitting by the way, and those other blind that followed him, cried out, *Have mercy*

Luke i. 32.
 Matt. xxii. 42.
 Matt. ii. 4, 5.
 Luke ii. 4.
 Luke i. 69.
 Matt. xv. 22.
 Matt. xx. 30.
 Matt. ix. 37.

¹ 'Levi (in lumbis Abrahæ fuit), secundum concupiscentiam carnalem; Christus autem, secundum solam substantiam corporalem. Cum enim sit in semine et visibilis corpulentia et invisibilis ratio, utrumque cucurrit ex Abraham, vel etiam ex ipso Adam, usque ad corpus Mariæ, quia et ipsum eo

modo conceptum et exortum est: Christus autem visibilem carnis substantiam de carne Virginis sumpsit; ratio vero conceptionis ejus non a semine virili, sed longe aliter ac desuper venit.' S. August. de Gen. ad lit. l. x. c. 20. [§ 35. Tom. III. p. 203 B.] (p. 270.)

on us, O Lord, thou Son of David. The very children, out of whose mouths God perfected praise, were *crying in the temple*, Matt. xxi. 15. and saying, *Hosanna to the Son of David.* And when the blind and dumb both spake and saw, *all the people were amazed, and said, Is not this the Son of David?* Matt. xii. 23. Thus by the public and concurrent testimonies of all the Jews, the promised *Messias* was to come of the house and lineage of David; for *God had sworn with an oath to him, that of the fruit of his loins according to the flesh he would raise up Christ to sit on his throne*¹. It was therefore necessary we should believe that our Saviour *was made of the seed of David according to the flesh*; of which we are assured, because he was born of that *Virgin Mary* who descended from him, and was espoused unto Joseph, who descended from the same, that thereby his genealogy might be known.

The consideration of all which will at last lead us to a clear explication of this latter branch of the Article, whereby every Christian may inform himself what he is bound to profess, and being informed, fully express what is the object of his faith in this particular, when he saith, I believe in *Jesus Christ* which was *born of the Virgin Mary*. For hereby he is conceived to intend thus much: I assent unto this as a most certain and infallible truth, that there was a certain woman, known by the name of *Mary*, espoused unto *Joseph of Nazareth*, which before and after her espousals was a pure and unspotted virgin, and being and continuing in the same virginity, did, by the immediate operation of the Holy Ghost, conceive within her womb the only-begotten Son of God, and, after the natural time of other women, brought him forth as her first-born son, continuing still a most pure and immaculate virgin; whereby the Saviour of the World was born of a woman under the Law, without the least pretence of any original corruption, that he might deliver us from the guilt of sin; born of that Virgin which was of the house and lineage of David, that he might sit upon his throne, and rule for evermore. And in this latitude I profess to believe in *Jesus Christ*, BORN OF THE VIRGIN MARY.

¹ 'Atqui in hinc magis Christum intelligere debes ex David deputatum carnali genere, ob Mariæ Virginis censum. De hoc enim promisso juratur

in Psalmo ad David, *Ex fructu ventris tui colloabo super thronum tuum.* Tertull. l. iii. adv. Marcionem, c. 20. [p. 495 B.]

ARTICLE IV.

SUFFERED UNDER PONTIUS PILATE, WAS CRUCIFIED,
DEAD, AND BURIED.

THIS Article hath also received some accession in the particular expressions of *Christ's* humiliation. For the first word of it, now generally speaking of his passion, in the most ancient Creeds was no way distinguished from his crucifixion; for as we say, *suffered* and *crucified*, they only, *crucified under Pontius Pilate*¹: nor was his crucifixion distinguished from his death, but where we read, *crucified, dead, and buried*, they only, *crucified and buried*. Because the chief of his sufferings were on the cross, and he gave up the ghost there; therefore his whole passion and his death were comprehended in his crucifixion.

But again, being he suffered not only on the cross; being it was possible he might have been affixed to that cursed tree, and yet not have died; therefore the Church thought fit to add the rest of his sufferings, as antecedent, and his death, as consequent, to his crucifixion.

¹ 'Crucifixus sub Pontio Pilato, et sepultus.' *Ruffin. in Symb.* § 16. [p. 31.] *Cassianus de Incarn. Domini*, l. vi. c. 4. [p. 77 D.] 'Credimus in eum qui sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus est et sepultus.' *S. August. de Fide et Symb.* c. v. § 11. [Tom. vi. p. 115 O.] et *de Trinitat.* l. i. c. 14. [4. § 7, Tom. viii. p. 534 A.] 'Caput nostrum Christus est, crucifixum et sepultum, resuscitatum ascendet in cælum.' *Idem, in Psal.* cxxxii. [Tom. iv. p. 1112 D.] 'Qui sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus est et sepultus.' *Mac. Taurin. Chrysol. Euseb. Gallic. de Symb.* Hom. ii. p. 554. *Τὸν ἐπὶ Πόντιου Πιλάτου σταυρωθέντα, ταφέντα.* 'Qui sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus et sepultus.' *MSS. Armach.* And beside these, a witness without exception, Leo the Great: 'Unigenitum Filium Dei crucifixum et sepultum, omnes etiam in Symbolo confitemur.' *Epist.* x. c. 5. [p. 879 D.] Afterwards the Passion was expressed: 'Passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus et sepultus.' *Etherius Uxam.* And the Death: 'Passus sub Pontio Pilato, —

crucifixus, mortuus, et sepultus.' *Auctor lib. de Symb. ad Catechum.* [§ 7. *Augustin.* Tom. vi. p. 401 O.] Not but both these were expressed before in the rule of faith by Tertullian, but without particular mention of the crucifixion. *Adv. Prax.* c. 2. [p. 635 A.] 'hunc passum, hunc mortuum, et sepultum:' as Optatus: 'Passus, et mortuus, et sepultus resurrexit.' *Lib. i. c. 1.* [p. 2.] 'Passus, sepultus, et tertia die resurrexit.' *Capitul. Caroli* 82. And generally the ancients did understand determinately his crucifying, by that more comprehensive name of his suffering. For as Marcellus and St. Cyril have *σταυρωθέντα καὶ ταφέντα*, Eusebius and the Nicene Council to the same purpose, have *παθόντα* only in their Creeds. As Clemens Alex. *Pædag.* l. ii. c. 3. [p. 189. 8.] *Τὴν εἰς τὸν Θεὸν πίστιν, τὴν εἰς τὸν παθόντα ὁμολογίαν.* Which was farther enlarged afterwards by the Council of Constantinople into *σταυρωθέντα, καὶ παθόντα, καὶ ταφέντα.*

To begin then with his passion in general. In those words, He *suffered under Pontius Pilate*, we are to consider part as substantial, part as circumstantial. The substance of this part of the Article consisteth in our Saviour's passion, he *suffered*: the circumstance of time is added, declared by the present governor, *under Pontius Pilate*.

Now for the explication of our Saviour's *passion*, as distinct from those particulars which follow in the Article, more, I conceive, cannot be required, than that we shew, *who* it was that suffered, *how* he suffered, *what* it was he suffered.

First, If we would clearly understand him that suffered in his full relation to his *passion*, we must consider him both in his office, and his person, as *Jesus Christ*, and as the *only-begotten Son of God*. In respect of his office, we believe that he which was the *Christ* did suffer; and so we make profession to be saved by faith in a suffering *Messias*. Of which that we may give a just account, first, We must prove that
 182 the promised *Messias* was to suffer: for if he were not, then by professing that our *Jesus* suffered, we should declare he was not *Christ*. Secondly, We must shew that *Jesus*, whom we believe to be the *Messias*, did really and truly suffer: for if he did not, then while we proved the true *Messias* was to suffer, we should conclude our *Jesus* was not that *Messias*. Thirdly, It will farther be advantageous for the illustration of this truth, to manifest that the sufferings of the *Messias* were determined and foretold, as those by which he should be known. And fourthly, It will then be necessary to shew that our *Jesus* did truly suffer whatsoever was determined and foretold. And more than this cannot be necessary to declare *who* it was that suffered, in relation to his office.

For the first of these, that the promised *Messias* was to suffer, to all Christians it is unquestionable; because our Saviour did constantly instruct the apostles in this truth, both before his death, that they might expect it, and after, that they might be confirmed by it. And one part of the doctrine
 Mark ix. 12.
 Luke xxiv.
 26, 46.
 Acts xvii. 3.
 which St Paul disseminated through the world was this, *that the Christ must needs have suffered*.

But because these testimonies will satisfy only such as believe in *Jesus*, and our Saviour himself did refer the disbelieving Jews to the Law and the Prophets, as those who testified of him; we will shew from thence, even from the

Mark ix. 12.

1 Pet. i. 11.

oracles committed to the Jews, *how it was written of the Son of man, that he must suffer many things, and how the Spirit of Christ, which was in the prophets, testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ.*

The fifty-third chapter of Isaiah is beyond all question a sad, but clear description of a suffering person: *a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief, oppressed and afflicted, wounded and bruised, brought to the slaughter, and cut off out of the land of the living.* But the person of whom that chapter treateth was certainly the *Messias*, as we have formerly proved by the confession of the most ancient Jews, and may farther be evidenced both from them and from the place itself¹. For surely no man's soul can be *made an*

¹ Page 87, we shewed by the authority of the Targum, the Beresbith Rabbah, and the Midrash upon Ruth, and by the confession of Solomon Jarchi and Moses Alshech, that the ancient Rabbins did interpret that chapter of the *Messias*: which might seem a sufficient acknowledgement. But because this is the most considerable controversy between us and the Jews, it will not seem unnecessary to prove the same truth by further testimonies. In the Talmud Cod. Sanhedrin, [fol. 98. col. 2.] to the question, *What is the name of the Messias?* it is answered, חַיִּי הַלֵּוִי *the leper*. And the reason of the name is there rendered, כִּי נִשְׁמָח בְּעַלְמָא *because it is spoken in this*, Isa. liii. 4. *Surely he hath borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows: yet we did esteem him stricken*, i. e. נִשְׁמָח. And because חַיִּי is used of the *leprosy*, Levit. xiii. 13. therefore from חַיִּי they concluded his name to be a *leper*, and consequently did interpret that place of the *Messias*. In the Pesikta it is written, הוֹצֵא נַפְשָׁא דְּחַיִּי *God produced the soul of the Messias*, and said unto him, *Wilt thou redeem my sons after six thousand years?* He answered, I will. *Wilt thou bear the chastisements, to take away their sins?* הוֹצֵא דְּחַיִּי *as it is written*, Isa. liii. 4. *Surely he hath borne our griefs.* And he answered, I will bear them with joy. Which is a clear testimony, considering the opinion of the

Jews, that all souls of men were created in the beginning, and so the soul of the *Messias* to suffer for the rest. The shift of the Jews, turning these expressions off from the *Messias*, and attributing of them to the people as to one, is something ancient: for we find that Origen was urged with that exposition, in a disputation with the Jews: Μέμνημαι δὲ ποτε ἐν τῷ πρὸς τοὺς λεγομένους παρὰ Ἰουδαίους σοφοὺς ἐκζητήσει ταῖς προφηταῖς ταύταις χρησάμενος ἐφ' οἷς ἔλεγεν ὁ Ἰουδαῖος, ταῦτα πεπροφητεύσθαι ὡς περὶ ἐνὸς τοῦ δλου λαοῦ, καὶ γινόμενον ἐν τῇ διασπορᾷ καὶ πληγέντος, ὅτι πολλοὶ προσήλυτοι γένωνται τῇ προφᾶσει τοῦ ἐπεσπάρθαι Ἰουδαίους τοῖς πολλοῖς ἔθνεσι. Adv. Cels. l. i. c. 55. [Tom. i. p. 370 c.] Thus the Jew interpreted those places, Isa. lii. 14. *His visage was so marred more than any man*; lii. 15. *that which had not been told them they shall see*; liii. 3. *a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief*; and applied them to the people of Israel in their dispersions. But Origen did easily refute him, by restoring other places of the same prophecy; as liii. 4. *Surely he hath borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows*; ver. 5. *He was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities, and with his stripes are we healed*: Σαφῶς γάρ, says he, οἱ ἐν ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις γενόμενοι, καὶ λαθόντες, ἐκ τοῦ τὸν Σωτῆρα πεσπάρθαι, εἴτ' ἀπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ ἐκείνου, εἶτε καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν

offering for our sins, but our Saviour's: nor hath God laid on any man the iniquity of us all, but on our Redeemer. Upon no person but the *Messias* could the chastisement of our peace be; nor with any stripes could we be healed but his. It is sufficiently then demonstrated by the prophet, that the suffering person whom he describes was to be the *Christ*, in that he *bare our griefs, and carried our sorrows*.

183 This prediction is so clear, ever since the serpent was to bruise the heel of the woman's seed, that the Jews, who were resolved to expect a *Messias* which should be only glorious, have been enforced to invent another, which should suffer. And then they answer us with a distinction of their own invention; that a *Messias* was to redeem us, and a *Messias* was to suffer for us: but the same *Messias* was not both to redeem us and to suffer for us. For they say that there are two several persons promised under the name of the *Messias*¹; one of the tribe of Ephraim, the other of the tribe of Judah; one the son of Joseph, the other the son of David; the one to precede, fight, and suffer death; the other to follow,

ἐθνῶν, ταῦτα λέγουσι. *Ibid.* [p. 370 E.] But especially he confounded the Jew with those words of the 8th verse, *He was cut off out of the land of the living; for the transgressions of my people was he stricken*: Μάλιστα δὲ ἐδόξαμεν θλίβειν ἀπὸ τῆς φασκοῦσης λέξεως τό, 'Ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνομῶν τοῦ λαοῦ μου ἤχθη εἰς θάνατον. Εἰ γὰρ ὁ λαὸς κατὰ ἐκείνους εἰσιν οἱ προφητεύμενοι, πῶς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνομῶν τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ λέγεται ἤχθαι εἰς θάνατον οὗτος, εἰ μὴ ἕτερος ὢν παρὰ τὸν λαὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ; τίς δ' οὗτος, εἰ μὴ Ἰησοῦς Χριστός; *Ibid.* [p. 370 E.]

¹ So indeed the Jews expected a double *Messias*, one משיח בן יוסף *Messias the son of Joseph*, the other משיח בן דוד *Messias the son of David*. See the Targum expressly upon Canticles, iv. 5. וְרֵין פְּרִיעִד דְּעִידִין לְמַפְרִיק מְשִׁיחַ בְּר דָּוד וּמְשִׁיחַ בְּר אֶפְרַיִם *Two are they deliverers which shall deliver thee, Messias the son of David, and Messias the son of Ephraim*: and in the same manner, chap. vii. 3. This, that paraphrast, nothing so ancient as the rest, is conceived to have taken out of the Talmud in Massecheth Succa, [fol. 52. col. 1.]

where, cap. 5, inscribed משיח בן דוד, God saith to *Messias* the son of David, שאל מה אהיה מבקש *Ask what thou wilt* (according to the second Psalm), and *I will give it thee*. כִּין שְׂרָאָה לְמְשִׁיחַ בֶּן יוֹסֵף שְׂרָאָה לְמְשִׁיחַ בֶּן דָּוִד *Who seeing the Messias the son of Joseph, which was slain, asked of God nothing but life*. Thus from the Talmud and the latter Targum, the Rabbins have generally taught a double *Messias*, one the son of David, the other of Joseph. As Solomon Jarchi, Isa. xxiv. 18. Zech. xii. 10. Aben Ezra, Zech. ix. 9. Malach. iii. 1. Kimchi, Zech. xii. 10. whom the latter Jews constantly follow. And this Marcion the heretic seems to have learned of the Jews, and to have taught with some alteration in favour of his own opinion: 'Constituit Marcion alium esse Christum, qui Tiberianis temporibus a Deo quondam ignoto revelatus sit in salutem omnium gentium; alium, qui a Deo Creatore in restitutionem Judaici status sit destinatus, quandoque venturus.' *Ter-tull. adv. Marcion.* l. iv. c. 6. [p. 506 c.]

conquer, reign, and never to die. If then our Saviour were a *Christ*, we must confess he was a suffering *Messias*, and consequently, according to their doctrine, not a Saviour. For if he were the son of David, then, say they, he was never to die; or if he ever died, he was not that *Messias* which was promised to sit upon the throne of David. And while we confess our Saviour died, and withal assert his descent from the house of David, we do, in their opinion, involve ourselves in a contradiction.

But this distinction of a double *Messias*, is far from prevailing over our belief: first, because it is in itself false, and therefore of no validity against us; secondly, because it was first invented to counterfeit the truth, and so very advantageous to us.

That it is in itself false, will appear, because the Scriptures never mention any *Messias* of the tribe of Ephraim, neither was there ever any promise of that nature made to any of the sons or offspring of Joseph. Beside, as we acknowledge but one Mediator between God and man, so the Scriptures never mention any *Messias* but one. Under whatsoever title he is represented to us, there can be no pretence for a double person. Whether the *seed of the woman*, or the *seed of Abraham*, whether *Shiloh*, or the *Son of David*, still one person promised: and the style of the ancient Jews before our Saviour was, not they, but he, *which is to come*¹. The question which was asked him, when he professed himself to be *Christ*, was, whether it was he *which was to come*, or whether they were to *look for another*? Not that they could look for him, and for another also. The objection then was, that Elias was not yet come, and therefore they expected no *Messias* till Elias came. Nor can the difference of the *Messiah's* condition be any true reason of imagining a double person, because in the same place the prophets, speaking of the same person, indifferently represent him in either condition. Being then, by the confession of all the Jews, one *Messias* was to be the son of David, whom Elias was to precede; being by the tenor of the Scriptures there was never promise made of more Christs than one, and never the least mention of the tribe of Ephraim with any such relation; it followeth, that that distinction is in itself false.

Matt. xi. 3.

Zech. ix. 9.
Isai. ix. 6.

¹ ὁ ἐρχόμενος.

184 Again, that the same distinction, framed and contrived against us, must needs be in any indifferent person's judgment advantageous to us, will appear, because the very invention of a double person is a plain confession of a twofold condition; and the different relations, which they prove not, are a convincing argument for the distinct economies, which they deny not. Why should they pretend to expect one to die, and another to triumph, but that the true *Messias* was both to triumph and to die, to be humbled and to be exalted, to put on the rags of our infirmity before the robe of majesty and immortality? Why should they tell us of one Mediator to be conquered, and the other to be victorious, but that the serpent was to bruise the heel of the seed of the woman, and the same seed to bruise his head? Thus, even while they endeavour to elude, they confirm our faith; and, as if they were still under the cloud, their error is but as a shadow to give a lustre to our truth. And so our first assertion remaineth firm; the *Messias* was to suffer.

Secondly, that *Jesus*, whom we believe to be *Christ*, did suffer, we shall not need to prove, because it is freely confessed by all his enemies. The Gentiles acknowledged it; the Jews triumphed at it. And we may well take that for granted, which is so far from being denied, that it is objected. If hunger and thirst, if revilings and contempt, if sorrows and agonies, if stripes and buffetings, if condemnation and crucifixion, be sufferings, *Jesus* suffered. If the infirmities of our nature, if the weight of our sins, if the malice of man, if the machinations of Satan, if the hand of God, could make him suffer, our Saviour suffered. If the annals of times, if the writings of his apostles, if the death of his martyrs, if the confession of the Gentiles, if the scoffs of the Jews, be testimonies, *Jesus* suffered. Nor was there ever any which thought he did not really and truly suffer, but such as withal irrationally pretended he was not really and truly man¹.

¹ Those which were called by the Greeks *δοκηταί* and *φαντασιστῆς*, who taught that Christ was man only putative, and came into the world only in phantasmate, and consequently that he did only putative pati. These were called *δοκηταί*, not from their author, but from their opinion, that Christ did all things only *ἐν δοκῇ*, in ap-

pearance, not reality. As Clemens Alexandrinus: *Τῶνδ' αἰρέσεων αἱ μὲν ἀπὸ ὀνόματος προσαγορεύονται, αἱ δὲ ἀπὸ δογμάτων διαφέρονται, ὡς ἡ τῶν δοκητῶν. Stromat. vii. § 17. [p. 900. 5. 12.] viz. οἱ δοκῆσαι Χριστὸν πεφανερῶσθαι ὑπέλαβον. Id. l. vi. 'Neque in phantasia, id est, absque carne, sicut Valentinus asserit, neque de thesi,*

Thirdly, to come yet nearer to the particular acknowledgment of this truth, we shall farther shew that the promised *Messias* was not only engaged to suffer for us, but by a certain and express agreement betwixt him and the Father, the measure and manner of his sufferings were determined, in order to the redemption itself which was thereby to be wrought; and what was so resolved, was before his coming in the flesh revealed to the prophets, and written by them, in order to the reception of the *Messias*, and the acceptation of the benefits to be procured by his sufferings.

That what the *Messias* was to undergo for us was predetermined and decreed, appeareth by the timely acknowledgment of the Church unto the Father: *Of a truth, against thy holy child Jesus, whom thou hast anointed, both Herod 185 and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles, and the people of Israel, were gathered together, for to do whatsoever thy hand and thy*

Acta iv. 27,
28.

id est, putative imaginatum, sed corpus verum.' *Gennad. de Eccl. Dogm.* c. 2. Where, for *de thesi*, I suppose we should read *δοκῆσαι*. The original of this train of heretics is to be fetched from Simon Magus, whose assertion was: 'Christum nec venisse, nec a Judæis quicquam pertulisse.' *S. August. Hæres.* 1. Wherefore making himself the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, he affirmed, 'se in Filii persona putative apparuisse,' and so that he suffered as the Son amongst the Jews: ἀληθεία μὴ πεπονθέναι δέ, ἀλλὰ δοκῆσαι μόνον. *Damascenus de Hæresibus*. Now what Simon Magus said of himself, when he made himself the Son, that those who followed affirmed of Christ. As Saturninus, who taught: 'Christum in substantia corporis non fuisse, et phantasmate tantum quasi passum fuisse.' *Tertull. de Præscriptione adversus Hæreticos*, c. 46. [p. 249 D.] Vide *Epiphanium mutilum Hæres.* 23. § 1. And Basilides, who delivered: εἶναι δὲ φησὶν αὐτὸν (τὸν Χριστὸν) παντασίας ἐν τῷ παλεσθαι, μὴ εἶναι δὲ ἄνθρωπον, μηδὲ σάρκα εληφέναι—οὐχὶ Ἰησοῦν πάσῃν πεπονθέναι, ἀλλὰ Σίμωνα τὸν Κυρηναῖον. *S. Epiphani. Hæres.* 24. § 3. [Tom. I. p. 70 D.] 'A Judæis non credunt Christum

crucifixum, sed Simone Cyrenensem, qui angariatus sustulit crucem ejus.' *S. August. Hæres.* 4. [Tom. VIII. p. 5 A.] [Dr Burton observes that these words are omitted by the Benedictine editors on the authority of ancient manuscripts.] Thus the Valentinians, particularly Marcus, the father of the Marcosian heretics: 'Marcus etiam nescio quis Hæresim condidit, negans resurrectionem carnis, et Christum non vere, sed putative, passum asseverans.' *S. August. Hæres.* 14. [p. 6 D.] (p. 8.) Thus Cerdon: 'Christum—in substantia carnis negat, in phantasmate solo fuisse pronunciat, nec omnino passum, sed quasi passum.' *Tertull. Præsc.* c. 51. [p. 253 O.] 'Christum ipsum neque natum ex femina, neque habuisse carnem, nec vere mortuum, vel quicquam passum, sed simulasse passionem.' *S. August. Hæres.* 21. [Tom. VIII. p. 7 O.] (p. 9.) And the Manichees, who taught: 'Christum non fuisse in carne vera, sed simulatam speciem carnis ludificandis humanis sensibus præbuisse; ubi non solum mortem, verum etiam resurrectionem mentiretur.' *Idem, Hæres.* 46. (p. 16.) Whom therefore Vincentius Lirinensis calls *phantasiæ prædicatores*, c. 20. (p. 242 F.)

counsel determined before to be done. For as when the two goats were presented before the Lord, that goat was to be offered for a sin-offering upon which the lot of the Lord should fall; and that lot of the Lord was lift up on high in the hand of the high-priest, and then laid upon the head of the goat which was to die; so the *hand* of God Lev. xvi. 8. is said to have *determined* what should be done unto our Saviour, whose passion was typified by that sin-offering. And well may we say that the *hand* of God, as well as his *counsel*, *determined* his passion, because he was *delivered by the de-* Acts ii. 23. *terminate counsel and foreknowledge of God.*

And this determination of God's counsel was thus made upon a covenant or agreement between the Father and the Son, in which it was concluded by them both what he should suffer, and what he should receive. For beside the covenant made by God with man, confirmed by the blood of *Christ*, we must consider and acknowledge another covenant from eternity, made by the Father with the Son. Which partly is expressed, *If he shall make his soul an offering for sin, he shall* Isai. liii. 10. *see his seed, he shall prolong his days*; partly by the apostle, *Then said I, Lo, I come* (*in the volume of the book it is written* Heb. x. 7. *of me*) *to do thy will, O God.* In the condition of *making his soul an offering for sin*, we see propounded whatsoever he suffered; in the acceptance, *Lo, I come to do thy will, O God*, we see undertaken whatsoever was propounded. The determination therefore of our Saviour's passion was made by covenant of the Father who sent, and the Son who suffered.

And as the sufferings of the *Messias* were thus agreed on by consent, and determined by the counsel of God; so they were revealed by the Spirit of God unto the prophets, and by them delivered to the Church; they were involved in the types, and acted in the sacrifices. Whether therefore we consider the prophecies spoken by God in the mouths of men, they clearly relate unto his sufferings by proper prediction; or whether we look upon the ceremonial performances, they exhibit the same by an active representation. St Paul's apology was clear, that he said *none other things but those* Acts xxvi. 22. *which the prophets and Moses did say should come, that Christ should suffer.* The prophets *said* in express terms, that the *Messias* whom they foretold, should suffer: Moses *said* so in those ceremonies which were instituted by his

ministry. When he caused the passover to be slain, he *said* that *Shiloh* was the Lamb slain before the foundations of the World. When he set the brasen serpent up in the wilderness, he *said*, the *Son of man* should be lifted up upon the cross. When he commanded all the sacrifices for sin, he *said*, without effusion of blood there was no remission, and therefore the *Son of God* must die for the sins of men. When he appointed Aaron to go into the Holy of Holies on the day of atonement, he *said*, *Christ*, our High-priest, should never enter through the veil into the highest heavens, to make expiation for us, but by his own blood. If then we look upon the fountain, the eternal counsel of the will of God; if we look upon the revelation of that counsel, either in express predictions, or ceremonial representations, we shall clearly see the truth of our third assertion, that the sufferings of the promised *Messias* were predetermined and foretold.

Now all these sufferings which were thus agreed, determined, and revealed, as belonging to the true *Messias*, were undergone by that *Jesus of Nazareth*, whom we believe to be the true *Christ*. Never was there any suffering type which he outwent not, never prediction of any passion which he fulfilled not, never any expression of grief and sorrow which he felt not. When the appointed time of his death approached, he said to his apostles, *Behold, we go up to Jerusalem, and all things that are written by the prophets concerning the Son of man shall be accomplished.* When 186 he delivered them the blessed sacrament, the commemoration of his death, he said, *Truly the Son of man goeth as it was determined*¹. After his resurrection, he chastised the dulness of his disciples, who were so overwhelmed with his passion, that they could not look back upon the antecedent predictions; saying unto them, *O fools, and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken! Ought not Christ to have suffered these things, and to enter into his glory?* After his ascension, St Peter made this profession before the Jews, who had those prophecies, and saw his sufferings, *Those things which God before had shewed by the mouth of all his prophets, that Christ should suffer, he hath so fulfilled.* Whatsoever therefore was determined by the counsel of God; whatsoever was revealed by the prophets concerning the suf-

Luke xviii.
31.

Luke xxii. 22.

Luke xxiv.
26, 26.

Acts iii. 18.

¹ Κατὰ τὸ ὀρισμένον.

ferings of the *Messias*, was all fulfilled by that *Jesus* whom we believe to be, and worship as, the *Christ*. Which is the fourth and last assertion propounded to express our Saviour's passion in relation to his office.

Having considered him that *suffered* in his office, we are next to consider him in his person. And being in all this Article there is no person expressly named or described, we must look back upon the former, till we find his description and his name. The Article immediately preceding leaves us in the same suspension; but for our satisfaction refers us to the former, where we find him named *Jesus*, and described *the only-begotten Son of God*.

Now this Son of God we have already shewed to be therefore truly called the *only-begotten* because he was from all eternity generated of the essence of the Father, and therefore is, as the eternal Son, so also the eternal God. Wherefore by the immediate coherence of the Articles, and necessary consequence of the CREED¹, it plainly appeareth, that the eternal Son of God, God of God, very God of very God, *suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried*. For it was no other person which *suffered under Pontius Pilate*, than he which was *born of the Virgin Mary*; he which was *born of the Virgin Mary*, was no other person than he which *was conceived by the Holy Ghost*; he which *was conceived by the Holy Ghost*, was no other person than *our Lord*; and that *our Lord* no other than *the only Son of God*: therefore by the immediate coherence of the Articles it followeth, that *the only Son of God, our Lord, suffered under Pontius Pilate*. That Word which was in the beginning, which then was with God, and was God, in the fulness of time being made flesh, did suffer. For the princes of this world *crucified the Lord of glory*; and *God purchased his Church with his own blood*². That person who was begotten of the Father before all worlds, and so was really the *Lord of glory*, and most truly *God*, took upon him the nature of man, and in that nature being still the same person which

¹ Cor. ii. 8.
Acts xi. 28.

¹ This is that *inseparabilis connexio* in the Creed, which Cassianus urgeth so much against Nestorius, *De Incarn.* l. vi. [Ita enim sibi connexa et incorporata sunt omnia, ut aliud sine alio stare non possit. Cassianus de

Incarn. lib. vi. c. 17. p. 80 x.]

² 'Dominum passum symboli tenet auctoritas, et Apostolus tradidit, dicens, Si enim cognovissent, nunquam Dominum gloriæ crucifixissent.' *Vigil. advers. Eutyth.* l. ii. § 8.

before he was, did suffer. When our Saviour fasted forty days, there was no other person hungry, than that Son of God which made the world: when he sat down weary by the well, there was no other person felt that thirst, but he which was eternally begotten of the Father, the fountain of the Deity: when he was buffeted and scourged, there was no other person sensible of those pains, than that eternal Word which before all worlds was impassible: when he was crucified and died, there was no other person which gave up the ghost, but the Son of him, and so of the same nature with him, *who only hath immortality*. And thus we conclude our first consideration propounded, *viz.* Who it was which suffered: affirming that, in respect of his office, it was the *Messias*; in respect of his person, it was *God the Son*.

1 Tim. vi. 16.

But the perfect probation and illustration of this truth requireth first a view of the second particular propounded, *How*, or in what he *suffered*. For while we prove the person 187 suffering to be God, we may seem to deny the passion, of which the perfection of the Godhead is incapable. The divine nature is of infinite and eternal happiness, never to be disturbed by the least degree of infelicity, and therefore subject to no sense of misery. Wherefore while we profess that the Son of God did suffer for us, we must so far explain our assertion, as to deny that the divine nature of our Saviour suffered. For being the divine nature of the Son is common to the Father and the Spirit, if that had been the subject of his passion, then must the Father and the Spirit have suffered. Wherefore as we ascribe the passion to the Son alone, so must we attribute it to that nature which is his alone, that is, the human. And then neither the Father nor the Spirit will appear to suffer, because neither the Father nor the Spirit, but the Son alone, is man, and so capable of suffering.

John I. 14.

Whereas then the humanity of *Christ* consisteth of a soul and body, these were the proper subject of his passion; nor could he suffer any thing but in both or either of these two. For as *the Word was made flesh*, though the Word was never made¹ (as being in the beginning God), but the flesh, that is, the humanity, was made, and the Word assuming it

¹ Ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο, — Ἰσα καὶ ὁ λόγος δει ἢ λόγος, καὶ σάρκα ἐχρη ὁ λόγος· ἐν ᾧ τὸ πάθος καὶ τὸν θάνατον ἀνεδέξατο, ἐν μορφῇ τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ μέχρη

τάφου καὶ ᾗθου ἐπιβίβας. S. Athanas. de Incarn. Dom. l. i. c. 12. [Tom. i. p. 932 B.]

became flesh: so saith St Peter, *Christ suffered for us in the flesh*, in that nature of man which he took upon him: and so God the Son did suffer, not in that nature in which he was begotten of the Father before all worlds, but in that flesh which by his incarnation he became. For he was *put to death in the flesh, but quickened in the Spirit*¹; suffered in the weakness of his humanity, but rose by the power of his Divinity. As he *was made of the seed of David, according to the flesh*, in the language of St Paul; so was he *put to death in the flesh*, in the language of St Peter: and as he was *declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the Spirit of holiness*; so was he *quickened by the Spirit*. Thus the proper subject and recipient of our Saviour's passion, which he underwent for us, was that nature which he took from us.

Far be it therefore from us to think, that the Deity, which is immutable, could suffer; which only hath immortality, could die. The conjunction with humanity could put no imperfection upon the Divinity; nor can that infinite nature by any external acquisition be any way changed in its intrinsic and essential perfections². If the bright rays of the sun are thought to insinuate into the most noisome bodies without any pollution of themselves, how can that spiritual essence contract the least infirmity by any union with humanity³? We must neither harbour so low an estimation of the divine nature, as to conceive it capable of any diminution; nor so mean esteem of the essence of the Word, as to imagine it subject to the sufferings of the flesh he took; nor yet so groundless an estimation of the great mystery of the incarnation, as to make the properties of one nature mix in confusion with another. These were the wild collections of the Arian and Apollinarian heretics⁴, whom the Church hath

¹ 'Adeo salva est utriusque proprietates substantiæ, ut et Spiritus res suas egerit in illo, id est, virtutes et opera et signa, et caro passiones suas functa sit, æuriens sub Diabolo, sitiens sub Samaritide, flets Lazarum, anxiusque ad mortem, denique et mortuus est,' *Tertull. advers. Prax.* c. 27. [p. 660 B.] *Clemens Alexandr. Pædag.* l. i. c. 5.

² Τὸ γὰρ φύσει ἀφθαρτὸν καὶ ἀνάλωτον ἀεὶ τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν, οὐ συναλλοιούμενον τῇ ταπεινῇ φύσει, ὅταν ἐν

ἐκείνῃ κατὰ οἰκονομίαν γένηται. *Greg. Nyssæn. Epist. ad Eustathium.* [Tom. III. p. 657 D.]

³ 'Ὡς οὐδ' ἡλιακοῦ φωτὸς πᾶσιεν τι ἀκτῖνες τὰ πάντα πληροῦσαι, καὶ σωμάτων νεκρῶν καὶ οὐ καθαρῶν ἐφαπτόμεναι· πολὺ πλεον ἢ ἀσώματος τοῦ Θεοῦ δύναμις οὐτ' ἂν πᾶσι τὴν οὐσίαν, οὐτ' ἂν βλαβελ—σώματος ἀσωμάτων ἐπαφωμένη. *Euseb. Demon. Evang.* l. iv. c. 13. [p. 168 A.]

⁴ This danger is the rather to be unfolded, because it is not generally

long since silenced by a sound and sober assertion, That all the sufferings of our Mediator were subjected in his human nature.

And now the only difficulty will consist in this, how we 188 can reconcile the Person suffering, with the subject of his passion; how we can say that God did suffer, when we profess the Godhead suffered not. But this seeming difficulty will admit an easy solution, if we consider the intimate conjunction of the divine and human nature, and their union in the person of the Son. For hereby those attributes, which properly belong unto the one, are given to the other; and that upon good reason¹. For being the same individual person is, by the conjunction of the nature of God and the nature of man, really and truly both God and man; it necessarily followeth, that it is true to say, *God is man*, and as true, *A man is God*; because in this particular, he which is

understood. The heresy of Arius, as it was condemned by the Council of Nice, is known to all. But that he made the nature of the Word to suffer in the flesh, is not so frequently or plainly delivered. This Phœbadius (the first of the Latin Church who wrote against the Arians) charged them with: 'Duplicem hunc statum, non conjunctum sed confusum, vultis videri; ut etiam unius vestrum, id est, Epistola Potamii, quæ ad Orientem et Occidentem transmissa est, qua asserit, carne et spiritu Christi coagulatis per sanguinem Mariæ, et in unum corpus redactis, passibilem Deum factum. Hoc ideo, ne quis illum ex eo crederet, quem impassibilem satis constat.' *Lib. adv. Arianos*, c. 7. [45. p. 251.] And again: 'Non ergo fit spiritus caro, nec caro spiritus, quod isti volunt egregii doctores, ut factus sit scilicet Dominus et Deus noster ex hac substantiarum permixtione passibilis. Ideo autem passibilem volunt dici, ne ex impassibili credatur.' c. 8. [*Ibid.*] *Μάρτην οὖν Ἀρειανὸν σοφίζεσθαι, σάρκα μόνην ὑποτίθεσθαι ἀνελιπέναι τὸν Σωτῆρα, τὴν δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς νόησιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπαθῆ θεότητα ἀναφέρρες ἀσεβῶς*. *S. Athan. lib. de Incarn. Dom.* l. i. c. 15. [Tom. I. p. 935 B.] Of this St Hilary is to be understood: 'Sed eorum omnis hic sensus est, ut opinentur metum mortis

in Dei Filium incidisse, qui asserunt non de æternitate esse prolatum, neque de infinitate paternæ substantiæ exstitisse, sed ex nullo per eum qui omnia creavit effectum; ut assumptus ex nihilo sit, et conceptus ex opere, et confirmatus ex tempore. Et ideo in eo doloris anxietas, ideo spiritus passio cum corporis passione.' *Com. in Matt.* c. 31. § 3. (p. 742 B.) Where clearly he argues against the Arians. The right understanding whereof is the only true way to reconcile those harsh sayings of his, which so troubled the Master of the Sentences, and the whole Schools ever since.

¹ 'Per indissolubilem unitatem Verbi et carnis, omnia quæ carnis sunt adscribuntur et Verbo, quomodo et quæ Verbi sunt predicantur in carne.' *Orig. in Ep. ad Rom.* l. i. c. 1. [§ 6. Tom. IV. p. 467 B. col. 1.] *Διὰ τὴν ἀκριβῆ ἐνότητα τῆς τε προσληφθείσης σαρκὸς καὶ τῆς προσλαβομένης θεότητος, ἀντιμεθίσταται τὰ ὀνόματα· ὥστε καὶ τὸ ἀνθρώπων τῷ θεῷ, καὶ τὸ θεῷ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, κατονομάζεσθαι*. *Greg. Nyss. Ep. ad Theoph.* *Χρὴ μέντοι εἰδέναι, ὡς ἡ ἔνωσις κοινὰ ποιεῖ τὰ ὀνόματα*. *Theodoret. Dial.* iii. c. 17. [*Εἰδέναι μέντοι καὶ τοῦτο χρὴ, ὡς οὐ σύγχυσιν ἐλεγείστο τῶν φύσεων ἡ κοινότης τῶν ὀνομάτων*. *Theodoret. Dial.* iii. Tom. IV. p. 151 C.]

man is God, and he which is God is man. Again, being by reason of the incarnation it is proper to say, *God is man*, it followeth unavoidably, that whatsoever necessarily belongeth to the human nature, may be spoken of God; otherwise there would be a man to whom the nature of man did not belong, which were a contradiction. And being by virtue of the same incarnation it is also proper to say, *A man is God*, by the same necessity of consequence we must acknowledge, that all the essential attributes of the divine nature may truly be spoken of that man; otherwise there would be one truly and properly God, to whom the nature of God did not belong, which is a clear repugnancy. Again, if the properties of the divine nature may be truly attributed to that man which is God, then may those actions which flow from those properties be attributed to the same. And being the properties of the human nature may be also attributed to the eternal Son of God, those actions or passions which did proceed from those properties, may be attributed to the same Son of God, or God the Son. Wherefore as God the Son is truly man, and as man truly passible and mortal; so God the Son did truly suffer, and did truly die. And this is the only true communication of properties¹.

Not that the essential properties of one nature are really communicated to the other nature, as if the Divinity of Christ were passible and mortal, or his humanity of original omnipotence and omnipresence; but because the same God the Son was also the Son of man, he was at the same time both mortal and eternal: mortal as the Son of man, in respect of his humanity; eternal, as the Son of God, in respect of his Divinity. The sufferings, therefore, of the *Messias* were the sufferings of God the Son: not that they were the sufferings of his Deity, as of which that was incapable; but the sufferings of his humanity, as unto which that was inclinable. For although the human nature was conjoined to the divine, yet it suffered as much as if it had been alone; and the divine as little suffered, as if it had not been conjoined: because each kept their respective properties distinct, without the least confusion in their most intimate conjunction. From whence at last the person suffering is reconciled to the subject of his

¹ Called by the Schools ordinarily *communicatio idiomatum*, by the ancient Greek divines *'Αρρίθωσις*, and sometimes *'Αρρηκτότασις*.

passion: for God the Son, being not only God but also man, suffered, though not in his Deity, by reason of which he is truly God, yet in his humanity, by which he who is truly God, is as truly man. And thus we conclude our two first disquisitions: Who it was that suffered; in respect of his office, the *Messias*; in respect of his person, God the Son: How it was he suffered; not in his Deity, which is impassible, 189 but in his humanity, which he assumed, clothed with our infirmities.

Our next inquiry is, What this God the Son did suffer, as the Son of man; not in the latitude of all his sufferings, but so far as they are comprehended in this Article: which first prescindeth all the antecedent part, by the expression of time, *under Pontius Pilate*, who was not governor of Judea long before our Saviour's baptism; and then takes off his concluding passion, by adding his crucifixion and his death. Looking then upon the sufferings of our Saviour in the time of his preaching the Gospel, and especially before his death, we shall best understand them, by considering them in relation to the subject or recipient of them. And being we have already shewed his passion was wholly subjected in his human nature, being that nature consisteth of two parts, the soul and body; it will be necessary to declare what he suffered in the body, what in the soul.

For the first, As we believe the Son of God took upon him the nature of man, of which the body is a part; so we acknowledge that he took a true and real body, so as to become flesh of our flesh, bone of our bone. This body of Christ, really and truly human, was also frail and mortal, as being accompanied with all those natural properties which necessarily flow from the condition of a frail and mortal body: and though now the same body, exalted above the highest heavens, by virtue of its glorification be put beyond all possibility of passion; yet in the time of his humiliation, it was clothed with no such glorious perfection; but as it was subject unto, so it felt, weariness, hunger, and thirst. Nor was it only liable to those internal weaknesses and natural infirmities, but to all outward injuries and violent impressions. As all our corporal pain consists in that sense which ariseth from the solution of that continuity which is connatural to the parts of our body; so no parts of his sacred body were injuriously

violated by any outward impression, but he was truly and fully sensible of the pain arising from that violation. Deep was that sense, and grievous was that pain which those scourges produced, when *the ploughers ploughed upon his back, and made long their furrows*: the dilaceration of those nervous parts created a most sharp and dolorous sensation. The coronary thorns did not only express the scorn of the imposers, by that figure into which they were contrived, but did also pierce his tender and sacred temples to a multiplicity of pains, by their numerous acuminations. That spear, directed by an impertinent malice, which opened his side, though it brought forth water and blood, caused no dolorous sensation, because the body was then dead; but the nails which pierced his hands and feet, made another kind of impression, while it was yet alive and highly sensible. Thus did the body of the Son of man truly *suffer* the bitterness of corporal pains and torments inflicted by violent external impressions.

Psalm. cxxix. 2.

Isaiah. liii. 3.

Matt. xxvi. 38.

And as our Saviour took upon him both parts of the nature of man, so he *suffered* in them both, that he might be a Saviour of the whole¹. In what sense the soul is capable of suffering, in that he was subject to animal passion. Evil apprehended to come tormented his soul with fear, which was as truly in him in respect of what he was to suffer, as hope in reference to the recompense of a reward to come after and for his sufferings. Evil apprehended as present tormented the same with sadness, sorrow, and anguish of mind. So that he was truly represented to us by the prophet, *as a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief*; and the proper subject of that grief he hath fully expressed, who alone felt it, saying unto his disciples, *My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death*.

190 We ought not, therefore, to question whether he suffered in his soul or no; but rather to endeavour to reach, if it were possible, the knowledge, how far, and in what degree, he suffered; how bitter that grief, how great that sorrow and that anguish was. Which though we can never fully and exactly measure; yet we may infallibly know thus much, both from the expressions of the Spirit of God, and from the occasion of his sufferings, that the griefs and sorrows which

¹ 'Quasi suscepit animam, suscepit animæ passionem.' *S. Ambros. de Fide*, l. ii. c. 3. [Tom. iv. p. 135 M.]

he felt, and the anguish which he underwent, were most incomparably far beyond all sorrows of which any person here was sensible or capable.

The evangelists have in such language expressed his agony, as cannot but raise in us the highest admiration at the bitterness of that passion. *He began to be sorrowful*, saith St Matthew. *He began to be sore amazed*, saith St Mark: *and to be very heavy*, say both: and yet these words in our translation come far short of the original expression¹, which

Matth. xvi.
37.
Mark xiv. 33.
Ibid.

¹ The words in the original are three, *λυπέσθαι, ἐκθαμβείσθαι, and ἀδημονεῖν*. *Λυπέσθαι*, the first, is of a known and ordinary signification, but in this case it is to be raised to the highest degree of its possible significance, as appears by the words which follow, *περὶλυπὸς ἔστω ἡ ψυχὴ μου*. For, as the ancient grammarians observe, *ἡ περὶ πρόθεσις ἐπιτάσσει δηλοῦν*, and again, *ἡ περὶ πρόθεσις λαμβάνεται ἀντὶ τῆς ὑπὲρ κατὰ λόγον ὑπερθέσεως καὶ περιττότητος*: and therefore *περὶλυπὸς* of itself must signify *a man possessed with an excessive grief*; as in *Æschylus, Eumenid.* 161. [156.] *περὶβαρὺ κρίος*, that is, according to the scholiast, *περὶσπῶς βαρὺ*. But beside this Greek notation, here is to be observed a reference to the words of David, *Psal. xlii.* 5. *Ἰναρὶ περὶλυπὸς εἴ ἡ ψυχὴ μου*; [פְּרִי לִיפּוֹס] נַפְשִׁי. So that it doth not only signify an excess of sorrow surrounding and encompassing the soul; but also such as brings a consternation and dejection of mind, bowing the soul under the pressure and burden of it. And if neither the notation of the word, nor the relation to that place in the Psalms, did express that sorrow, yet the following part of our Saviour's words would sufficiently evidence it, *ὡς θανάτου*: it was a sorrow which like the pangs of death compassed him, and like the pains of hell gat hold upon him, *Psal. cxvi.* 3. The second word, used by St Mark alone, is *ἐκθαμβείσθαι*, which with the vulgar Latin is *pavere*, but in the language of the Greeks bears a higher sense. *Θάμβος σημαίνει τὴν ἐκπληξιν*, says Etymologus: and He-

zychius, *Θάμβος· θαῦμα, ἐκπληξίς*. *Gloss. Vet.* *Θάμβος, stupor*. Philoponus, preserved by Eustathius, *Id. M.* [310.] *Θάμβος μὲν ἡ ἐκπληξίς· θαμβὸς δὲ κατ' ὀξείαν τῶσω ὁ ἐκπληγέις*. From hence the verb *θαμβεῖν*, in termination active, in signification passive, *perculsum esse*, in Homer, *Il. A.* 199. *Θάμβησεν δ' Ἀχιλλεύς*, where it is the observation of Eustathius: *Τὸ ἐθάμβησεν ἐνεργητικὸν ἢ νεωτέρα χρήσις οὐκ ἔχει· θαμβούμενοι γάρ, καὶ ἐθαμβήθη, καὶ τεθάμβημαι, φασὶν οἱ μεθ' Ὀμήρων* but not universally true. For (as to our purpose) we have both the use and sense of this word in the Old Testament. As *1 Sam. xiv.* 15. *ῥαπτοῖεντο, καὶ ἐθάμβησεν ἡ γῆ*, and the earth quaked. And *Psal. xlviii.* 5. *ῥοῦρι, Aquila, ἐθαμβήθησαν, Symmachus ἐξεπλάγησαν*, as *Psal. xxxi.* 22. *Ἐγὼ δὲ εἶπα ἐν τῇ ἐκστάσει μου, Aquila θαμβήσει, Symmachus ἐκπλήξει*. The like is also in the passive termination; as Daniel expresses his fear in a vision, *ἐθαμβήθη, καὶ πίπτω ἐπὶ πρόσωπόν μου*, *Dan. viii.* 17, and the wicked are described by the Wise Man, *θαμβούμενοι δεινῶς, καὶ ἐν δόλμασι ἐκταρασόμενοι*, *Sap. xvii.* 3. From whence it appeareth, that *θαμβείσθαι* of itself signifieth a high degree of fear, horror, and amazement. *Gloss. Vet.* *θαμβοῦμαι, οὐδυνεο, stupeo, pavesco*. And by the addition of the preposition *ἐξ* the signification is augmented. *Ἐκθαμβος, ἐκπληκτος, Hesych.* passively; *Θηρίων φοβερὸν καὶ ἐκθαμβόν, Dan. vii.* 7. actively, *i. e. ἐκπληκτικόν*. Such an augmentation in this word is justifiable by that rule left us in Eustathius, *ad Iliad. E.* [142.] *Ἡ ἐξ πρόθεσις οὐ μὲν*

render him suddenly, upon a present and immediate apprehension, possessed with fear, horror, and amazement, encompassed with grief, and overwhelmed with sorrow, pressed down with consternation and dejection of mind, tormented with anxiety and disquietude of spirit.

This he first expressed to his disciples, saying, *My soul is exceeding sorrowful*; and lest they should not fully apprehend the excess, adding, *even unto death*, as if the pangs of death had already encompassed him, and, as the Psalmist speaks, *the pains of hell had got hold upon him*. He went but a little farther before he expressed the same to his Father, falling on his face and praying, even with *strong crying and tears, unto him that was able to save him from death*. Nor were his cries or tears sufficient evidences of his inward sufferings, nor could the sorrows of his breast be poured forth either at his lips or eyes; the innumerable pores of all his body must give a passage to more lively representations of the bitter anguish of his soul; and therefore while he *prayed more earnestly*, in that agony *his sweat was as it were great drops of blood falling down to the ground*. As the Psalmist had before declared, *I am poured out like water, and all my bones are out of joint: my heart is like wax, it is melted in the midst of my bowels*. The heart of our Saviour was as it were melted with fear and astonishment, and all the parts of his body at

Matt. xvi.
28, 29.
Mark xiv. 34,
35.

Psalm. cxvi. 2.

Heb. v. 7.

Luke xxii. 44.

Psalm. xxii. 14.

von τὴν ἐξ ὧν δηλοῖ σχέσις, ἀλλὰ ὄψωμα πολλάκις σημαίνει. Of which he gives an example in ἐκτομῶν, used by Aristophanes in *Pluto*, 981. though not named by him. And again, ad *Iliad*. N. [278.] 'Ἡ ἐξ ὑπέρθεσις ἐπίτασιν δηλοῖ, ὅποια καὶ τὸ μέγιστα. 'Ἐκθαμβεῖσθαι therefore is μέγιστα θαμβεῖσθαι, to be surprised with horror in the highest degree, even unto stupefaction. Gloss. Vet. 'Ἐκθαμβοῦμαι, obstupesco. The third word is 'Ἀδμονεῖν, Vulg. Lat. *cedere* in St Mark, *maius esse* in St Matthew: but it hath yet a farther sense. 'Ἀδμονεῖν, ἀκηδιῶ, ἀγωνιῶ, says Hesychius. 'Ἀδμονεῖν, τὸ λαν λυποῦμαι, Suidas. It signifieth therefore grief and anguish in excess, as appeareth also by the origination of it. For, as Eustathius observes: Τοῦ ἀδμονεῖν πρωτότυπον ἀδήμιον, ἀδήμονος, ὁ

ἐκ λύπης ὡς οἱ καὶ τινας κόρου, ὅς ἄντος λέγεται, ἀναπεπτωκώς. *Iliad*. A. [88.] From ἀδῶ, ἀδήσω, ἀδήμων, from ἀδήμων, ἀδμονεῖν. It hath therefore in it the signification of ἀδην or λαν, satiety, or extremity. From whence it is ordinarily so expounded, as if it contained the consequence of the greatest fear or sorrow, that is, anxiety of mind, disquietude, and restlessness. 'Ἀδμονεῖν ἀλβεῖν καὶ ἀπορεῖν, ἀμχανεῖν, *Etymol.* As Antony is expressed by Plutarch, after the loss of 8000 men, being in want of all things necessary for the rest: Κλεωπάτραν περιέμενε, καὶ βραδυνοῦσης ἀδμονεῖν ἦλθε. c. 51. [Tom. v. p. 117. *Bryan*.] So where the Heb. עָנָה is by the LXX. translated ἐκπλαγῆς, by Symmachus it is rendered ἀδμονεῖς, *Eccles*. vii. 16.

the same time inflamed with anguish and agony; well then might that melting produce a sweat, and that inflamed and rarified blood force a passage through the numerous pores.

And as the evangelists' expressions, so the occasion of the grief, will manifest the height and bitterness thereof. For *Isa. llii. 6.* God *laid on his own Son the iniquities of us all*; and as we are obliged to be sorry for our particular sins, so was he grieved for the sins of us all. If then we consider the perfection and latitude of his knowledge; he understood all the sins of men for which he suffered, all the evil and the guilt, all the offence against the majesty, and ingratitude against the goodness of God, which was contained in all those sins. If we look upon his absolute conformity to the will of God; he was inflamed with most ardent love, he was most zealous of his glory, and most studious to preserve that right which was so highly violated by those sins. If we look upon his relation to the sons of men; he loved them all far more than any did themselves, he knew those sins were of themselves sufficient to bring eternal destruction on their souls and bodies; he considered them whom he so much loved, as lying under the wrath of God, whom he so truly worshipped. If we reflect upon those graces which were without measure diffused through his soul, and caused him with the greatest habitual detestation to abhor all sin; if we consider all these circumstances, we cannot wonder at that grief and sorrow. For if the true contrition of one single sinner, bleeding under the sting of the Law only for his own iniquities, all which notwithstanding he knoweth not, cannot be performed without great bitterness of sorrow and remorse; what bounds can we set unto that grief, what measures to that anguish, which proceedeth from a full apprehension of all the transgressions of so many millions of sinners?

Add unto all these present apprehensions, the immediate hand of God pressing upon him all this load, laying on his shoulders at once a heap of all the sorrows which can happen unto any of the saints of God; that he, being *Heb. iv. 15.* *touched with the feeling of our infirmities*, might become a *merciful high-priest, Heb. ii. 17, 18.* *able and willing to succour them that are tempted.* Thus may *Lam. i. 12.* we *behold and see if there be any sorrow like unto that sorrow which was done unto him, wherewith the Lord afflicted him in the day of his fierce anger.* And from hence we may and must

conclude, that the Saviour of man, as he took the whole nature of man, so he suffered in whatsoever he took: in his body, by internal infirmities and external injuries; in his soul, by fears and sorrows, by unknown and inexpressible anguishes. Which shews us fully (if it can be shewn) the third particular propounded, What our Saviour suffered.

That our Saviour did thus *suffer*, is most necessary to believe. First, that thereby we may be assured of the verity of his human nature. For if he were not man, then could not man be redeemed by him; and if that nature in which he appeared were not truly human, then could he not be truly man. But we may be well assured that he took on him our nature, when we see him subject unto our infirmities. We know the Godhead is of infinite perfection, and therefore is exalted far
 192 above all possibility of molestation. When therefore we see our Saviour truly suffer, we know his divine essence suffered not, and thence acknowledge the addition of his human nature, as the proper subject of his passion. And from hence we may infallibly conclude, surely that Mediator between God and man was truly man, as we are men, who when he fasted was an hungry, when he travelled was thirsty and weary as we are, who being grieved wept, being in an agony sweat, being scourged bled, and being crucified died.

Secondly, It was necessary *Christ* should suffer for the redemption of lapsed men, and their reconciliation unto God; which was not otherwise to be performed than by a plenary satisfaction to his will. He therefore was by all his sufferings made an expiation, atonement, and propitiation, for all our sins. For salvation is impossible unto sinners without remission of sin; and remission, in the decree of God, impossible without effusion of blood. Our redemption therefore could not be wrought but by the blood of the Redeemer, but by a Lamb slain, but by a suffering Saviour.

Thirdly, It behoved *Christ* to suffer, that he might purchase thereby eternal happiness in the heavens both for himself the Head, and for the members of his body. *He drunk of the brook in the way, therefore hath he lift up his head.* Psalm cx. 7. Ought
 not *Christ* to suffer, and to enter into his glory? Luke xxiv. 26. And doth he not by the same right by which he entered into it, confer that glory upon us? The recompense of the reward was set before him, and through an intuition of it he cheerfully underwent

whatsoever was laid upon him. He must therefore necessarily suffer to obtain that happiness, who is therefore happy because he suffered.

Fourthly, It was necessary *Christ* should suffer, that we might be assured that he is truly affected with a most tender compassion of our afflictions. For this end was he subjected to misery, that he might become prone unto mercy; for this purpose was he made a sacrifice, that he might be a compassionate high-priest: and therefore was he most unmerciful to himself, that he might be most merciful unto us.

Luke xxiii.
31.

Fifthly, It was necessary the Son of man should suffer, thereby to shew us that we are to suffer, and to teach us how we are to suffer. For *if these things were done to the green tree, what shall be done to the dry?* Nay, if God spared not his natural, his eternal, his only-begotten Son; how shall he spare his adopted sons, who are best known to be children because they are chastised, and appear to be in his paternal affection because they lie under his fatherly correction? We are therefore heirs, only because co-heirs with *Christ*; and we shall be kings, only because we shall reign together with him. It is a certain and infallible consequence, *if Christ be risen, then shall we also rise*; and we must look for as strong a coherence in this other, If *Christ* hath suffered, then must we expect to suffer. And as he taught the necessity of, so he left us the direction in, our sufferings. Great was the example of Job, but far short of absolute perfection: the pattern beyond all exception is alone our Saviour, who hath taught us in all our afflictions the exercise of admirable humility, perfect patience, and absolute submission unto the will of God.

And now we may perceive the full importance of this part of the Article, and every Christian may thereby understand what he is to believe, and what he is conceived to profess, when he makes this confession of his faith, *He suffered*. For hereby every one is obliged to intend thus much: I am really persuaded within myself, and do make a sincere profession of this as a most necessary, certain, and infallible truth, that the only-begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father, and of the same essence with the Father, did for the redemption of man- 193
kind really and truly suffer; not in his Divinity, which was impassible, but in his humanity, which in the days of his humiliation was subject unto our infirmities: that as he is

a perfect Redeemer of the whole man, so he was a complete sufferer in the whole; in his body, by such dolorous infirmities as arise internally from human frailties, and by such pains as are inflicted by external injuries; in his soul, by fearful apprehensions, by unknown sorrows, by anguish unexpressible. And in this latitude and propriety I believe our Saviour SUFFERED.

UNDER PONTIUS PILATE.

AFTER the substance of this part of the Article, consisting in our Saviour's passion, *He suffered*, followeth the circumstance of time, declared by the present governor, *under Pontius Pilate*. Which, though the name of a stranger to the commonwealth of Israel and the Church of *Christ*, is well preserved to eternal memory in the sacred articles of our CREED. For as the Son of God by his determinate counsel, was sent into the world to die in the fulness of time, so it concerns the Church to be assured of the time in which he died. And because the ancient custom of the world was, to make their computations by their governors, and refer their historical relations to the respective times of their government: therefore, that we might be properly assured of the actions of our Saviour which he did, and of his sufferings (that is, the actions which others did to him), the present governor is named, in that form of speech which is proper to such historical or chronological narrations, when we affirm that he suffered *under Pontius Pilate*¹.

¹ Ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου. Which words are capable of a double construction. First, as they are used by St Paul, 1 Tim. vi. 13: Ἰησοῦ, τοῦ μαρτυρήσαντος ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου τὴν καλὴν ὁμολογίαν, *Who before Pontius Pilate witnessed a good confession*; that is, standing before him, as before a judge. As the same person, Matt. xxviii. 14: Καὶ ἐὰν ἀκουσθῇ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος, *If this come to be tried before the procurator*. Thus Festus propounded it to St Paul, Acts xxv. 9: θέλεις κρῖναι ἐν ἐμοί; and St Paul answered in the same propriety of speech: ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος Καίσαρος ἐστὼς εἰμι. Thus Christ tells his apostles, Mark xiii. 9: ἐπὶ ἡγεμόνων καὶ βασι-

λέων σταθήσεσθε. And in this sense ἐπὶ is often used by the Greeks. Secondly, ἐπὶ Πιλάτου is *under Pilate*, that is, in the time of his government, when and while he was procurator of Judea; as ἐπ' ἀρχιερέων Ἄννα καὶ Καϊάφα, Luke iii. 2. and ἐπὶ Ἀβιδθαρ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, Mark ii. 26. Which is also according to the custom and language of the Greeks, as; Κατακλυμὸς ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος ἐγένετο. *Marm. Arundel*. Οὗτοι ἦσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ Λαομέδοντος ἐξαστάντων Τρώων. *Plat. Epist. xii. ad Archytam*. And ἐπὶ τοῦτου βασιλεύοντος, *in this king's reign*, is the common phrase of Pausanias. Thus the Athenians among their nine Ἀρχωντες had one who was called

And because he not only suffered under him as the present governor, but also was arraigned and condemned by him as a judge; therefore it will be necessary, for the illustration of the manner, and confirmation of the truth, of our Saviour's sufferings, to declare what hath been left and derived to our knowledge, both concerning his person and his office.

For the first, we find him described by two names: nor is any other name of his extant, although, according to the general custom of the Romans¹, he should have three. The first of these two is *Pontius*², the name descended to him from

Ἐπώνυμος, because his name was used for the denotation of that year; and the phrase was usually, ἐπὶ τοῦ δαῖνα, or ἐπὶ τοῦ δαῖνα ἀρχωντος, as I find it thrice in one place. 'Ο μὲν γὰρ (Ἰσοκράτης) ἐπὶ Λυσιμάχου, Πλάτων δὲ ἐπὶ Ἀμεινίου γέγονεν, ἐφ' οὗ Περικλῆς ἐτελεύτησεν. *Diog. Laert. in Platone*, l. iii. [§ 3. p. 165.] In the same manner did the Lacedæmonians make their historical accounts by their Ephori, and the Argivi by the priestesses of Juno: Ἐπὶ Χρυσίδος ἐν Ἀργεὶ τότε πεπτήκοντα δυοῖν δαῖνα ἐτη λερωμένης, καὶ Αἰγισίου ἐφόρου ἐν Σπάρτῃ, καὶ Πυθοδώρου ἐπὶ δύο μῆνας ἀρχωντος Ἀθηναίοις. *Thucyd.* l. ii. c. 2. And as the Greeks thus referred all actions to the times of these governors, so did the Jews under the Roman government, to the procurators of Judea; as appeareth by Josephus, who mentioning the first of that office, Coponius, presently relates the insurrection of Judas Galilæus in this manner: Ἐπὶ τούτου (Κωπωνίου) τις ἀνὴρ Γαλιλαίας, Ἰούδας ὄνομα, εἰς ἀπόστασιν ἐνήγγε τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις. *De Bell. Jud.* l. ii. c. 12. [c. 8. § 1. *Tom.* II. p. 1060-8.] Then names his successor Ambivius, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ Σαλώμη—Ἰαμιαν καταλείπει: after him Rufus, ἐφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ τελευτᾷ Καῖσαρ. *Antiq. Jud.* l. xviii. c. 3. [§ 3. *Tom.* II. p. 795. 5.] And in the same manner in the Creed, παθόντα ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, our Saviour suffered under Pontius Pilate, that is, at the time when he was procurator of Judea; as Ignatius fully: ἐν καιρῷ τῆς ἡγεμονίας Ποντίου Πιλάτου. *Epist. ad Magnesios*, § 11.

¹ Pausanias, speaking of the Romans, saith: Τπλα ὅποτε ἢ ὀλιγιστα, καὶ ἐπὶ πλεονα ὀνόματα ἐκαστῷ τίθενται. *Achaic.* c. 7. And although Diomedes and Plutarch [*Vit. Caii Marii*, c. 1. *Tom.* II. p. 484. *Bryant.*] have observed, that even among the Romans there were some διώνυμα, yet the prænomen was never omitted, as Priscian affirmed: 'Ex illo tempore consuetudo tenuit, ut nemo Romanus sit absque prænominis.' l. ii. p. 577. ed. Putsch.

² *Pontius* and *Pilatus* were his *nomen* and *cognomen*, in the same manner as Julius and Cæsar are described by Suetonius: 'Non Cæsare et Bibulo, sed Julio et Cæsare, Coss., actum scriberent, bis eundem prænomentes, nomine atque cognomine.' l. i. c. 20. [5. *Tom.* I. p. 56. Edit. Pitisci.] Thus without a *prænomen* or *agnomen*, he is only known to us by his *nomen* properly called, and his *cognomen*. The nature of which two is thus described by the ancients: 'Nomen proprium est gentilitium, id est, quod originem gentis et familis declarat, ut Portius, Cornelius; cognomen est quod uniuscujusque proprium, et nominibus gentilitiis subjungitur, ut Cato, Scipio.' *Diomedes de Orat.* l. i. p. 306. 'Nomen quod familis originem declarat, ut Cornelius; cognomen, quod nomini subjungitur, ut Scipio.' *Charisius*, l. ii. p. 126. The first of these Dionysius calls τὸ συγγενικὸν καὶ πατρωνυμικόν, Plutarch [*Vit. Caii Marii*, c. i. *Tom.* II. p. 484. *Bryant.*] οἰκίας ἢ γένους κοινόν, and κοινὸν διὰ συγγενείας: the second he calls προσθηγορικὸν ἐξ ἐπιθέτου. Thus *Pontius* was his *nomen*

the original of his family, which was very ancient; the second *Pilatus*, as a cognominal addition distinguishing from the rest descending from the same original.

He was by birth a Roman; by degree of the equestrian order, sent by Tiberius the emperor to be a governor of Judea. For about threescore years before our Saviour's birth, the Jews by Pompey the Great were made tributary to the Romans. And although during the life of Hyrcanus the high-priest, the reign of Herod and his son Archelaus, the Roman state suffered the Jews to be ruled by their own laws and governors; yet when Archelaus was banished by Augustus, they received their governors from the Roman emperor, being made a part of the province of Syria¹, belonging to his care. In the life of Augustus there was a succession of three, Coponius, Ambivius, and Rufus. At the beginning of the reign of Tiberius, they were governed by Valerius Gracchus, and at his departure by *Pontius Pilate*.

The office which this *Pilate* bare was the Procuratorship of Judea, as is most evident out of the history both of the Romans², from whom he received his authority, and of the Jews,

gentis or *gentilitium*, and *Pilatus* his *cognomen*. As therefore Pontius Aquila, Pontius Cominius, Pontius Herennius, Pontius Paulinus, &c., so also *Pontius Pilatus*. Wherefore in vain have some of the ancients endeavoured to give an etymology of these names as they do of Greek and Hebrew names in Scripture, and think thereby to express the nature or actions of them that bare the names. As Isidorus Hispal. *Orig.* l. vii. c. 10: 'Pontius, *Declinans concilium*, utique Judæorum: accepta enim aqua lavit manus suas, dicens, *Innocens ego sum a sanguine hujus justi*.' And Eutychius, patriarch of Alexandria, deduced Pontius from an island called Ponta, near to Rome. And St Jerome: 'Quod significat nomen Pilati, i. e. Malleatoris, i. e. qui domat ferreas gentes.' *ad Matt.* xv. 'Pilatus, *Os malleatoris*; quia dum Christum ore suo et justificat et condemnat, more malleatoris utrinque ferit.' *Isidor.* *ibid.* 'Pontius, *Declinans concilium*; Pilatus, *Os malleatoris*.' *S. Hier. de Nom. Hebraicis, in Luca*, col. 1479. *et rursus in Actis*, col. 1482.

Where he lets us understand that these etymologies were made from the Hebrew language; and makes an excuse, because the letter P is here taken for the Hebrew ב, to which the Latin F more properly answers: 'Sed sciendum est, quod apud Hebræos P litera non habetur, nec ullum nomen est quod hoc elementum sonet: abusive igitur accipienda, quasi per F literam scripta sint.' col. 1479. Thus did they vainly strive to find an Hebrew original, and that such a one as should represent the conditions of *Pilate*; when these two names are nothing else but the Roman *nomen* and *cognomen* of that person.

¹ Τῆς Ἀρχελάου ἐπαρχίας μεταπε-
σοῦσης εἰς ἐπαρχίαν. *Joseph. de Bell.*
Jud. l. ii. c. 13. [c. 9. § 1. p. 1065. 35.]
Τῆς δὲ Ἀρχελάου χώρας ὑποτελοῦς
προσνεμηθείσης τῇ Σύρῳ. *Antiq. Jud.*
l. xvii. c. 15. [§ 5. p. 789. 29.] Παπῆ
δὲ καὶ Κυρήνιος εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν προ-
θήκει Συπλὰς γερουσίαν. *Ibid.* l. xviii.
c. 1. [§ 1. p. 791. 12.]

² Tacitus speaking of the Christians:
'Auctor nominis ejus Christus, Tibe-

over whom he exercised his dominion. But what was the office of a Procurator in those times¹, though necessary for

rio imperitante per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio affectus est.' *Annal.* l. xv. c. 44. And Tertullian, most skilful of their laws and customs, speaks thus of our Saviour: 'postremo oblatus Pontio Pilato, Syriam tunc ex parte Romana procuranti.' *Apolog.* c. 21. [p. 22 A.] Whom St Cyprian follows: 'Hunc magistri eorum—Pontio Pilato, qui tunc ex parte Romana Syriam procurabat, tradiderunt.' *De Idol. Van.* § 7. [p. 16.] Thus also Josephus for the Jews: Περμφεῖς δὲ εἰς 'Ιουδαίαν ἐπίτροπος ὑπὸ Τιβερίου Πιλάτου. *De Bell. Jud.* l. ii. c. 14. [c. 9. § 2. p. 1066. 7.] And Philo: Πιλάτος ἦν τῶν ὑπάρχων ἐπίτροπος ἀποδεχόμενος τῆς 'Ιουδαίας. *De Virtut. et legat. ad Caium*, p. 589. Vol. II. And therefore these words of St Luke, c. iii. 1, ἡγεμονεύοντος Ποντίου Πιλάτου τῆς 'Ιουδαίας, were properly translated by the old interpreter, *procurante Pontio Pilato Judæam*. Thus Lucius Dexter *ad annum Christi* 28. [p. 18]: 'Pontius Pilatus procurator Judææ a Tiberio mittitur in Judæam.' And Justin Martyr most properly: Τὸν σταυρωθέντα ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, τοῦ γενομένου ἐν 'Ιουδαίᾳ ἐπὶ χρόνους Τιβερίου Καίσαρος ἐπιτρόπου. *Apol.* ii. p. 60. [p. 19. 27. Thirlby.] And again, speaking to the emperors, by whom the procurators were sent: Καὶ Πιλάτου τοῦ ὑμετέρου παρ' 'Ιουδαίους γενομένου ἐπιτρόπου. *Ibid.* p. 78. [p. 19. 27. Thirlby.] And again: Κατὰ τοῦ δόματος 'Ιησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ σταυρωθέντος ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, τοῦ γενομένου ἐπιτρόπου τῆς 'Ιουδαίας. *Dial. cum Tryph.* p. 247. [p. 196. 11.] As also Eusebius: Δωδεκάτῃ ἐνιαυτῷ τῆς Τιβερίου βασιλείας, ἐπίτροπος τῆς 'Ιουδαίας ὑπὸ Τιβερίου καθίσταται Πιλάτος. *Hist. Eccl.* l. i. c. 9. [p. 20 D.] And St Jerome's translation of his Chronicle: 'Pilatus procurator Judææ a Tiberio mittitur.' Thus it appears that Pilate, of the equestrian order, was properly procurator, as that office was ordinarily given to men of that order,

as Tacitus testifies: 'Cn. Julius Agricola—utrumque avum procuratorem Cæsarum habuit, quæ equestri nobilitas est.' *In vit. Jul. Agric.* c. 4. Which is to be understood concerning the imperial provinces: for into those which were of the provinces of the people, the procurators sent by Cæsar were of the *Liberti*. For the emperor sent into all the provinces his procurators, but with this difference, as Dio observes: Εἰς πάντα ὁμοίως τὰ ἔθνη, τὰ τε αὐτοῦ δὴ καὶ τὰ τοῦ δήμου, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων, πέμψει. *Hist.* l. liii. c. 15. [p. 506 B.]

¹ The Roman procurator is ordinarily in Greek authors expressed by their *Ἐπίτροπος*, as the Glossa Latino-Græca, *Procurator*, *Ἐπίτροπος*. But yet they are not of the same latitude in their use; *Ἐπίτροπος* comprehending the notion of tutor, as well as procurator. *Hezych.* *Ἐπίτροπος*, ὁ προστατῶν χωρίων, καὶ διῃς τῆς οὐσίας, καὶ ὁρφανῶν. *Gloss. Vet.* *Ἐπίτροπος*, *procurator, tutor*. *Ἐπίτροπος* therefore was used by the Greeks in both notions, whereof *procurator* of the Latins is but one. And in the language of the Romans, he is a procurator which undertakes to manage the business of another man. 'Procurator, si negotium suscipit,' saith Asconius in *Divinat.* and Sex. Pompeius, Lib. iii. 'Procurator absentis nomine actor fit; he to whom the care of another man's estate or affairs was committed. *Gloss. Vet.* *Ἐντολή, Commisum*, et *Ἐντολέν, Procurator*. In correspondence to these procurators of the affairs and estates of private persons, there were made such as did take care in every province of the imperial revenue; who, in respect of the person whom they served, were called *Procuratores Cæsaris*, or *Augustales*; in respect of the countries where they served, were termed *Procuratores Provinciales*. Their office is best described by Dio, *Hist.* l. liii. c. 15. [p. 506 B]: Τοὺς ἐπιτρέ-

our present purpose, is not so easy to determine, because it was but newly introduced into the Roman government. For before the dominion of that city was changed from a commonwealth into an empire, there was no such public office in any of the provinces; and particularly in Judea none till after the banishment of Archelaus some years after our Saviour's birth. When Augustus divided the provinces of the empire into two parts, one of which he kept for his own care, and left the other to the inspection of the senate; he sent, together with the President of each province, as the governor-in-chief of the province, a Procurator, whose office was to take an account of all the tribute, and whatsoever was due to the emperor, and to order and dispose of the same for his advantage. Neither was there, at the first institution of this office, any other act belonging properly to their jurisdiction, 195 but such a care and disposal of the imperial revenue: which they exercised as inferior and subordinate to the President, always supreme provincial officer.

Now Judea being made part of the province of Syria, and consequently under the care of the president of that province, according to this institution, a particular procurator was assigned unto it, for the disposing the emperor's revenue. And because the nation of the Jews were always suspected of a rebellious disposition against the Roman state, and the president of Syria, who had the power of the sword, was forced to attend upon the other parts of the province: therefore the procurator of Judea was furnished with power of life and death¹, and so administered all the power of the president,

πους, οὕτω γὰρ τοὺς τὰς τε κοινὰς προσ-
 ὁδούς ἐκλεγόντας καὶ προσηταγμένα
 σφίσιν ἀναλίσκοντας, ὑπομάζομεν. We
 call, says he, these Ἐπιτρόπους, that
 is, Procuratores, which receive the pub-
 lic revenues, and dispose of them ac-
 cording to the commands received from
 the emperor. For they acted in his
 name, and what was done by them
 was accounted as done by the emperor
 himself. 'Quæ acta gesta sunt a Pro-
 curatore Cæsaris, sic ab eo comprobari
 ac si a Cæsare gesta essent:' *Ulpian.*
l. i. ff. As we read in Tacitus of the
 emperor Claudius: 'Sæpius audita vox
 Principis, parem vim rerum habendam

a Procuratoribus suis judicatarum, ac
 si ipse statuisset.' *Annal.* l. xii. c. 60.
 And in Suetonius; 'Utque rata essent
 quæ Procuratores sui in judicando sta-
 tuerent, (a Senatu) precario exegit.'
Claud. Cæs. c. 12. [Tom. II. p. 35. Edit.
 Pitisci.] The proper office therefore
 of the provincial procurator was, to
 receive the imperial revenue, and dis-
 pose of it as the emperor commanded,
 and to all intents and purposes to do
 such things as were necessary there-
 unto, with such authority, as if the
 emperor himself had done them.

¹ This appeareth by Coponius, the
 first proper procurator of Judea, who

which was, as to the Jews, supreme. Which is very observable, as an eminent act of the providence of God, by which the full power of judicature in Judea was left in the hands of the resident procurator.

For by this means it came to pass that *Christ*, who by 196 the determinate counsel of God was to die, and by the prediction of the prophets was to suffer in a manner not pre-

was brought in by Quirinus, Præses of Syria, when he came to dispose of the goods of Archelaus, and to reduce Judea into the form of a province, and adjoin it to Syria. Of this Coponius, Josephus writeth after this manner: *Κωπώνιος τε αὐτῷ (Κυρηνίῳ) συγκαταπέμπεται, τάγματος τῶν ἱππέων, ἡγησόμενος Ἰουδαίων τῇ ἐπὶ πᾶσι ἐξουσίᾳ* that being of the equestrian order, he was sent with Quirinus to govern the Jews with the supreme power. Antiq. l. xviii. c. 1. [§ 1. p. 791. 10.] And yet more expressly, as to the time, occasion, and extent, of his power: *Τῆς δὲ Ἀρχελάου χώρας εἰς ἐπαρχίαν περιγραφείσης, ἐπίτροπος τις ἱππικῆς παρὰ Ῥωμαίους τάξεως, Κωπώνιος πέμπεται, μέχρι τοῦ κτελεῖν λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐξουσίαν. Id. de Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 11. [c. 8. § 1. p. 1060. 5.]* When those parts which were under the command of Archelaus were reduced into a province, Coponius was sent thither by the emperor, and furnished with power of life and death. For although, in the proconsular provinces, the procurator of the emperor had no power but in those things which belonged to the exchequer; yet in those provinces which were properly *præsidales*, the Procurator was often *loco Præsidis*. From whence in the ancient inscriptions we read of the same person: 'Procurator et Præses Alpium,' 'Procurator et Præses provinciarum per Orientem,' 'Procurator et Præses provincie Sardinie.' It was often therefore so, that the Procurator did *Præsidis partibus fungi*; as Ulpian. l. viii. *de officio Proconsulis*: 'In provinciam enim Præsidum provinciarum, nec aliter Procuratori Cæsaris hæc cognitio injungitur, quam Præsi-

dis partibus in provincia fungatur.' And this is very necessary to be observed, because a procurator barely as such, not armed with the power of the *Præses provincie*, had not the power of the sword. As Antoninus to Valerius: 'Procurator meus, qui vice Præsidis non fungebatur, exsili tibi poenam non potuit irrogare.' l. ix. *Cod. de Panis*. And to Heliodorus: 'Procurator meus, qui vice Præsidis provincie non fungitur, sicut exigere poenam desertæ accusationis non potest, ita judicare ut ea inferatur sententia sua non potest.' l. iii. *O. Ubi Causæ*. This was plain in the case of Lucilius Capito, procurator of Asia Minor, who was called in question for exceeding his power, and deserted therein by Tiberius: 'Procurator Asiæ Lucilius Capito, accusante provincia, causam dixerit magna cum asseveratione Principis, non se jus nisi in servitia et pecunias familiares dedisse. Quod si vim Prætoris usurpasset, manibusque militum usus foret, spreta in eo mandata sua, audirent socios.' Tacit. *Annal.* l. iv. c. 15. And Dion upon the said example observes in general, that the procurators had no such power: *Οὐ γὰρ ἐξῆν τότε τοῖς τὰ αυτοκρατορικὰ χρήματα διοικοῦσι πλέον οὐδὲν ποιεῖν, ἢ τὰς νενομισμένας προσόδους ἐκλέγειν, καὶ περὶ τῶν διαφορῶν ἐν τε τῇ διγορᾷ καὶ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ἐξίσαι τοῖς ἑωυτοῖς δικάζεσθαι.* l. lvii. c. 23. [p. 619 A.] But although the ordinary procurators had no other power, but to dispose of the revenue, and determine private causes; yet he which was *vice Præsidis*, had the power of the *Præses*: and such a procurator was Pontius Pilate in Judea, as the others who preceded him also were.

scribed by the law of Moses, should be delivered up to a foreign power, and so suffer death after the customs of that nation to whose power he was delivered. The malice of the obstinate Jew was high to accuse and prosecute him, but the power of the Jews was not so high as judicially to condemn him. For although the chief priests, and the elders, and the scribes, *condemned him to be guilty of death*: yet they Mark xiv. 64. could not condemn him to die, or pronounce the sentence of death upon him, *but delivered him up unto Pilate*: and Mark xv. 1. when he refusing, said unto them, *Take ye him, and judge him according to your law*, they immediately returned, *It* John xviii. 30, 31. *is not lawful for us to put any man to death.* The power of life and death was not in any court of the Jews, but in the Roman governor alone, as supreme; and therefore they answered him, it was *not lawful*¹: not in respect of the law of Moses, which gave them both sufficient power and absolute command to punish divers offenders with death; but in relation to the Roman empire, which had taken all that dominion from them. Forty years before the destruction of Jerusalem the Jews themselves acknowledge that they lost their power; which is sufficient to shew that they had it not when our Saviour suffered: and it is as true that they lost it twenty

¹ I say, therefore, the Jews answered, that it was not lawful for them to put any man to death, because that power was taken out of their hands. For although St Augustin think they thought it not lawful in respect of the Passover: 'Intelligendum est eos dixisse, non sibi licere interficere quenquam, propter diei festi sanctitatem, quem celebrare jam coeperant.' *Tract. 114. in Ioan.* [Tom. III. par. 2. p. 575 E.], and St Cyril be of the same opinion; yet others of the ancients deliver the true cause why they applied themselves to Pilate, to be their want of power; as Ammonius most expressly, *Calen. Patr. in S. Ioan. c. xviii. p. 427*: Τίνας ἕνεκεν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀνείλον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸν Πιλάτῳ ἤγαγον; μάλιστα μὲν τὸ πολλὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας ὑπετέμμετο, λοιπὸν ὑπὸ 'Ρωμαίων τῶν πραγμάτων κειμένων and upon these words in St John, *ibid. p. 418*: Ὡς ἐκπεσόντες τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἥσαν

γὰρ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, εἶπον τοῦτο. So Theophylact: "Ἀγούσιν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον, οὐ γὰρ εἶχον αὐτοὶ ἐξουσίαν ἀνελεῖν, ἀτε τῶν πραγμάτων ὑπὸ 'Ρωμαίων κειμένων. *Com. in Ioan. c. 18. [p. 812 D.]* And before him St Chrysostom. [Chrysostom expresses himself doubtfully, *Hom. in Ioan. 83, al. 82. § 4. Tom. VIII. p. 495 A.* Καὶ πῶς τοῦτο ἐδήλου, οὐκ ἔστιν ἀποκτεῖναι οὐδένα; ἢ τοῦτό φησιν ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς ὅτι οὐχ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐμελλεν ἀναιρεῖσθαι ἢ ὅτι σταυρῶσαι αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἔξην· εἰ δὲ λέγουσιν, οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῶν [ἀποκτεῖναι] οὐδένα, κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνων φησιν. ἐπεὶ ὅτι γε ἀνήρουν καὶ ἄλλω τρόπῳ ἀνήρουν δεικνυσιν ὁ Στέφανος λιθαζόμενος. So Theophylact on John xviii. p. 813 O: Τοῦτο δὲ λέγουσιν εἰσότες ὅτι οἱ 'Ρωμαῖοι σταυρῶ καταδικάζουσι τοὺς ἀνόμους. Ὡς οὖν σταυρωθῇ ὁ Χρῆστος—τούτου ἕνεκεν σχηματίζονται τὸ μὴ ἐξεῖναι.]

years before, at the relegation of Archelaus, and the coming of Coponius the Procurator with full power of life and death. Wherefore our Saviour was delivered unto *Pilate*, as the supreme judge over the nation of the Jews, that he might pronounce the sentence of death upon him.

But how this judge could be persuaded to an act of so much injustice and impiety, is not yet easy to be seen. The numerous controversies of the religion of the Jews did not concern the Roman governors, nor were they moved with the frequent quarrels arising from the different sects. Pilate knew well *it was for envy* that the chief priests *delivered him*; and when *he had examined him, he found no fault touching those things whereof they accused him*. Three times did he challenge the nation of the Jews, *Why? what evil hath he done?* Three times did he make that clear profession, *I have found no cause of death in him*. His own wife, admonished in a dream, *sent unto him, saying, Have thou nothing to do with that just man*: and when he heard that *he made himself the Son of God, he was more afraid*: and yet notwithstanding these apprehensions and professions, he condemned and crucified him.

Here we must look upon the nature and disposition of *Pilate*, which inclined and betrayed him to so foul an act. He was a man of an high, rough, untractable, and irreconcilable spirit¹, as he is described by the Jews, and appeareth from the beginning of his government, when he brought the bucklers stamped with the pictures of Cæsar into Jerusalem, (which was an abomination to the Jews), and could neither be moved by the blood of many, nor persuaded by the most humble applications and submissive entreaties of the whole nation, to remove them, till he received a sharp reprehension and severe command from the emperor Tiberius. After that, he seized on the Corban, that sacred treasury, and spent it upon an aqueduct: nor could all their religious and importunate petitions divert his intentions, but his resolution went 197 through their blood to bring in water. When the Galileans came up to Jerusalem, to worship God at his own temple,

Matt. xxvii.
18.
Luke xxiii.
14.

Luke xxiii.
22.
Matt. xxvii.
19.

John xix. 7.
8.

¹ So Philo testifieth of him: 'Ὁ γὰρ τὴν φύσιν ἀκαμπῆς, καὶ μετὰ τοῦ ἀσθάδου ἀμετακτός. *De Virtut. et Legat. ad Caium*, p. 590. [Tom. II. p. 590.

l. 14, al. p. 1034.] And again: Οἱ αὖ ἐγκρίτως ἔχων καὶ βαρύνων ἀνθρώπων. *Ibid.* [l. 29.]

he mingled their blood with their sacrifices. Add to this untractable and irreconcilable spirit, by which he had so often exasperated the Jews, an avaricious and rapacious disposition, which prompted him as much to please them; and we may easily perceive what moved him to condemn that person to death whom he declared innocent. The evangelist telleth us that *Pilate, willing to content the people, released Barabbas unto them, and delivered Jesus to be crucified.* They accused him at Rome, for all the insolences and rapines which he had committed, and by this act he thought to pacify them¹. Luke xiii. 1. Mark xv. 16.

It was thus necessary to express the person under whom our Saviour suffered; first, that we might for ever be assured of the time in which he suffered². The enemies of Christianity began first to unsettle the time of his passion, that thereby they might at last deny the passion itself; and the rest of their falsehood was detected by the discovery of their false chronology³. Some fixed it to the seventh year of the reign of Tiberius⁴, whereas it is certain *Pontius Pilate* was not then

¹ For that which is observed by Philo upon the dedication of the shields at the first entrance into his government, must needs be much more true at this time of our Saviour's passion, when he had committed so many more insolences, viz. that he feared the Jews should complain of him to Tiberius: Τὸ τελευταῖον τοῦτο μάλιστα αὐτὸν ἐξεπράχυνε, καταδείσαντα μὴ τῷ ὄντι πρεσβευσάμενοι καὶ τῆς ἄλλης αὐτοῦ ἐπιτροπῆς ἐξελέγξωσι τὰς δωροδοκίας, τὰς ὕβρεις, τὰς ἀρπαγὰς, τὰς αἰκίας, τὰς ἐπιπράξεις, τοὺς ἀκρίτους καὶ ἐπαλλήλους φόρους, τὴν ἀνέμενον καὶ ἀργαλειωτὴν ὀμύτητα διεξελθόντες. *De Virtut. l. 12.* ad Caium, [Tom. II. p. 590. l. 22.]

² 'Cautissime qui Symbolum tradiderunt, etiam tempus quo hæc sub Pontio Pilato gesta sunt designarunt, ne ex aliqua parte velut vaga et incerta gestorum traditio vacillaret.' *Rufinus in Euxos. Symb. § 20.* [p. 22.] 'Credimus itaque in eum qui sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus est et sepultus. Addendum enim erat Judicis nomen propter temporum cognitionem.' *S. August. de Fide et Symb. c. 5. § 11.* [Tom. vi. p. 115 c.] 'Pilatus judex

erat in illo tempore ab imperatore positus in Judea, sub quo Dominus passus est; cujus mentio ad temporis significationem, non ad personam illius pertinet dignitatem.' *Serm. 131. de Tempore.* [This sermon is not by St Augustin. See Tom. v. Appendix, p. 281 B. (242. § 3.)] Irenæus speaking of St Paul: 'Evangelizabat Filium Dei Christum Jesum, qui sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus est.' l. v. c. 12. [p. 417. 8.] And to make the more certain character of time, Ignatius added to the name of Pilate that of Herod: 'Ἀληθῶς ἐπὶ Πωρίῳ Πιλάτῳ καὶ Ἡρώδῳ τετραρχοῦν καθηλωμένον ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐν σαρκί. *Epist. ad Smyrn. § 1.*

³ So Eusebius detected some of those which lived not long before him: Οὐκοῦν σαφὲς ἀπελήλεγται τὸ πλῆθος τῶν κατὰ τοῦ Σωτήρος ἡμῶν ὑπομνήματα χθὲς καὶ πρότερον διαδεδοκότων, ἐν οἷς πρῶτος αὐτὸς ὁ τῆς παρασημειώσεως χρόνος τῶν πεπλακῶτων ἀπελέγχει τὸ ψεῦδος. *Hist. Eccles. l. i. c. 9.* [p. 20 c.]

⁴ 'Ἐπὶ τῆς τετάρτης γοῦν ὑπατείας Τιβερίου, ἣ γέγονεν ἔτους ἐβδόμου τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ, τὰ περὶ τὸ σωτήριον αὐτοῖς πάθος τολμηθέντα περιέχει, καθ'

Luke iii. 1.

Procurator in Judea; and as certain that our Saviour was baptized eight years after, *in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar*. Some of the Jews, lest the destruction of Jerusalem might seem to follow upon, and for, our Saviour's crucifixion, have removed it near threescore years more backward yet, placing his death in the beginning of Herod's reign¹, who was not born till towards the death of the same king. Others have removed it farther yet near twenty years², and so vainly tell us how he died under Aristobulus, above fifty years before his birth in Bethlehem. This they do teach their proselytes, to this end, that they may not believe so much as the least historical part of the blessed evangelists. As, therefore, they deny the time of our Saviour's passion, in design to destroy his doctrine; so, that we might establish the substance of the gospel depending on his death, it was necessary we should retain a perfect remembrance of the time in which he died. Nor need we be ashamed that the Christian religion, which we profess, should have so known an epocha, and so late an original. Christ came not into the world in the beginning of it, but in *the fulness of time*.

Gal. v. 4.

Secondly, It was thought necessary to include the name 198 of *Pilate* in our CREED, as of one who gave a most powerful external testimony to the certainty of our Saviour's death, and the innocency of his life³. He did not only profess, to the

δὲ δεικνύται χρόνος, μὴδ' ἐπιστάς πο-
τὴν Ἰουδαίᾳ Πιλάτος. Euseb. Eccl. Hist.
l. i. c. 9. [p. 20 D.]

¹ Divers of the Jews place the passion of Christ in the year of their account 3724, which is sixty-nine years before our common account of the year in which he suffered. This invention of their own, grounded upon no foundation, and backed with not so much as the least probability, they deliver as a tradition among them, continued in this rhythm,

בשנת ג'אלפים חש"כ' דנצרי הלכ
ובשנת חק"ל בעץ חלב

i. e. *In the year 3724 he of Nazareth was taken,*

And in the year 532 he was crucified on a tree.

Not that they thought him taken in one year, and crucified in another; but these two unequal numbers signify

the same year, the lesser number being a period of years, which, seven times numbered, equalleth the greater. So that their meaning is, that after seven periods, consisting of 532 years, in the year of the world 3724, Jesus of Nazareth was crucified.

² Others of the Jews pretend another account, viz. that Jesus was born in the year 3671, which was the fourth of Jannæus, and crucified in the year 3707, which was the third of Aristobulus; making him the disciple of R. Josua the son of Perachiah, according to that usual phrase of theirs, כרבי ירמיה בן פרחיה שדחפו לישו בשנת ד'ים Vide Sepher Juchasin. (p. 17.)

³ 'Nota—quod in Pilato et uxore ejus, justum Dominiū confitentibus, Gentilis populi testimonium sit.' S. Hier. in Matt. xxvii. [v. 19. Tom. vii. p. 229 c.]

condemnation of the Jews, that he found nothing worthy of death in Christ; but left the same written to the Gentiles of the Roman empire. Two ways he is related to have given most ample testimony to the truth: first, By an express written to Tiberius¹, and by him presented to the senate; secondly, By records written in tables, of all things of moment which were acted in his government².

¹ That Pontius Pilate wrote unto Tiberius of the death and resurrection of our Saviour, is testified by Tertullian, who was best acquainted with the Roman history: 'Ea omnia super Christo Pilatus et ipse jam pro sua conscientia Christianus, Cæsari tunc Tiberio renunciavit.' *Apol.* c. 21. [p. 22 c.] And again: 'Tiberius ergo, cujus tempore nomen Christianum in seculum introivit, annuntiata sibi ex Syria Palestina, quæ veritatem istius (Christi) divinitatis revelarant, detulit ad Senatum cum prærogativa suffragii sui.' *Ibid.* c. 5. [p. 6 c.] This is related by Eusebius out of Tertullian, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, l. ii. c. 2. and referred to the two-and-twentieth year of Tiberius in his *Chronicon*. 'Pilato de Christianorum dogmate ad Tiberium referente, Tiberius retulit ad Senatum, ut inter cætera sacra recipe-retur.' The authority of this Express is grounded on the great reputation of Tertullian (as is observed also by the author of the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*, who concludes the relation with these words, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Τερτυλλιανὸς ὁ Πρωμαῖος), and the general custom by which all the governors of the provinces did give account unto the emperor of all such passages as were most remarkable: Παλαιοῦ κεκρατηκότος ἔθους τοῖς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀρχουσι τὰ παρὰ σφίσι καυστομοῦμενα τῇ τῆν βασιλείων ἀρχῇ ἐπικρατοῦσι σημαίνει, ὡς μηδὲν αὐτὸν διαδιδράσκει τῶν γινόμενων. *Euseb. Eccl. Hist.* l. ii. c. 2. [p. 31 D.]

² The ancient Romans were desirous to preserve the memory of all remarkable passages which happened in the city: and this was done either in their *Acta Senatus*, or *Acta diurna populi*; which were diligently made

and carefully kept at Rome. In the same manner, the governors in the provinces took care that all things worthy of remark should be written in public tables, and preserved as the *Acta* in their government. And agreeably to this custom, Pontius Pilate kept the memoirs of the Jewish affairs, which were therefore called *Acta Pilati*, in which an account was given of our blessed Saviour; and the primitive Christians did appeal unto them in their disputes with the Gentiles, as to a most undoubted testimony. Justin Martyr urged them even unto the Roman emperors: Καὶ ταῦτα ἐπὶ γέγωσε, δύνασθε μαθεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου γινόμενων *Ἀκτων*. *Apol.* ii. p. 76. [i. § 35.] And again: 'Ὅτι δὲ ταῦτα ἐποίησε, ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου γινόμενων *Ἀκτων* μαθεῖν δύνασθε. *Ibid.* p. 84. [§ 48.] And in the differences between the Christians, they were cited by both parties. As the Tessaerodecatitæ alleged them for their custom of the observance of Easter, as Epiphanius testifieth of them: 'Ἀπὸ τῶν *Ἀκτων* δὴθεν Πιλάτου αἰχοῦσι τὴν ἀκριβείαν εὐρηκέναι, ἐν οἷς ἐμφέρεται, τῇ πρὸ ὀκτῶ καλανδῶν Ἀπριλλίων τὸν Σωτήρα πεποθέναι. *Hæres.* 50. § 1. [Tom. i. p. 420 A.] And Epiphanius urgeth the same *Acta* against them, but according to other copies: 'Ἐπὶ δὲ εὐρομεν ἀντιγραφα ἐκ τῶν (*lege* *Ἀκτων*) Πιλάτου, ἐν οἷς σημαίνει, πρὸ δεκαπέντε καλανδῶν Ἀπριλλίων τὸ πάθος γεγενῆσθαι. *Ibid.* [p. 420 B.] Though the author of the eighth homily in *Pascha*, under the name of St Chrysostom, agreeth in this reading with the *Tessaerodecatitæ*: 'Ὁ μὲν χρόνος καθ' ὃν ἐπαθεν ὁ Σωτὴρ οὐκ ἡγνότηαι: τὰ γὰρ ὑπομήματα τὰ ἐπὶ Πιλάτου προχθέντα καὶ τὴν προ-

Thirdly, It behoved us to take notice of the Roman governor in the expression of our Saviour's passion, that thereby we might understand how it came to pass that Christ should suffer according to the scriptures. The prophets had foretold his death, but after such a manner as was not to be performed by the Jews, according to whose law and custom, no man among them ever so died. Being then so great a prophet could not die but in Jerusalem, being the death he was to suffer was not agreeable to the laws and customs of the Jews; it was necessary a Roman governor should condemn him, that so the counsel of the will of God might be fulfilled, by the malice of the one, and the customs of the other.

And now the advantage of this circumstance is discovered, every one may express the importance of it in this manner: I am fully persuaded of this truth as beyond all possibility of contradiction, that in *the fulness of time* God sent his Son; and that the eternal Son of God, so sent by him, did suffer for the sins of men, after the fifteenth year of Tiberius the Roman emperor, and before his death, in the time of *Pontius Pilate* the Cæsarean Procurator of Judea; who, to please the nation 199 of the Jews, did condemn him whom he pronounced innocent, and delivered him, according to the custom of that empire, and in order to the fulfilling of the prophecies, to die a painful and shameful death upon the cross. And thus I believe in *Christ*, that **SUFFERED UNDER PONTIUS PILATE.**

WAS CRUCIFIED.

FROM the general consideration of our Saviour's passion, we proceed to the most remarkable particular, his crucifixion, standing between his passion, which it concludeth, and his death, which it introduceth. For the explication whereof, it

θεσμίαν περιέχει τοῦ Πάσχα. ἱστορεῖται γοῦν ὅτι τῇ πρὸ ὀκτὼ καλῶνδ' Ἀπριλίων ἔπαθεν ὁ Σωτὴρ. Tom. v. p. 942. These were also mentioned in the *Acta S. Tarachi, Probi, et Andronici*, c. 9. 'Præses dixit, Inique, non scis, quem invocas, Christum, hominem quidem fuisse factum, sub custodia Pontii Pilati et punitum, cujus exstant Acta Passionis!' These *Acta* in the time of Maximinus were adulterated, and filled

with many blasphemies against our Saviour, as appears by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* l. i. c. 9. [p. 20 c]: Οὐκοῦν σαφῶς ἀπελήλεγται τὸ πλάσμα τῶν κατὰ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ὑπομνήματα χθὲς καὶ πρῶην διαδεδοκῶτων and: Πλασάμενοι θῆτα Πιλάτου καὶ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ὑπομνήματα πᾶσης ἐμπλεα κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ βλασφημίας, γνώμη τοῦ μελίσσου ἐπὶ πᾶσαν διαπέμπονται τὴν ἐκ αὐτῶν ἀρχήν. l. ix. c. 5. [p. 286 d.]

will be necessary, first, To prove that the promised *Messias* was to be crucified, that he which was designed to die for our sins was to suffer upon the cross; secondly, To shew that our *Jesus*, whom we worship, was certainly and truly crucified, and did suffer whatsoever was foretold, upon the cross; thirdly, To discover what is the nature of crucifixion, what peculiarities of suffering are contained in dying on the cross.

That the *Messias* was to be crucified, appeareth both by types which did apparently foreshew it, and by prophecies which did plainly foretell it. For, though all those representations and predictions which the forward zeal of some ancient fathers gathered out of the Law and the Prophets¹,

¹ The ancient fathers, following the steps of the apostles, to prove all the particulars of our Saviour's death out of the Old Testament, have made use of those types and prophecies which did really and truly foreshew it; but together with them, partly out of their own conceptions, partly out of too much credit to the translations, have urged those places which the Jews may most easily evade, and we can produce but with small or no pretence. As for the extending of the hands of Moses, they conceive it to be a perfect type; and Barnabas, *Epist.* c. 12. [p. 39.] tells us, that the Spirit commanded Moses, that he should make the similitude of a cross: λέγει εἰς τὴν καρδίαν Μωσῇ τὸ Πνεῦμα, ἵνα ποιήσῃ τύπον σταυροῦ καὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος πάσχειν' but the text assures us no more, than that Moses held up his hand, which might be without any similitude of a cross. And when both were lifted up by Aaron and Hur, the representation is not certain. And yet, after Barnabas, Justin tells us, that Moses represented the cross, τὰς χεῖρας ἐκτέρως ἐκτείνοντας *Dial.* c. *Tryph.* p. 317. [335. 35. Thirlby.] and Tertullian calls it *habitus crucis*. *Adv. Marcion.* l. iii. c. 18. [p. 493 c.] In the same manner with the strange Indian statue, which is described by Bardisanes, as: ἀνδρίας ἐστὼς ὀρθός, ἔχων τὰς χεῖρας ἡλωμένους ἐν τύπῳ σταυροῦ. *Porphyry. de Styge.* [p. 283.] With less probability did they gather both the name

of Jesus and the cross of Christ, from the three hundred and eighteen servants of Abraham. Ἰῶτα δέκα, Ἦρα δέκα, ἔχεις Ἰησοῦν' ὅτι δὲ σταυρός ἐν τῷ Τ ἐμελλεν ἔχειν τὴν χάριν, λέγει καὶ τοὺς τριακοσίους' δηλοῖ οὖν τὸν μὲν Ἰησοῦν ἐν τοῖς δυοῖν γράμμασι, καὶ ἐν ἐπὶ τὸν σταυρόν. *Epist. Barn.* c. 9. [p. 29.] As if I H stood for Jesus, and T for the cross. And yet Clemens Alexandrinus follows him: Φατέον οὖν εἶναι τοῦ μὲν Κυριακοῦ σημεῖον τύπον κατὰ τὸ σχῆμα τριακοσιοστόν στοιχείων. τὸ δὲ Ἰῶτα καὶ τὸ Ἦρα τοῦτομα σημαίνει τὸ σωτήριον. *Stromat.* l. vi. c. 11. (p. 782, 2.) As also St. Ambrose: 'Nam et Abraham 318 duxit ad bellum, et ex innumeris trophæis hostibus reportavit, signoque Dominicæ crucis et nominis,' &c. *Prol. ad l. i. de Fide*, § 3. [p. 113.] 'Eos—adesciscit quos dignos numero fidelium judicavit, qui in Domini nostri Jesu Christi Passionem crederent. Trecentos enim T Græcæ litera significat; decem et octo autem summum I H exprimit (nomen).' *Id. de Abrah.* l. i. c. 3. § 15. [p. 214 G.] And St. Augustin of another three hundred: 'Quorum numerus, quia trecenti erant, signum insinuat Crucis, propter litteram T Græcam, qua iste numerus significatur.' *Quæst. in Hept.* l. vii. q. 37. [Tom. III. p. 452 A.] And Clemens Alexandrinus again, of the three hundred cubits in the Ark: Εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ τοὺς τριακοσίους πῆχες σύμβολον τοῦ Κυριακοῦ σημεῖον λέγουσι. *Strom.* l. 6. c. 11. [p. 783. 36.] 'Sed sicut

cannot be said to signify so much; yet in many types was the crucifixion of Christ represented, and by some prophecies foretold. This was the true and unremoveable *stumblingblock to the Jews*, nor could they ever be brought to confess the *Messias* should die that death upon a tree to which the curse of the law belonged¹: and yet we need no other oracles than such as are committed to those Jews, to prove that Christ was so to suffer.

A clearer type can scarce be conceived of the Saviour of the world, in whom all the nations of the earth were to be blessed, than Isaac was: nor can God the Father, who gave 200 his only-begotten Son, be better expressed than by that patriarch in his readiness to sacrifice his son, *his only son, Isaac, whom he loved*. Now when that grand act of obedience was to be performed, we find Isaac walking to the mountain of Moriah with the wood on his shoulders, and saying, *Here is the wood, but where is the sacrifice?* while in the command of God, and the intention and resolution of Abraham, Isaac is the sacrifice, who bears the wood. And the *Christ*, who was to be the most perfect sacrifice, the person in whom all nations were perfectly to be blessed, could die no other death in which the wood was to be carried; and being to die upon the cross, was, by the formal custom used

Gen. xxi. 2.

Gen. xxi. 7.

ille non multitudine nec virtute legionum, sed jam tum in Sacramento Crucis, cujus figura per literam Græcam T numero trecentorum exprimitur, adversarios principes debellavit: cujus mysterii virtute trecentis in longum texta cubitis superavit Arca diluvium, ut nunc Ecclesia hoc seculum supernavigat.' *S. Paulinus, Ep. ii. al. xxiv. § 23.* As unlikely a type did they make Jacob's ladder. 'Ego puto Crucem Salvatoris illam esse scalam quam Jacob vidit.' *S. Hieron. Breviar. in Psal. 91.* 'Scala usque ad cælum attingens Crucis figuram habuit; Dominus innixus scalæ, Christus crucifixus ostenditur.' *S. August. Serm. de Temp. 79, al. 11. § 6.* These, and many others, by the writers of the succeeding ages, were produced out of the Old Testament as types of the cross, and may in some sense be applied to it being other-

wise proved, but prove it not.

¹ Trypho the Jew, in the dialogue with Justin Martyr, when he had confessed many of the Christian doctrines, would by no means be brought to this: *Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀρίμωσ οὗτος σταυρωθῆναι τὸν Χριστόν (subaud. ἔδει), ἀποροῦμεν ἐπικατάφατος γὰρ ὁ σταυρούμενος ἐν τῷ νόμῳ λέγεται εἶναι: ὥστε πρὸς τοῦτο ἀμὴν δυσπελοῦτως ἔχω.* p. 317. § 89. [334. 5. Thirlby.] And afterwards granting his passion, urgeth him to prove his crucifixion: 'Ἡμεῖς γὰρ οὐδ' εἰς ἐνοχίαν τοῦτον εἰθεῖν δύναμεθα. *Ibid.* [335. 16.] So Tertullian describes the Jews: 'Negantes passionem Crucis in Christum prædicatam, et argumentantes insuper non esse credendum ut ad id genus mortis exposuerit Deus Filium suum, quod ipse dixit, Maledictus omnis homo qui pependit in ligno.' *Adv. Judæos, c. 10.* [p. 220 B.]

in that kind of death, certainly to carry it¹. Therefore Isaac bearing the wood, did signify *Christ* bearing the cross².

When the fiery serpents bit the Israelites, and *much people died*, Moses, by the command of God, *made a serpent of brass, and put it upon a pole: and it came to pass, that if a serpent had bitten any man, when he beheld the serpent of brass, he lived*. Now if there were no expresser promise of the Messias, than the *Seed of the woman, which should bruise the serpent's head*; if he were to perform that promise by virtue of his death; if no death could be so perfectly represented by the hanging on the pole, as that of crucifixion; then was that manifestly foretold which *Christ* himself informed Nicodemus, *As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up*³.

The paschal lamb did plainly typify that Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world; and the preparing of it did not only represent the cross⁴, but the command or

¹ This custom is very considerable as to the explication of this type; and is to be therefore confirmed by the testimonies of the ancients, which are most express. Βαστάζειν τινὰ τῶν δαιμόνων χθονίων — κακούργῳ μὲν ἰδόντι σταυρὸν αὐτῷ σημαίνει· εὐκοι γὰρ ὁ σταυρὸς θανάτῳ, καὶ ὁ μέλλων προσηλωσθαι πρότερον αὐτὸν βαστάζει. *Artemid. Onirocr.* l. ii. c. 61. Τῷ μὲν σώματι τῶν κολαζομένων ἕκαστος κακούργων ἐκφέρει τὸν αὐτοῦ σταυρὸν. *Plutarch. de his qui zero puniuntur*, c. 9. [Tom. III. p. 554 A.] So these not long after our Saviour's death. And much before it, *Plautus in Carbonario*, [Fragment. Tom. II. p. 1206]: 'Patibulum ferat per urbem, deinde affigatur Cruc.'

[So *Plautus, Mostellaria*, I. i. 53 :

Ita te forabant patibulum per vias Stimulæ.]

² This is not only the observation of the Christians, but the Jews themselves have referred this type unto that custom: for upon Gen. xxii. 6, 'And Abraham took the wood of the burnt-offering, and laid it upon Isaac his son,' the lesser Beresith hath this note: כח ששן עליו כח צלבו כח as a man carries his cross upon his shoulders.

³ The common phrase by which that death was expressed. 'In Crucem tolli.' *Paul.* l. 5. *Sentent. Tit.* 22, 23, et 25. As in the Chaldee תרפי by origination *Elevatio*, by use is particularly *Crucifixio*.

⁴ Justin Martyr shews how the manner of the roasting of the paschal lamb did represent the affixing of a man upon the cross, and thereby was a type of Christ: Τὸ κελευσθὲν πρόβατον ἐκείνο ὁπτιν δλον γίνεσθαι, τοῦ πάθους τοῦ σταυροῦ, δι' οὗ πάσχειν ἐμελλεν ὁ Χριστός, σύμβολον ἦν· τὸ γὰρ ὁπτιν μὲν πρόβατον, σχηματιζόμενον ὁμοίως τῷ σχήματι τοῦ σταυροῦ ὁπτιναι. Εἰς γὰρ ὁρθίος ὁβελισκος διαπερνᾶται ἀπὸ τῶν κατωτάτων μερῶν μέχρι τῆς κεφαλῆς, καὶ εἰς πάλιν κατὰ τὸ μετὰ φρενον, ᾧ προσαρτῶνται καὶ αἱ χεῖρες τοῦ προβάτου. *Dial. cum Tryphone*, § 40. [p. 218. 22. Thirlby.] To which *Arnoldus Carnotensis* alludeth: 'In veru Crucis boni odoris assatio exoquat carnalium sensuum cruditate;' *De Cena Domini*, commonly attributed to St Cyprian. Nor is the roasting of this lamb any far-fetched figure of the cross; for other roasting hath been thought a proper resemblance of it: where the body of the thing roasted

ordinance of the passover did foretell as much. For while Exod. xii. 46. it is said, *ye shall not break a bone thereof*, it was thereby intimated, that the Saviour of the world should suffer that death to which the breaking of the bones belonged (and that, according to the constant custom, was the punishment of crucifixion¹), but only in that death should by the providence of God be so particularly preserved, as that not one bone of his should be touched. And thus the crucifixion of the *Messias* in several types was represented.

Nor was it only thus prefigured and involved in these typical resemblances, but also clearly spoken by the prophets in their particular and express predictions. Nor shall we need the accession of any lost or additional prophetic ex- 201
pressions, which some of the ancients have made use of²: those

hath limbs, as a lamb, there it bears the similitude of a proper cross, with an erect and transverse beam; where the roasted body is only of length and uniform, as a fish, there the resemblance is of a straight and simple *σταυρός*. As it is represented by Hieronymus: *Σκόλοψιν ὡς στήσω· τὸ γὰρ παλαιὸν τοὺς κακουργοῦντας ἀνεσκόλοπιζον, ὁξύνοντες ξύλον διὰ τῆς βάρους καὶ τοῦ ῥώτου, καθάπερ τοὺς σπυρμένους ἰχθύς ἐπὶ ὀβελοῖσιν.* s. v. *Σκόλοψιν*.

¹ Although, indeed, it must be confessed, that the *crucifragium* and the *crucifixion* were two several punishments, and that they ordinarily made the cross a lingering death: yet because the Law of Moses did not suffer the body of a man to hang upon a tree in the night, therefore the Romans, so far to comply with the Jews, did break the bones of those whom they crucified in Judea constantly; whereas in other countries they did it but occasionally.

² As Barnabas cites one of the prophets whom we know not: *Ὁμοίως πάλιν περὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ ὀρίζει ἐν ἄλλῳ προφήτῃ λέγοντι, Καὶ πότε ταῦτα συντελεσθήσεται; καὶ λέγει Κύριος, Ὅταν ξύλον κλιθῇ καὶ ἀναστῇ, καὶ ὅταν ἐκ ξύλου αἶμα στάξῃ.* *Epist. c. 12.* [p. 38.] which words are not to be found in any of the prophets. Thus Justin Martyr, to prove, *ὅτι μετὰ τὸ σταυρωθῆναι βασιλεύσει ὁ Χριστός*, produceth

a prophecy out of the 96th Psalm, in these words: *ὁ Κύριος ἐβασίλευεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου.* *Dial. cum Tryphone, § 73.* p. 298 P. And Tertullian, who advances all his conceptions: *'Age nunc, si legisti penes Prophetam in Psalmis, Dominus [Deus, Rigalt.] regnavit a ligno; exspecto quid intelligas, ne forte lignarium aliquem regem significari putetis, et non Christum, qui exinde a passione Christi (lege crucis, for he himself hath it ligni, Adv. Marcion. l. iii. c. 19.) [p. 493 C.] superata morte regnavit.'* *Adv. Jud. c. 10.* [p. 221 C.] And in the place cited against Marcion: *'Etsi enim mors ab Adam regnavit usque ad Christum, cur Christus non regnasse dicatur a ligno, ex quo crucis ligno mortuus, regnum mortis exclusit!'* Thus they, and some after them, make use of those words, *ἀπὸ ξύλου, a ligno*, which are not to be found either in the Greek or Latin translation, from whence they seem to produce them; nor is there any thing like them in the original, or any translation extant, nor the least mention or footstep of them in the *Catena Græcorum Patrum*. Justin Martyr, indeed, accused the Jews for rasing the words *ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου* out of the text: *'Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνενηκοστοῦ πέμπτου ψαλμοῦ τῶν διὰ Δαβὶδ λεχθέντων λόγων, λέξεις βραχείας ἀφείδαντο ταύτας, ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου· εἰρημῶνος γὰρ τοῦ λόγου, Εἰπάτε*

which are still preserved even among the Jews will yield this truth sufficient testimonies.

When God foretells by the prophet Zachary, what he should suffer from the sons of men, he says expressly, *They shall look upon me whom they have pierced*¹; and therefore shews that he speaks of the Son of God, which was to be the Son of man, and by our nature liable to vulneration; and withal foretells the piercing of his body: which being added to that prediction in the Psalms, *They pierced my hands and my feet*², clearly representeth and foretelleth to us the

ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, Ὁ Κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου, ἀφήκαν, *Etrate ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, Ὁ Κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν.* p. 298, [p. 294. 10. Thirlby.] But, first, he doth not accuse them for raising it out of the original Hebrew, for his discourse is only to shew that they abused the LXX. Secondly, though the Jews had raised it out of their own, it appeareth not how they should have gotten it out of the Bibles in the Christians' hands, in which those words are not to be found.

¹ These words of Zachary are clear in the original, וְהָיָה אֵלַי אֶת אֲשֶׁר-אָמַרְתִּי לִי, although the LXX. have made another sense, ἐπιβλέψονταί μοι, ἀπὸ ὧν καταρχήσαντο, by translating אֶת אֲשֶׁר אָמַרְתִּי לִי, eo quod: as also the Chaldee paraphrase וְלִי with the Arabic version; and the Syriac another yet, by rendering it *per eum quem*, as if they should look upon one, and pierce another: yet the plain construction of אֶת אֲשֶׁר, is nothing else but *quem*, relating to the person in the affix of the precedent אֵלַי, who, being the same with him who immediately before promiseth to pour upon man the Spirit of grace, must needs be God. Which that the Jews might avoid, they read it not אֵלַי, אֲלִי, not *on me*, but *on him*, to distinguish him whom they were to pierce, from him who was to give the Spirit of grace. But this fraud is easily detected, because it is against the Hebrew copies, the Septuagint, and Chaldee paraphrase, the Syriac and Arabic translations. Nor can the Rabbins shift this place, because it was

anciently by the Jews interpreted of the Messias, as themselves confess. So R. Solomon Jarchi upon the place, ר' ל' מרשונו על משה בן יוסף: *Our masters have expounded this of the Messias the son of Joseph.* That they interpreted it therefore of the Messias, is granted by them; that any Messias was to be the son of Joseph, is already denied and refuted: it remaineth therefore that the ancient Jews did interpret it of the true Messias, and that St John did apply it to our Saviour according to the acknowledged exposition. And in the Bereshith Rabba, we are clearly taught thus much; for unto that question, 'Who art thou, O great mountain?' (Zach. iv. 7.) he answereth, הרי גדול זה משה בן יוסף *The great mountain is the Messias the Son of David.* And he proves it from, 'Grace, grace unto it.' שוה טון חן וחסד because he giveth grace and supplications; as it is written, Zach. xii. 10.

² This translation seems something different from the Hebrew text as we now read it, יָד ורגל כַּאֲרִי *sicut leo, manus meas et pedes meos.* But it was not always read as now it is. For R. Jacob the son of Chajim, in Masoreth Magna, מסרבת אורח חלף, *ordine* בקצת טעמים that he found טעמים אר *written in some correct copies כרויב* *written* in the text, כַּאֲרִי, but כַּרִּי *read*, and therefore written in the margin כַּאֲרִי. The same is testified by the Masorah on Numb. xxiv. 9. citing the words of this text, and adding כַּרִּיב. And Johannes Isaac Levita confirmeth it

death upon the cross, to which the hands and feet of the person crucified were affixed with nails. And because these prophecies appeared so particular and clear, and were so properly applied by that disciple whom our Saviour loved, and to whom he made a singular application even upon the cross; therefore the Jews have used more than ordinary industry and artifice to elude these two predictions¹, but in vain. For these two prophets, David and Zachary, manifestly did foretell the particular punishment of crucifixion.

It was therefore sufficiently adumbrated by types, and 202 promulgated by prophecies, that the promised *Messias* was to be *crucified*. And it is as certain, that our *Jesus*, the *Christ* whom we worship, and from whence we receive that honour to be named Christians, was really and truly *crucified*. It was first the wicked design of Judas, who *betrayed* him to that death: it was the malicious cry of the obdurate Jews, *Crucify him, crucify him*. He was actually *condemned* and *delivered* to that death by Pilate, *who gave sentence that it should be as they required*; he was given into the hands of the soldiers, the instruments commonly used in inflicting that punishment², who *led him away to crucify him*. He underwent those previous pains which customarily antecede that suffering, as flagellation, and bearing of the cross³; for *Pilate*,

Matt. xxvi. 2

John xix. 15.

Luke xxiii.
24.

Matt. xxvii.
31.

Matt. xxvii.
26.

by his own experience, who had seen in an ancient copy כָּאֵר in the text, and כָּאֵר in the margin. It was anciently therefore without question written כָּאֵר, as appeareth not only by the LXX. who translated it *ἰσχυρῶς*, *foderunt*; and Aquila, who rendered it *ἰσχυρῶς*, *foderunt*, (in the same sense with that of Virgil, *Æn.* iii. v. 241,

'Obscenos pelagi ferro foderare volucres')

and the old Syriac, which translateth it כָּאֵר *transfixerunt*; but also by the less, or marginal, Masorah, which noteth that the word כָּאֵר is found written alike in two places; this and Isaiah xxxviii. 18. but in divers significations: wherefore being in Isaiah it manifestly signifieth *sicut leo*, it must not signify the same in this; and being the Jews themselves pretend to nothing else, it followeth that it be still read as it was, כָּאֵר, and translated

foderunt. From whence it also appeareth, that this was one of the eighteen places which were altered by the Scribes.

¹ For the Masorah in several places confesseth, that eighteen places in the Scriptures have been altered by the Scribes; and when they come to reckon the places, they mention but sixteen; the other two without question are those concerning the crucifixion of the *Messias*, Psalm xxii. 16. and Zach. xii. 10. For that of Zachary, a Jew confessed it to Mercerus: and that of David, we shewed before to be the other.

² That the soldiers did execute the sentence of death given by the Roman magistrates in their provinces, and not only in the camp, is evident out of the historians of that nation.

³ 'Sciendum est Romanis Pilatum legibus ministrasse, quibus sancitum est, ut qui crucifigitur prius flagellis

when he had scourged Jesus, delivered him to be crucified; and he, bearing his cross, went forth into Golgotha. They John xix. 17. carried him forth out of the city, as by custom in that kind of death they were wont to do¹; and there between two malefactors, usually by the Romans condemned to that punishment, they crucified him². And that he was truly fastened to the cross, appears by the satisfaction given to doubting Thomas, who said, *Except I shall see in his hands the print of the nails, and put my finger into the print of the nails, I will not believe:* and our Saviour said unto him, *Reach hither thy finger, and behold my hands:* whereby he satisfied the apostle, that he was the *Christ*; and us, that the *Christ* was truly crucified; against that fond heresy, which made Simon the Cyrenean not only bear the cross, but endure crucifixion, for our Saviour³. We therefore infer this second conclusion

verberetur.' *S. Hieron. ad Matt. xxvii. 26.* [Tom. VII. p. 230 E.] To which Lucian alludes in his own condemnation: 'Ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀνεσκολοπίσθαι δοκεῖ αὐτῶν, ἢ Ἄλᾳ, μαστιγωθέντα γε πρότερον. *Lucian. in Piscatore, c. 2.* [Tom. I. p. 390.] 'Multi occisi, multi capti, alios verberatos crucibus affixit.' *Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 36.* And *l. xxviii. c. 1.* 'Ad palum deligatus, lacerato virgis tergo, cervicem cruci Romanæ subijciam.' So Curtius reports of Alexander: 'Omnes verberibus affectos sub ipsis radicibus Petræ crucibus jussit affigi.' *l. vii. c. 11.* [p. 224.] Thus were the Jews themselves used, who caused our Saviour to be scourged and crucified; *Μαστιγοῦμενοι καὶ προβασιζόμενοι τοῦ θανάτου πᾶσαν αἰκλῆν, ἀνεσταυροῦντο. Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. v. c. 32.* [c. 11. § 1. p. 1247. 23.]

¹ This was observed both by the Jews and Romans, that their capital punishments were inflicted without their cities. And that particularly was observed in the punishment of crucifixion. *Plautus;*

'Credo ego isthoc exemplo tibi esse eundem actutum extra portam,

Dissepis manibus, patibulum cum habebis.

Mu. Glor. a. II. s. IV. 6.

Tully; 'Cum Mamertini more atque instituto suo crucem fixissent post urbem in via Pompeia.' *V. in Verr. c. 66.*

² Thieves and robbers were usually by the Romans punished with this death. Thus Cæsar used his pirates, *τοὺς ληστὰς ἀπαντας ἀνεσταύρωσε. Plut. in Vita, c. 2.* [Tom. IV. p. 102. *Bryant.*] 'Imperator provinciæ jussit latrones crucibus affigi.' *Petron. Sat. c. 111.* [p. 513.] 'Latronem istum, miserorum pignorum meorum peremptorem, cruci affigatis.' *Apuleius de Aur. Asin. l. iii.* [p. 110. *Amst. 1628.*] 'Latrocinium fecit aliquis: quid ergo meruit? Ut suspendatur.' *Sen. Epist. 7.* [p. 15.] Where *suspendi* is as much as *crucifigi*, and is so to be understood in all Latin authors which wrote before the days of Constantine. 'Famosos latrones, in his locis ubi grassati sunt, furca figendos, compluribus placuit.' *Callist. l. xxxviii. de panis.* Where *furca figendos* is put for *crucifigendos*; being so altered by Tribonianus, who, because Constantine had taken away the punishment, took also the name out of the Law.

³ This was the peculiar heresy of Basilides, a man so ancient, that he boasted to follow Glaucias as his master, who was the disciple of St Peter. And Irenæus hath declared this particularity of his: 'Quapropter neque passum eum: sed Simonem quandam Cyrenæum angariatum portasse crucem ejus pro eo; et hunc secundum igno-

from the undoubted testimonies of his followers, and unfeigned confessions of his enemies, that our *Jesus* was certainly and truly crucified, and did really undergo those sufferings, which were pretypified and foretold, upon the cross.

Being thus fully assured that the *Messias* was to be, and that our *Christ* was truly *crucified*, it, thirdly, concerns us to understand what was the nature of crucifixion, what the particularities of suffering, which he endured on the cross. Nor is this now so easily understood as once it was: for being a Roman punishment, it was continued in that empire while it remained heathen; but when the emperors themselves received Christianity, and the towering eagles resigned the flags unto the cross, this punishment was forbidden by the supreme 203 authority, out of a due respect and pious honour to the death of *Christ*¹. From whence it came to pass, that since it hath been disused universally for so many hundred years, it hath not been so rightly conceived as it was before, when the general practice of the world did so frequently represent it to the Christian's eyes. Indeed if the word which was used to denote that punishment did sufficiently represent or express it, it were enough to say that *Christ* was *crucified*: but being the most usual or original word doth not of itself declare the figure of the tree, or manner of the suffering²; it will be necessary to

rantiam et errorem crucifixum, transfiguratum ab eo, uti putaretur ipse esse *Jesus*; et ipsum autem *Jesus* Simonis accepiisse formam, et stantem irrisisse eos.' *Adv. Hær.* l. i. c. 23. [p. 98. 20.] And Tertullian, of the same Basilides: 'Hunc (*Christum*) passum a *Judeis* non esse, sed vice ipsius *Simonem* crucifixum esse: unde nec in eum credendum esse qui sit crucifixus, ne quis confiteatur in *Simonem* credidisse.' *De Præc. adv. Hær.* c. 46. [p. 250 B.] From these is the same delivered by St Epiphanius, *Hær.* 24. § 3, and by St Augustin, *Hær.* 4.

¹ This is observed by St Augustin, *Serm.* 18, al. 88. *de Verbis Dom.* c. 9. § 8. [Tom. v. p. 330]: 'Quia ipse honoraturus erat fideles suos in fine hujus sæculi, prius honoravit crucem in hoc sæculo; ut terrarum principes credentes in eum prohiberent aliquem nocentium crucifigi.' And *Tract.* 36. in *Joan.* § 4.

[Tom. III. p. 396 c.] speaking of this particular punishment: 'Modo in penis reorum non est apud Romanos; ubi enim Domini crux honorata est, putatum est quod et reus honoraretur si crucifigeretur.' Whence appears, first, that in the days of St Augustin crucifixion was disused: secondly, that it was prohibited by the secular princes. But when it was first prohibited, or by whom, he sheweth not. It is therefore to be observed, that it was first forbidden by the first Christian emperor, Constantine the Great. Sozomenus gives this relation: 'Ἀπέλει τοι πρότερον νενομισμένη Ῥωμαίοι τὴν τοῦ σταυροῦ τιμωρίαν νόμῳ ἀπέειλε τῆς χρήσεως τῶν δικαστηρίων. l. i. c. 8. [p. 336 p.]

² The original word in the New Testament, for the tree on which our Saviour suffered, is σταυρός, and the action or crucifixion σταύρωσις, the active σταυροῦν, and the passive σταυ-

represent it by such expressions as we find partly in the evangelical relations, partly in such representations as are left us in those authors whose eyes were daily witnesses of such executions.

ροῦσθαι. Now σταυρός, from which the rest mentioned are manifestly derived, hath of itself no other signification than of a *stake*. As we find it first used by Homer,

Σταυροὶ δ' ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης διαμπερὲς ἔσθαι, καὶ ἔσθαι,

Πυκνοὶ καὶ θαμέας, τὸ μέλαν ἔρυνδ' ἀμφικέσθαι.—Ὀδυσ. ε'. 11.

Ἀμφὶ δὲ οἱ μεγάλης αἰλῆς πείσαν ἀνακτὶ
Σταυροῖσιν πυκνοῖσι.—Ιλ. ω'. 452.

These are the same which Homer elsewhere calls σκόλοpes, and the ancient grammarians render each by other. As Eustathius [Od. ε'. 11]: Σταυροὶ ὀρθὰ καὶ ἀνωξυμμένα ξύλα.—οἱ δ' αὐτοὶ καὶ σκόλοpes λέγονται, ἀφ' ὧν τὸ ἀνασκολοπιζέσθαι, καὶ ἀνασταυροῦσθαι: so he, expounding σταυροί: and in the same manner expounding σκόλοpes: λέγονται δὲ οἱ τοιοῦτοι σκόλοpes καὶ σταυροί—ἐκ δὲ τούτων τὸ ἀνασκολοπιζέω, καὶ ἀνασταυροῦν. [Il. η'. 441. See also Eust. Il. μ'. 55.] As when Homer describes the Phæacian walls:

Τείχεα μακρὰ
Ὑψηλὰ σκολόπεσσιν ἀσπρότα.

Odyss. η'. 44.

he gives this exposition: Σκόλοpes δὲ καὶ νῦν ξύλα ὀρθὰ, οἱ καὶ σταυροί. In the same manner Hesychius: Σταυροί, οἱ καταπεπηγότες σκόλοpes, χάρακες: and: Σκόλοpes, ὀρθέα (l. ὀρθὰ) καὶ ὀξέα ξύλα, σταυροί, χάρακες: and again: Χάραξι, φραγμοῖς, ὀξέσι ξύλοις: οἱ δὲ, καλὰμοις, οἱ δὲ, σταυροῖς. Besides, they all agree in the same etymology, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰσθῆσαι, and therefore always take it for a straight standing stake, pale, or palisade. Thus κλέωντες in Antiphon are briefly rendered ὀρθὰ ξύλα: but more expressly thus by Etymologus: Κελέοντες, κυρίως οἱ ἰσθόποδες, καταχρηστικῶς δὲ καὶ τὰ καταπεπηγὸτα ξύλα, & καὶ σταυροὶ καλεῖσθαι. This is the undoubted signification of σταυρός, in vain denied by Salmasius, who will have it first to signify the same with *furca*, and then with *crux*; first the figure of T, and then of T.

Whereas all antiquity renders it no other than as a straight and sharp stake: in which signification it came at first to denote this punishment, the most simple and prime σταύρωσις or ἀνασκολόπησις being upon a single piece of wood, a *defixus et erectus stipes*. And the Greeks which wrote the Roman history, used the word σταυρός as well for their *palus* as their *crux*. As when Antony beheaded Antigonus the king of the Jews, Dio thus begins to describe his execution, *Hist. Rom.* l. xlix. c. 22. [p. 405 E]: Ἀντίγονον ἐμαστίγωσε σταυρῷ προσθήρας: not that he crucified him, as Baronius mistakes: but that he put him to another death after the Roman custom, as those did in Livy, l. xxviii. c. 29: 'Deligati ad palum, virgisque caesi, et securi percussi.' So that σταυρῷ προσδεῖν, is *ad palum deligare*. Thus were the heads of men said ἀνασταυρωθῆναι, as of Niger and Albinus in Dio, l. lxxiv. c. 8. and l. lxxv. c. 7. and Herodian, l. iii. c. 24; which cannot but be meant of a single *palus*: and we read in Ctesias how Amytis put Inarus to death, ἀνεσταύρωσε μὲν ἐπὶ τριῶν σταυροῖς, not that he crucified him upon three crosses, but pierced his body with three stakes fastened in the ground, and sharpened at the upper end. As appears by the like Persian punishment inflicted by Parysatis on Mesabates, as delivered by Plutarch in *Artaxerxes*, c. 17. [Tom. v. p. 294. *Bryant*.]: προσέταξεν ἐκδεῖραι ζῶντα, καὶ τὸ μὲν σῶμα πλάγιον διὰ τριῶν σταυρῶν ἀναπῆξαι, τὸ δὲ δέρμα χωρὶς διαπαταλεῖσαι: which the Latin translator renders in *tres sustollit cruces* (a thing impossible): whereas it was to be transversely fastened to three stakes, piercing the body lying, and thrust down upon them; which in the *Excerpta* of Ctesias is delivered only in the word ἀνεσταύρωσθαι. *Ex Persicis*, ἰθ' et κ'. Σταυρός is no more originally

The form then of the cross on which our Saviour suffered was not a simple but a compounded figure, according to the custom of the Romans, by whose Procurator he was condemned to die. In which there was not only a straight and erected piece of wood fixed in the earth, but also a transverse beam fastened unto that towards the top thereof¹; and beside

than σκόλοψ, a single stake, or an erect piece of wood upon which many suffered who were said ἀνασταυροῦσθαι and ἀνασκολοπιῆσθαι. And when other transverse or prominent parts were added in a perfect cross, it retained still the original name, not only of σταυρός, but also of σκόλοψ: Ὁφείλεν εἰς ἐπίδειξιν θεότητος ἀπὸ τοῦ σκόλοπος γοῦν εὐθὺς ἀφανῆς γενέσθαι, &c. — Τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ σκόλοπος αὐτοῦ φωνὴν ὅτ' ἀπέκτει. *Celsus apud Orig.* lib. ii. § 68. 58. [Tom. I. p. 438 B. p. 431 D.] Thus in that long, or rather too long, verse written by Audax to St Augustine, *Epist.* 139:

'Exspectat quos plena fides Christi de stipite pendena.'

¹ That the figure and parts of a Roman cross, such as that was on which our Saviour suffered, may be known, we must begin with the first composition in the frame or structure of it: and that is the conjunction of the two beams, the one erect, the other transverse; the first to which the body was applied, the second to which the hands were fastened. These two, as the chief parts of the cross, are several ways expressed: first, by the Jews, who had no one word in their language particularly to express that punishment (as being not mentioned in the law, or at all in use among them), and therefore call it by a double name, expressing the conjunction of these beams יָצַו וְיָצַו, *stamen et subtegmen, the warp and the woof*. The Greeks express the same, by the letter Ταῦ, as partly appears by what is already spoken of the number 300, and is yet more evident by the testimony of Lucian, who makes mankind complain of the letter Ταῦ, because tyrants in imitation of that first made the cross: Τῷ γὰρ τοῦτον σώματι φασὶ τοὺς τυράν-

νοὺς ἀκολουθήσαντας καὶ μιμησάμενους αὐτοῦ τὸ πλάσμα, ἔπειτα σχήματι τοιοῦτῳ ξύλα τεκτῆραντας, ἀνθρώπους ἀνασκολοπιῆεν ἐπ' αὐτά. *Judicium Vocal.* c. 12. [Tom. I. p. 50.] 'Ipsa est enim litera Græcorum Tau, nostra autem T, species crucis.' *Tertull.* *adv. Marc.* l. iii. c. 22. [p. 497 c.] St Jerome affirms the same of the Samaritan *Tau*: but there is no similitude to be found in that which is now in use, or any other oriental, only in the Coptic alphabet *Salebdi*, that is the cross *Di*. These two parts of the cross are otherwise expressed by the mast and yard of a ship. So Justin Martyr: Θάλασσα μὲν γὰρ οὐ τέμνεται, ἢ μὴ τοῦτο τὸ τρώπαιον, δ καλεῖται ἱστῖον, ἐν τῇ νηὶ σῶον μένῃ. *Apol.* ii. p. 90. [82. 14. Thirlby.] And Tertullian: 'Antenna navis crucis pars est.' *Adv. Marcion.* l. iii. c. 18. [p. 493 A.] And Minucius Felix: 'Signum sane crucis naturaliter visimus in navi, cum velis tumentibus vehitur.' c. 29. And Maximus Taurinensis: 'Cum a nautis scinditur mare, prius ab ipsis arbor erigitur, velum distenditur, ut cruce Domini facta aquarum fluentia rum-pantur.' *De Cruce Dom.* *Homil.* 2. [p. 19 B.] Now because the extremities of the *antenna* are a kind of *κέρατα* (as Virgil, that great master of proprieties, *Æn.* iii. 549,

'Cornua velatarum obvertimus antenarum), therefore in Greek *κεφαλα* is *antenna*: and from thence the Greek fathers applied the words of our Saviour, Matt. v. 18, Ἰῶτα ἐν ἡ μία κεφαλα οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου, ἕως ἂν πάντα γένηται, to the cross of Christ; τοῦ γὰρ σταυροῦ Ἰῶτα ἐστὶ τὸ ὀρθὸν ξύλον, καὶ κεφαλα τὸ πλάγιον. Because Ἰῶτα is like the straight piece or mast of the cross, and *κεφαλα* the yard or transverse part; therefore some of the

204 these two cutting each other transversely at right angles (so that the erected part extended itself above the transverse), there was also another piece of wood infixed into, and standing out from, that which was erected and straight up¹. To

ancients interpreted this place of the cross, says Theophylact on the place. [p. 29 A.] And Gregory Nyssen, l. ii. *de Vita Mosis*, [Tom. I.] p. 217 C. 'Ἀληθῶς γὰρ τοῖς καθορᾶν δυναμένοις ἐν τῷ νόμῳ μάλιστα τὸ κατὰ τὸν σταυρὸν θεωρεῖ μυστήριον. Διὸ φησί που τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον, ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ νόμου τὸ Ἰῶτα καὶ ἡ κεφαλή οὐ παρέχεται σημαῖνον, διὰ τῶν εἰρημένων, τῇ τε ἐκ πλαγίου γραμμῇ, καὶ τὴν κάθετον, δι' ὧν τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ σταυροῦ καταγράφεται. Not that this is the true interpretation of that place (for κεφαλή signifies a part of a letter, as in Apollonius *Syntax*. l. i. c. 7. τοῦ α τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀνήλειψε); but by that they testify their apprehension of the figure of a cross; which is well expressed by Eusebius, describing the form of the cross which appeared to Constantine: 'Τὴν γὰρ δόρυ χρυσοῦ κατημφισσόμενον, κέρας εἶχεν ἐγκάρσιον, σταυροῦ σχήματι πεποιημένον. *De Vita Constant.* l. i. c. 31. [p. 347 O.] And this similitude of the mast and yard leads to the consideration of that part of the erected pale which was eminent above the transverse beam. For as the *καρχήσιον* was above the κεφαλή, so the *stipes* did extend itself above the *patibulum*. And this is evident by those expressions which make the two beams have four sides, and four extremities, as two lines cutting each other at equal angles needs must have. These Theophanes, *Homil.* 4. *init.* and Gregory Nyssen, *In Christi Resur.* Orat. i. [Tom. III. p. 396 D.] call τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ μέσου τέσσaras προβολάς. *Damascen. de Orth. Fid.* l. iv. c. 12. [11. Tom. I. p. 264 B.] τὰ τέσσαρα ἄκρα τοῦ σταυροῦ διὰ τοῦ μέσου κέντρου κρατούμενα καὶ συσφιγγόμενα. Hence Nonnus calls the cross δόρυ τετράπλευρον. *Joh.* xix. 91. And of these four parts the fathers interpret the height, and breadth, and length, and depth, mentioned by St Paul, *Eph.* iii. 18. As Gregory Nys-

sen: 'Ἐφεσίους τὴν τὸ πᾶν διακρατούσαν τε καὶ συνέχουσαν δύναμιν τῷ σχήματι τοῦ σταυροῦ καταγράφει—ὕψος καὶ βάθος καὶ πλάτος καὶ μήκος κατονομάζων, ἐκάστην κεφαλὴν τῶν κατὰ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ σταυροῦ θεωρουμένων, ἰδίοις προσαγορεύων ὀνόμασιν, ὥς, τὸ μὲν ἄνω μέρος ὕψος εἰπεῖν, βάθος δὲ τὸ μετὰ τὴν συμβολὴν ὑποκείμενον, τὴν δὲ ἐγκάρσιον καθ' ἐκάτερον κεφαλὴν τῷ τοῦ μήκους τε καὶ πλάτους ὀνόματι διασημαίνων. *Contra Eunom.* Orat. iv. [Tom. II.] p. 582 D. et *Idem. Catech.* Orat. c. 32. [Tom. III. p. 94 B.] et in *Christi Resur.* Orat. i. [Tom. III.] p. 396-7. And St Augustine makes the same interpretation: 'In hoc mysterio figura crucis ostenditur:' which he thus expresseth: 'Latitudo est in eo ligno quod transversum desuper figitur,—longitudo in eo quod ab ipso ligno usque ad terram conspicuum est;—altitudo est in ea ligni parte, quæ ab illo quod transversum figitur sursum versus relinquitur, hoc est, ad caput crucifixi, &c.' *Epist.* 120. al. 140. c. 26. § 64. [Tom. II. p. 338 O.] et *alibi sæpe*. These four parts are severally expressed by the ancients, and particularly by the figure of a man with his hands stretched forth; which is the most proper similitude, because the cross was first made adapted to that figure. 'Quod caput emicat, quod spina dirigitur, quod humerorum obliquatio cornuat, si statueris hominem manibus expansis, imaginem crucis feceris.' *Tertull. ad Nat.* l. i. c. 12. [p. 58 D.]

¹ Beside the direct and transverse parts of the cross, with their four extremities, which only usually are considered, and represented in the figures, we must find yet another part, and a fifth extremity. Irenæus giving several examples of the number five, delivers it plainly thus, l. ii. c. 42. 'Ipse habitus crucis fines et summitates habet quinque, duos in longitudine, duos in latitudine, et unum in medio, ubi

that erected piece was his body, being lifted up, applied, as Moses' serpent to the pole; and to the transverse beam his hands were nailed: upon the lower part coming out from the erected piece his sacred body rested, and his feet were trans-fixed and fastened with nails: his head, being pressed with a crown of thorns, was applied to that part of the erect which stood above the transverse beam; and above his head to that was fastened the table¹, on which was written in Hebrew,

requiescit qui clavis affigitur.' Beside therefore the four extremities of the direct and transverse beams, there was a fifth *ἄκρον* in medio, (viz. of the erected *palus*), on which the crucified body rested. This fifth part of the cross fastened to the *arrectarius stipes* was, before Irenæus, acknowledged and described by Justin Martyr under the notion of the horn of the rhinoceros, taken to be a figure or type of the cross: *Μονοκέρωτος γὰρ κέρατα οὐδενὸς ἄλλου πρᾶγματος ἢ σχήματος ἔχει ἂν τις εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀποδείξαι, εἰ μὴ τοῦ τύπου δὲ τῶν σταυρῶν δεικνύσιν.* ὁρθὸν γὰρ τὸ ἐν ἐστὶ ξύλον, ἀφ' οὗ ἐστὶ τὸ ἀνώτατον μέρος εἰς κέρας ὑπερρημένον, ὅταν τὸ ἄλλο ξύλον προσαρμωσθῇ, καὶ ἐκατέρωθεν ὡς κέρατα τῷ ἐνὶ κέρατι παρεστειγμένα τὰ ἄκρα φαίνηται· καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ πηγνύμενον ὡς κέρας καὶ αὐτὸ ἐξέχον ἐστίν, ἐφ' ᾧ ἐποχοῦνται οἱ σταυρούμενοι· καὶ βλέπεται ὡς κέρας καὶ αὐτὸ σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις κέρασιν συνεχημισμένον καὶ πεπηγμένον. *Dial. cum Tryphone*, p. 318. [337. 11. Thirlby.] Where beside the ὁρθὸν ξύλον, or *arrectarius stipes*, and the ἄλλο ξύλον, or *transversarium lignum*, there is a third, τὸ ἐν μέσῳ πηγνύμενον fastened in the middle; ἐφ' ᾧ ἐποχοῦνται οἱ σταυρούμενοι, says he: 'ubi requiescit qui clavis affigitur,' says Irenæus. So Tertullian, l. i. *ad Nationes*, c. 12. [p. 38 c.] 'Pars crucis, et quidem majus, est omne robur quod de recta statione defigitur. Sed nobis tota crux imputatur, cum antenna scilicet sua, et cum illo sedilis excessu.' Where the excessus is the τὸ ἐξέχον, signifying the nature, as the *sedile* signifieth the use of the part. Which in another place, in imitation of Justin, he refers unto

the typical unicorn: 'Nam et in antenna navis, quæ crucis pars est, extremitates cornua vocantur: Unicornis autem media stipitis palus.' *Adv. Marcion.* [p. 493 A.] l. iii. c. 18. et *adv. Jud.* [p. 221 A.] c. 11. To this *sedile* in the cross, Mæcenas seemeth to allude in those words in Seneca:

Hanc mihi, vel acuta
Sed sedeam cruce, sustine.

And Seneca himself does expound him: 'Suffigas licet, et acutam sessuro crucem subdas, est tanti vulnus suum premere, et patibulo pendere districtum.' *Epist.* 101. [p. 380.] Of this Innocentius the Third also speaks, *Serm.* 1. *de uno Mart.* [Tom. I. p. 171.] 'Fuerunt in cruce Dominica ligna quatuor; stipes erectus, et lignum transversum, truncus suppositus, et titulus superpositus.' This Gregorius Turonensis, after the use of the cross was long omitted, interpreted of *suppedaneum*, a piece of wood fastened under the feet of him that suffered, *De Glor. Martyr.* c. vi. [p. 531 B.] 'Clavorum ergo Dominicorum gratia, quod quatuor fuerint, hæc est ratio. Duo sunt affixi in palmis, et duo in plantis: et queritur cur plantæ affixæ sint quæ in cruce sancta dependere visæ sunt potius quam stare. Sed in stipite erecto foramen factum manifestum est. Pes quoque parvullæ tabellæ in hoc foramen insertus est. Super hanc vero tabulam tanquam stantis hominis sacræ affixæ sunt plantæ.'

¹ That which was written over the head of our Saviour is called simply by St Luke *ἐπιγραφή*, by St Matthew, *αἱ γρά*, by St Mark, *ἡ ἐπιγραφή τῆς αἱ γρά*, and by St John, *τίτλος*, making

Greek, and Latin characters, the accusation, according to the Roman custom; and the writing was JESUS OF NAZARETH, John xix. 19 THE KING OF THE JEWS.

205 Thus by the propriety of the punishment, and the titular inscription, we know what crime was then objected to the immaculate Lamb, and upon what accusation Pilate did at last proceed to pass the sentence of death upon him. It was not any opposition to the law of Moses, not any danger threatened to the temple, but pretended sedition and affectation of

use of a Latin word, as is observed by Nonnus :

Καὶ Πιλάτος θητὸν ἐπέγραψε μάρτυρι γόμφῳ
Γράμμα, τό περ καλέουσι Λατινίδι τίτλον ἰωή.
Joh. xix. 100.

From all which we may collect, that there was an inscription written over the head of our Saviour, signifying the accusation and pretended crime for which he was condemned to that death, *Glos. Vet. Alria, causa, materia, titulus*. As Ovid. *Trist.* 3. *Eleg.* 1. 47.

‘Causa superposita scripto testata coronæ,
Servatus cives indicat hujus ope.’

that is, OB CIVES SERVATUS was ἡ ἐπιγραφὴ τῆς αἰτίας, ‘causa scripto testata.’ In the language of Suetonius, *Calig.* c. 32. [5. Tom. 1. p. 854. Ed. Pitisci.] ‘Præcedente titulo, qui causam pensæ indicaret.’ As Ovid. *Fast.* vi. 190.

‘Vixit ut occideret damnatus crimine regni,
Hunc illi titulum longa senecta dabat.’

This was done according to the Roman custom; as we read in Dio, l. liv. c. 3. [p. 523 A.] of the son of Cæpio: τὸν δοῦλον—τὸν προδόντα αὐτὸν διὰ τε τῆς ἀγορᾶς μέσης μετὰ γραμμάτων, τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς θανατώσεως αὐτοῦ δηλοῦντων, διαγαγόντος, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνασταυρώσαντος. This title was written upon a table, and that table fastened to the upper part of the cross. The Syriac, Arabic, and Persian translations render τίτλον expressly a table. And Hesychius, τίτλος, πτυχίον ἐπιγράμμα ἔχων (not ἔχων, as it is printed), not the inscription itself, but that upon which the inscription was written. Thus the epistle of the French unto the Christians in Asia, represents the inscription of the Martyr Attalus in

a table: Περιαχθεὶς κύκλῳ τοῦ ἀμφιδέσ-
τρου, πίνακος αὐτὸν προάγοντος, ἐν ᾧ
ἐπεγέγραπτο ‘Ῥωμαῖστί, Οὗτός ἐστιν
Ἄτταλος ὁ Χριστιανός. *Euseb.* l. v. c.
1. [p. 131 D.] And Sozomen, describing
the invention of the cross by Helena, says
there were several crosses in the same place:
Καὶ χωρὶς ἄλλο ξύλον ἐν
τάξει λευκώματος, ῥήμασι καὶ γράμμα-
σι ‘Εβραϊκοῖς, Ἑλληνικοῖς τε καὶ Ῥω-
μαϊκοῖς. *Hist. Eccl.* l. ii. c. 1. [p. 360
A.] This Nicephorus calls λευκὴν σα-
νίδα, which is the proper interpretation of
λευκώμα. Suidas, Λεύκωμα, τοῖχος
(*Etymol.* πίναξ) γύψῳ ἀλημιμένος
πρὸς γραφὴν πολιτικῶν πραγμάτων
ἐπιτιθέειος. Hesych. Σανίς, θύρα, λεύ-
κωμα, (as Julius Pollux joins σάνις
and λεύκωμα together) ἐν ᾧ αἱ γραφαὶ
Ἀθήνησιν ἐγράφοντο πρὸς τοὺς κακούρ-
γους: τίθεται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ταύρου, leg.
σταυροῦ. His meaning is, that such a
λευκώμα as contained the accusation
or crime of malefactors was placed
upon the cross on which they suffered;
and without question he spake this in
reference to our Saviour’s cross, be-
cause he used in a manner the same
words with St John: τίθεται ἐπὶ τοῦ
σταυροῦ, says Hesychius, ἐθηκεν ἐπὶ
τοῦ σταυροῦ, saith St John. It was
therefore a table of wood whited and
fastened to the top of the cross, on
which the accusation or crime was
written, as it is expressed by Nice-
phorus: Σανίς ἐτέρα λευκή, ἣ βασιλεί-
ων Ἰουδαίων γράφων—ὁ Πιλάτος ὑπὲρ
κεφαλῆς ἐτίθει, ἐν εἰσὶ στήλης βασιλεί-
ων Ἰουδαίων τὸν σταυρωθέντα κηρύτ-
των. *Hist. Eccl.* l. viii. c. 29. And thus
there were, as Xanthopoulos observes:
Ὁ σταυρός, ἦλοι, καὶ γραφῆς τίτλος ἓν.

the crown objected, which moved Pilate to condemn him.

Luke xxlii. 2. The Jews did thus accuse him: *We found this fellow perverting the nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar, saying that he himself is Christ a king;* and when Pilate sought to release **John xli. 12.** him, they cried out, saying, *If thou let this man go, thou art not Cæsar's friend: whosoever maketh himself a king, speaketh against Cæsar.* This moved Pilate to pass sentence upon him, and because that punishment of the cross was by the Roman custom used for that crime, to crucify him¹.

Two things are most observable in this cross; the acerbity and the ignominy of the punishment: for of all the Roman ways of execution, it was most painful, and most shameful². First, the exquisite pains and torments in that death are manifest, in that the hands and feet, which of all the parts of the body are most nervous, and consequently most sensible, were pierced through with nails; which caused, not a sudden dispatch, but a lingering and tormenting death: inasmuch that the Romans, who most used this punishment, did in their language deduce their expressions of pains and cruciation from the cross³. And the acerbity of this punishment appears in that those who were of any merciful disposition would first cause such as were adjudged to the cross, to be slain, and then to be crucified⁴.

As this death was most dolorous and full of acerbity, so it was also most infamous and full of ignominy. The Romans themselves accounted it a servile punishment, and inflicted it 206

¹ 'Auctores seditionis et tumultus, vel concitatores populi, pro qualitatis dignitate, aut in crucem tolluntur, aut bestiis obijciuntur.' *Jul. Paulus*. l. v. tit. 22.

² 'Illa morte pejus nihil fuit inter omnia genera mortium.' *S. August. in Ioan. Tract.* 36. § 4. [Tom. III. par. 2. p. 396 B.] (p. 545.) Tully calls it 'crudelissimum teterrimumque supplicium,' *V. in Verr.* c. 66. and Apuleius, 'poena extrema.' *De Aureo Asino*. Lib. x. [p. 227.]

³ 'Ubi dolores acerrimi exagitant, cruciatus vocatur, a cruce nominatus: pendentes enim in ligno crucifixi, clavis ad lignum pedibus manibusque confixi, producta morte necabantur.

Non enim crucifigi hoc erat occidi; sed diu vivebatur in cruce: non quia longior vita eligebatur, sed quia mors ipsa protendebatur, ne dolor citius finiretur.' *S. August. Tract. in Ioan.* 36. § 4. [Tom. III. par. 2. p. 396 B.] To this etymology did Terence allude in those words,

'Et illa crucibus, quæ nos nostramque adolescentiam
Hæbent despiciat, et quæ nos semper omni-
bus cruciant modis.'

Æm. Act. II. sc. III. 91.

⁴ As it was observed of Julius Cæsar: 'Piratas, a quibus captus est, cum in deditionem redegisset, quoniam suffixurum se cruci ante juraverat, jugulari prius jussit, deinde suffigi.' *Suet.* l. i. c. 74. [Tom. I. p. 179. Edit. Pitisci.]

upon their slaves and fugitives¹. It was a high crime to put that dishonour upon any freeman; and the greatest indignity which the most undeserving Roman could possibly suffer in himself², or could be contrived to shew their detestation to such

¹ Vulcatius Gallicanus relateth of Avidius Cassius, in the case of some centurions which had been prosperous, in fighting without orders given: 'Rapi eos jussit, et in crucem tolli, servilique supplicio affici: quod exemplum non exstabat.' c. 4. And Juvenal speaks with relation to this custom, *Sat.* vi. 218.

'Pone crucem servo.'

So Palæstrio in Plautus, *Mil. Glor.* Act. ii. sc. ii. 27.

'Nisi quidem illa nos volt, qui servi sumus, Propter amorem suum omnes crucibus contubernales dari.'

And again, *Ibid.* Act. ii. sc. iv. 19.

'Noli militari; scio crucem futuram mihi sepulcrum.

Ibi mei majores sunt aiti, pater, avus, proavus, abavus.'

So in Terence, *Andr.* Act. iii. sc. v. 15.

Pam. 'Quid meritis?'

Dav. 'Crucem.'

And Horace, *Lib. I. Sat.* III. 80.

'Si quis eum servum, patinam qui tollere jussus, Semeos places, tepidumque ligurierit jus, In cruce suffigat.'

So Capitolinus of Pertinax, c. 9. 'In crucem sublati talibus servis:' and Herodian of Macrinus: *Δούλοι δοιο δεσπότας κατήγγελλον ἀνεσκολοπισθήσαν*, l. v. c. 2. This punishment of the cross did so properly belong to slaves, that when servants and freemen were involved alike in the same crime, they were very careful to make a distinction in their death, according to their condition: 'Ut quisque liber aut servus esset, suæ fortunæ a quoque sumptum supplicium est.' *Liv.* l. iii. c. 18. And then the servants were always crucified. As Servius observes among the Lacedæmonians: 'Servos patibulis suffixerunt, filios strangulaverunt, nepotes fugaverunt.' *Ad Æneid.* iii. v. 551. 'Novercæ quidem perpetuum indicitur exsilium: servus vero patibulo suffigitur.' *Apul. Metam.* l. x. p. 244. [p. 228. Amstel. 1628.] Thus in the com-

bustion at Rome, upon the death of Julius Cæsar: 'Ἀμυνόμενοι ἀνθρώπων ἐνιοι, καὶ συλληφθέντες ἑτέροι ἐκρεμάθησαν δοιο θεράποντες ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ ἐλευθεροὶ κατὰ τοῦ κρημοῦ κατεβρίβησαν.' *Appian. de Bell. Civil.* l. iii. [c. 3. p. 528.] 'Ea nocte speculatores prehensi servi tres, et unus ex legione vernacula; servi sunt in crucem sublati, militi cervices abscissæ.' *Hirtius lib. de Bell. Hispan.* c. 20. So Africanus: 'Gravius in Romanos quam in Latinos transfugas animadvertit: illos enim, tanquam patriæ fugitivos, crucibus affixit; hos, tanquam perfidos socios, securi percussit.' *Valer. Max.* l. ii. c. 7. [§ 12.] This punishment of the cross was so proper unto servants, that *servile supplicium* in the language of the Romans signifies the same: and though in the words of Vulcatius before cited, they go both together, as also in Capitolinus, *Macrin.* c. 12. 'Nam et in crucem milites tulit, et servilibus suppliciis semper affecit:' yet either is sufficient to express crucifixion: as in Tacitus: 'Malam potentiam servili supplicio expiavit.' *Hist.* l. iv. c. 11. and again: 'Sumptum de eo supplicium servilem in modum.' *Hist.* l. ii. c. 72. And therefore when any servants were made free, they were put out of fear of ever suffering this punishment. 'An vero servos nostros horum suppliciorum omnium metu dominorum benignitas una vindicta liberabit? nos a verberibus, ab unco, a crucis denique terrore, neque res gestæ, neque acta ætas, neque nostri honores vindicabunt?' *Cic. Orat. pro Rabir.* c. 5.

² 'Carnifex,—et obductio capitis, et nomen ipsum *crucis* abest, non modo a corpore civium Romanorum, sed etiam a cogitatione, oculis, auribus. Harum enim omnium rerum non solum eventus atque perperessio, sed etiam conditio, expectatio, mentio ipsa denique,

creatures as were below human nature¹. And because, when a man is beyond possibility of suffering pain, he may still be subject to ignominy in his fame; when by other exquisite torments some men have tasted the bitterness of death, after that, they have in their breathless corps, by virtue of this punishment, suffered a kind of surviving shame². And the exposing the bodies of the dead to the view of the people on the cross, hath been thought a sufficient ignominy to those which died, and terror to those which lived to see it³. Yea, where the bodies of the dead have been out of the reach of their surviving enemies, they have thought it highly opprobrious to their ghosts, to take their representations preserved in their pictures, and affix them to the cross⁴. Thus may we be made sensible of the two grand aggravations of our Saviour's sufferings, the bitterness of pain in the torments of his body, and the indignity of shame in the interpretation of his enemies.

indigna cive Romano atque homine libero est.' *Cic. Orat. pro Rabir.* c. 5. 'Facinus est vinciri civem Romanum, scelus verberari, prope parricidium necari: quid dicam in crucem tollere, (crudelissimum teterrimumque supplicium!*) verbo satis digno tam nefaria res appellari nullo modo potest.' *Idem*, 5, in *Verrem*, c. 66.

¹ As when the Capitol was betrayed by the silence of dogs, but preserved by the noise of geese, they preserved the memory by a solemn honouring of one yearly, and dishonouring the other. 'Eadem de causa supplicia annua canes pendunt, inter sedem Juventutis et Summani, vivi in furca sambucea arbore fixi.' *Plin.* l. xxix. c. 4. [*Tom.* III. p. 200.] Πομπείη μέχρη νῦν ἐπὶ μνήμῃ τῶν τότε συμπτωμάτων ἡ τύχη, κύων μὲν ἀνεσταυρωμένος, χῆν δὲ μύλα σεμνῶς ἐπὶ στρωμνῇ πολυτελοῦς καὶ φορέλου καθήμενος. *Plutarch, de Fort. Rom.* c. 12. fin. [*Tom.* II. p. 325 D.]

² As Orotes the Persian, when he had treacherously and cruelly murdered Polycrates the tyrant of Samos: ἀποκτείνας δὲ μὴ οὐκ ἀξίως ἀπηγγέστος ἀνεσταύρωσε. *Herod.* l. iii. c. 125. So Antiochus first cut off the head of Aëtheus, and then fastened his body

to a cross: Ἐδοξε πρῶτον μὲν ἀκρωτηρίσαι τὸν ταλαίπωρον, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμύοντας αὐτοῦ, καὶ καταβρίψοντας ἐς θρεῖον ἄσκον, ἀνασταυρώσαι τὸ σῶμα. *Polyb.* l. viii. c. 18. [*Tom.* I. 735.]

³ This was the design of Tarquinius Priscus, when the extremity of labour which he laid upon his subjects made many lay violent hands upon themselves: 'Passim conscita nece Quiritibus tædium fugientibus, novum et inexcogitatum antea posteaquereмедium invenit ille rex, ut omnium illi defunctorum figeret crucibus corpora, spectanda civibus simul, et feris volucribusque laceranda.' *Plin.* l. xxxvi. c. 15. [*Tom.* III. p. 491.] who makes this handsome observation of it: 'Quamobrem pudor Romani nominis proprius, qui sæpe res perditas servavit in præliis, tunc quoque subvenit: sed illo tempore imposuit, tum erubescens cum puderet vivos, tanquam puditura esset extinctos.'

⁴ Thus they used Celsus, one of the thirty tyrants of Rome, as Trebellius Pollio testifieth: 'Novo injuriæ genere imago in crucem sublata, persultante vulgo, quasi patibulo ipse Celsus videretur affixus.' [a. 27. p. 381.]

[* The words here quoted are not found in Ernesti's edition, nor in the text of Gronovius.]

It is necessary we should thus profess faith in *Christ crucified*, as that punishment which he chose to undergo, as that way which he was pleased to die.

First, because by this kind of death we may be assured that he hath taken upon himself, and consequently from us, the malediction of the Law. For we were all under the curse, because it is expressly written, *Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things which are written in the book of the law to do them*: and it is certain none of us hath so continued; for the *Scripture hath concluded all under sin*, which is nothing else but a breach of the Law; therefore the curse must be acknowledged to remain upon all. But now *Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us*; that is, he hath redeemed us from that general curse, which lay upon all men for the breach of any part of the Law, by taking upon him that particular curse, laid only upon them which underwent a certain punishment of the Law; for it was written, *Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree*. Not that suspension was any of the capital punishments prescribed by the Law of Moses; not that by any tradition or custom of the Jews they were wont to punish malefactors with that death: but such as were punished with death according to the law or custom of the Jews, were for the enormity of their fact oftentimes after death exposed to the ignominy of a gibbet; and those who being dead were so hanged upon a tree, were accursed by the Law¹. Now though *Christ* was not to die by the sentence of the Jews, who had lost the supreme power in causes capital, and so not to be condemned to any death according to the Law of Moses; yet the providence of God did so dispose it, that he might suffer that death which did contain in it that ignominious par-

¹ Deut. xxi. 22. *If a man have committed a sin worthy of death, and he be to be put to death, and thou hang him on a tree. In which words being put to death, precedeth being hanged*: but, I confess, in our English translation, it hath another sense, and he be put to death, as if he were to die by hanging. And so the Vulgar Latin, *Et adjudicatus morti appensus fuerit patibulo*, as if he were adjudged to be hanged, and so his sentence were sus-

pension. And the Syriac yet more expressly, *et appendatur ligno atque interficiatur*. But there is no such sentence contained in the original as the Vulgar, nor futurity of death, as our English translation mentioneth. The Hebrew is *מֵתָּ בְּחֹפֶל* in Hophal, that is, *interfectus, occisus, mori factus fuerit*; or, as the LXX. clearly translate it, *καὶ ἀποθνήσκει*, and the Chaldee *מֵתָּ בְּחֹפֶל* et occisus fuerit.

ticularity to which the legal curse belonged, which is, *the hanging on a tree*. For he which is crucified, as he is affixed to, so he hangeth on, the cross: and therefore true and formal crucifixion is often named by the general word *suspension*¹; and the Jews themselves do commonly call our blessed Saviour by that very name to which the curse is affixed by Moses²; and generally have objected that he died a cursed death³.

Secondly, It was necessary to express our faith in *Christ crucified*, that we might be assured that he hath *abolished in his flesh the enmity, even the law of commandments*; which if he had not done, the strength and power of the whole Law had still remained: for all the people had said *Amen* to the curse upon every one that kept not the whole Law; and entered into a curse and into an oath, to walk in God's law, which was given by Moses the servant of God, and to observe and do all the commandments of the Lord their God, and his judgments and his statutes. Which was in the nature of a bill, bond, or obligation, perpetually standing in force against them, ready to bring a forfeiture or penalty upon them, in case of non-performance of the condition. But the strongest obligations may be cancelled; and one ancient

Ephes. ii. 15.
Deut. xxvii.
26.
Nehem. x. 29.

¹ As we before noted on the words of Seneca: thus the Greeks do often use *κρεμῆν*, for *crucifigere*. For Curtius, speaking of the taking of Tyre by Alexander, says: 'Duo millia crucibus affixi per ingens litoris spatium penderunt.' l. iv. c. 4. And Diodorus Siculus relating the same: Τοῦ δὲ νέου πάντας ὄντας οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν διαχρίλων ἐκρέμασεν. l. xvii. c. 46. So the same Curtius testifies that Musicanus was 'in crucem sublatu': l. ix. c. 8. [p. 295.] of whom Arrianus speaks thus: τοῦτον κρεμάσαι Ἀλέξανδρος κελεύει ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ γῇ. *Exp. Alex.* l. vi. c. 17. [Tom. i. p. 410.] Thus in the language of the Scriptures, εἰς τῶν κρεμασθέντων κακοῦργων is one of the crucified thieves, Luke xxiii. 39. and the Jews are said to have slain our Saviour, *κρεμάσαντες ἐπὶ ξύλου*, Acts v. 30. and x. 39. The Latins likewise often use the word *suspendere* for *crucifigere*. As Ausonius, in the Idyllium, whose title is *Cupido cruci affixus*, describes him thus, ver. 59.

'Hujus in excelsis suspensum stipite Amorem.'

And when we read in Polybius, l. viii. c. 18. [Tom. i. p. 735.] that they did *ἀνασταυρῶσαι τὸ σῶμα* of Achæus; Ovid describes his punishment thus, *Ibis*. 299.

'More vel interea capti suspensus Achæi,
Qui miser aurifera teste pendit aqua.'

² The words of Moses are, Deut. xxi. 23. חָלִי אֵלֶּיָם חֲלִי, *maledictio Dei suspensus*: and this word חָלִי, which is of itself simply *suspensus* (as 2 Sam. xviii. 10. I saw Absalom בָּאֵלָה חָלִי *hanged on an oak*), is ordinarily attributed by the Jews to our Saviour, to signify that he was crucified. Hence they term Christians חָלִי וְחָלִי *cultores suspensi*; and they call the crucifix חָלִי חָלִי *figuram suspensi*.

³ So Trypho the Jew objected to Justin Martyr: Οὗτος δὲ ὁ ὑμέτερος λεγόμενος Χριστὸς ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἄδοξος γέγονεν, ὡς καὶ τῇ ἐσχάτῃ κατὰ τὴν τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ περὶ τῶν ἐσταυρωθῆν γάρ. *Dial. cum Tryph.* § 32. p. 249. [100. 11. Thirlby.]

custom of cancelling bonds was, by striking a nail through
 208 the writing: and thus God, by our crucified Saviour, *blotted out the handwriting of ordinances that was against us, which was contrary to us, and took it out of the way, nailing it to his cross.* Col. ii. 14.

Thirdly, Hereby we are to testify the power of the death of Christ working in us after the manner of crucifixion¹. For we are to be *planted in the likeness of his death*; and that *Rom. vi. 5.* we may be so, we must acknowledge, and cause it to appear, that *our old man was crucified with him, that the body of sin might be destroyed*; we must confess, that *they that are Christ's have crucified the flesh, with the affections and lusts*; and they which have not, are not his. We must not *glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ*: nor can we properly glory in that, except by it *the world be crucified unto us, and we unto the world.* *Rom. vi. 6.* *Gal. v. 24.* *Gal. vi. 14.*

Fourthly, By the acerbity of this passion we are taught to meditate on that bitter cup which our Saviour drank: and while we think on those nails which pierced his hands and feet, and never left that torturing activity till by their dolorous impressions they forced a most painful death, to acknowledge the bitterness of his sufferings for us, and to assure ourselves that by the worst of deaths he hath overcome all kinds of death²; and with patience and cheerfulness to endure whatsoever he shall think fit to lay upon us, who with all readiness and desire suffered far more for us.

Fifthly, By the ignominy of this punishment, and universal infamy of that death, we are taught how far our Saviour descended for us, that while we were slaves and in bondage unto sin, he might redeem us by a servile death: for he

¹ Ἐνόησα γὰρ ὑμᾶς κατηρτισμένους ἐν ἀκνήτῃ πίστει, ὥσπερ καθηλωμένους ἐν τῇ σταυρῷ τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ σαρκί τε καὶ πνεύματι. *S. Ign. Epist. ad Smyr.* § 1. St Augustin speaking of the church: 'Mundatur, ut non habeat maculam; extenditur, ut non habeat rugam. Ubi eam extendit fullo, nisi in ligno? Videmus quotidie a fullonibus tunicas quodammodo crucifigi. Crucifiguntur ut rugam non habeant.' *Enarr. in Psal. cxxxii.* § 9. [Tom. iv. p. 1113 B.]

² Ἀναφερόμενοι εἰς τὰ ὕψη διὰ τῆς μηχανῆς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὃ ἐστὶ σταυρός, σχοινίῳ χρώμενοι τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ. *S. Ign. Epist. ad Eph.* § 9.

³ 'Mori voluit pro nobis: parum dicimus; crucifigi dignatus est, usque ad mortem crucis obediens factus. Elegit extremum et pessimum genus mortis, qui omnem fuerat ablaturus mortem; de morte pessima occidit omnem mortem.' *S. August. Tract. 36. in Ioan.* § 4. [Tom. iii. par. 2. p. 396 B.] (p. 545.)

Phil. ii. 7, 8. *made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant; and so he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross; teaching us the glorious doctrine of humility¹ and patience in the most vile and abject condition which can befall us in this world, and encouraging*

Heb. xii. 2. *us to imitate him, who for the joy that was set before him, endured the cross, despising the shame; and withal deterring us*

Heb. vi. 6. *from that fearful sin of falling from him, lest we should crucify unto ourselves the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame, and so become worse than the Jews themselves, who crucified the Lord of life without the walls of Jerusalem, and for that unparalleled sin were delivered into the hands of the Romans, into whose hands they delivered him, and at the same walls in such multitudes were crucified, till there wanted room for crosses, and crosses for their bodies².*

Lastly, By the public visibility of this death, we are assured that our Saviour was truly dead, and that all his enemies were fully satisfied. He was crucified in the sight of all the Jews, who were made public witnesses that he gave up the ghost. There were many traditions among the heathen, of persons supposed for some time to be dead, to descend into hell, and afterwards to live again; but the death of those persons was never publicly seen or certainly known. It is easy for a man that liveth, to say that he hath been dead; and if he be of great authority, it is not difficult to persuade some credulous persons to believe it. But that 209 which would make his present life truly miraculous, must be the reality and certainty of his former death. The feigned histories of Pythagoras and Zamolxis, of Theseus and Hercules, of Orpheus and Protesilaus, made no certain mention of their deaths, and therefore were ridiculous in the assertion of their resurrection from death³. *Christ*, as he appeared to

¹ 'Humilitatis enim magister est Christus, qui humiliavit semetipsum, factus obediens usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis.' *S. August. in Ioan. Tract. 51. § 3.* [Tom. iii. par. 2. p. 461 D.] (p. 635.)

² Προσῆλθον δ' οἱ στρατιῶται δι' ὀργὴν καὶ μῆσος τοὺς ἀλόντας, ἄλλων ἄλλῃ σχήματι πρὸς χλεύην, καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος χώρα τε ἐνελείπετο τοῖς σταυροῖς, καὶ σταυροὶ τοῖς σώμασι. *Ioseph.*

de Bell. Jud. l. vi. c. 28.

³ This is excellently observed and expressed by Origen, who returneth this answer to the objection made by the Jews in Celsus, of those fabulous returns from the dead: *Φέρε παραστήσωμεν, ὅτι οὐ δύναται τὸ κατὰ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἱστοροῦμενον, ἐκ νεκρῶν ἐγέρθαι, τούτοις παραβάλλεσθαι. Ἐκαστὸς μὲν γὰρ τῶν λεγομένων κατὰ τοὺς τόπους ἡρώων βουληθείς ἂν ἐκινήσῃ*

certain witnesses after his resurrection, so he died before his enemies visibly on the cross, and gave up the ghost conspicuously in the sight of the world.

And now we have made this discovery of the true manner and nature of the cross on which our Saviour suffered, every one may understand what it is he profeseth when he declareth his faith, and saith, I believe in *Christ crucified*. For thereby he is understood and obliged to speak thus much: I am really persuaded, and fully satisfied, that the only-begotten and eternal Son of God, *Christ Jesus*, that he might cancel the handwriting which was against us, and take off the curse which was due unto us, did take upon him the form of a servant, and in that form did willingly and cheerfully submit himself unto the false accusation of the Jews, and unjust sentence of Pilate, by which he was condemned, according to the Roman custom, to the *cross*; and upon that did suffer servile punishment of the greatest acerbity, enduring the pain; and of the greatest ignominy, despising the shame. And thus I believe in *Christ CRUCIFIED*.

DEAD.

THOUGH crucifixion of itself involveth not in it certain death, and he which is fastened to a cross is so leisurely to die, as that he being taken from the same may live; though when the insulting Jews in a malicious derision called to our Saviour to *save himself, and come down from the cross*; he might have come down from thence, and in saving himself

Mark xv. 30.

ἐαυτὸν ὑπεκκλέψαι τῆς θύσεως τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ πάλιν κρίνας ἐπανελθεῖν πρὸς οὓς καταλείπειν· Ἰησοῦ δὲ σταυρωθέντος ἐπὶ πάντων Ἰουδαίων, καὶ καταιρεθέντος αὐτοῦ τοῦ σώματος ἐν θύει τοῦ δήμου αὐτῶν, πῶς οἰοῦνται τὸ παρατήσιν πλάσασθαι λέγειν αὐτὸν τοῖς λοτορουμένοις ἡρώων εἰς ἔδου καταβεβηκέναι, κἀκεῖθεν ἀνελθῆναι; φάμεν δ' ὅτι μήποτε πρὸς ἀπολογίαν, τοῦ ἐσταυρῶσθαι τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ τοιοῦτο λέγουσι· ἂν, μάλιστα διὰ τὰ περὶ τῶν ἡρώων λοτορηθέντα τῶν εἰς ἔδου καταβεβηκέναι βίᾳ νομιζόμενων· ὅτι εἰ καθ' ὑπόθεσιν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐτεθῆκε ἀσήμε

θανάτῳ, οὐχ ὥστε δηλὸς εἶναι ἀποθανῶν δὴ τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, εἴτα μετὰ τοῦτ' ἀληθῶς ἦν ἀναστὰς ἐκ νεκρῶν, χώρην εἶχεν ἂν τὸ ὑπονοηθῆν περὶ τῶν ἡρώων καὶ περὶ τούτου λεχθῆναι· μή ποτ' οὖν πρὸς ἄλλοις αἰτίαις τοῦ σταυρωθῆναι τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ τοῦτο δύναται συμβάλλεσθαι τῷ αὐτὸν ἐπιστήμῳ ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ ἀποτεθῆναι, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἐχῇ λέγειν, ὅτι ἐκὼν ὑπεξέστη τῆς θύσεως τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἔθοξεν ἀποτεθῆναι, οὐκ ἀποτέθνηκε δέ· ὅτ' ἐβουλήθη πάλιν* ἐπιφανεῖς ἐτεραπεύσασθαι τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν. Ἀδν. *Celsus*. l. ii. § 56. [Tom. i. p. 430 D.]

[* For ὅτ' ἐβουλήθη πάλιν the Benedictine edition has ἀλλ'.]

have never saved us; yet it is certain that he felt the extremity of that punishment, and fulfilled the utmost intention of crucifixion: so that, as we acknowledge him *crucified*, we believe him *dead*.

For the illustration of which part of the Article, it will be necessary, first, To shew that the *Messias* was to die; that no sufferings, howsoever shameful and painful, were sufficiently satisfactory to the determination and predictions divine, without a full dissolution and proper death: secondly, To prove that our *Jesus*, whom we believe to be the true *Messias*, did not only suffer torments intolerable and inexpressible in this life, but upon and by the same did finish this life by a true and proper death: thirdly, To declare in what the nature and condition of the death of a person so totally singular did properly and peculiarly consist. And more than this cannot be necessary to shew we believe that *Christ was dead*.

First, then, we must consider what St Paul *delivered* to the Corinthians, *first of all*, and what *also he received*, how 210
 1 Cor. xv. 3. *that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures;*
 Rev. xiii. 8. *that the Messias was the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world*, and that his death was severally represented and foretold. For though the sacrificing Isaac hath been acknowledged an express and lively type of the promised *Messias*; though, after he was bound and laid upon the wood, he was preserved from the fire, and rescued from the religious cruelty of his father's knife; though Abraham be said to have *offered up his only-begotten son*, when Isaac died not; though by all this it might seem foretold that the true and great promised Seed, the *Christ*, should be made a sacrifice for sin, should be fastened to the cross, and offered up to the Father, but not suffer death: yet being *without effusion of blood is no remission*, without death no sacrifice for sin; being the saving of Isaac alive doth not deny the death of the Antitype, but rather suppose and assert it as presignifying his resurrection from the dead, *from whence Abraham received him in a figure*: we may safely affirm the ancient and legal types did represent a *Christ* which was to die. It was an essential part of the paschal law, that the lamb should be slain: and in the sacrifices for sin, which presignified a Saviour, to *sanctify the people with his own blood, the bodies of the beasts were burnt without the camp, and their blood brought into the sanctuary*.
 Heb. ix. 22.
 Heb. xi. 19.
 Heb. xiii. 11, 12.

Nor did the types only require, but the prophecies also foretell, his death. For *he was brought* (saith Isaiah) *as a lamb to the slaughter: he was cut off out of the land of the living* (saith the same prophet); and *made his soul an offering for sin*. Which are so plain and evident predictions, that the Jews shew not the least appearance of probability in their evasions¹.

Being then the obstinate Jews themselves acknowledge one *Messias* was to die, and that a violent death; being we have already proved there is but one *Messias* foretold by the prophets, and shewed by those places, which they will not acknowledge, that he was to be slain; it followeth by their unwilling confessions and our plain probations, that the promised *Messias* was ordained to die; which is our first assertion.

Secondly, We affirm, correspondently to these types and prophecies, that *Christ our passover is slain*: that he whom we believe to be the true and only *Messias* did really and truly die. Which affirmation we may with confidence maintain, as being secure of any even the least denial. *Jesus of Nazareth* upon his crucifixion was so surely, so certainly dead, that they which wished, they which thirsted for his blood, they which obtained, which effected, which extorted his death, even they believed it, even they were satisfied with it: the chief priests, the Scribes and the Pharisees, the publicans and sinners, all were satisfied: the Sadducees most of all, who hugged their old opinion, and loved their error the better, because they thought him sure for ever rising up. But if they

¹ That this place of Isaiah must be understood of the *Messias*, I have already proved against the Jews out of the text, and their own traditions. Their objection particularly to these words is, that the *land of the living* is the land of Canaan. So Solomon Jarchi, מארץ חיים הוא ארץ ישראל *From the land of the living, that is, the land of Israel*. And D. Kimchi endeavours to prove that exposition out of David, כי מור מארץ חיים כאשר ניה מארץ שנקראת ארץ חיים כמו אתמולך לפני "בארצות החיים" as if the land of the living must be the land of Canaan, because David professeth he will walk before the Lord in the *land of the living*: whereas there is no more in that phrase than that he

will serve God while he liveth. As Psal. xxvii. 13. *I had fainted unless I had believed to see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living*; and Isa. xxxviii. 11. *I said, I shall not see the Lord, even the Lord in the land of the living*; which is sufficiently interpreted by the words which follow: *I shall behold man no more with the inhabitants of the world*. The *land of the living* then was not particularly the land of Canaan: nor can they persuade us that it could not refer to Christ, because he was never removed out of that land: but to be *cut off out of the land of the living* is, certainly, to be taken away from them which live upon the earth, that is, to die.

had denied or doubted it, the very stones would cry out and confirm it. Why did the sun put on mourning? Why were the graves opened, but for a funeral? Why did the earth quake? Why were the rocks rent? Why did the frame of nature shake, but because the God of nature died? Why 211
 did all the people, who came to see him crucified, and love to feed their eyes with such tragic spectacles, why did they beat
 John xix. 30. upon their breasts and return, but that they were assured *it was finished*, there was no more to be seen, all was done? It was not out of compassion that the merciless soldiers brake not his legs, but because they found him dead whom they came to despatch; and being enraged that their cruelty should be thus prevented, with an impertinent villany they pierce his side, and with a foolish revenge endeavour to kill a dead man; thereby becoming stronger witnesses than they would, by being less the authors than they desired, of his death. For out of his sacred but wounded side, came blood and water, both as evident signs of his present death, as certain seals of our future and eternal life. These are the two blessed sacraments of the spouse of Christ, each assuring her of the death of her beloved. The sacrament of baptism, the water through which we pass into the Church of Christ, teacheth us that he died to whom
 Rom. vi. 3. we come. *For know ye not (saith St Paul) that so many of us as are baptized in Jesus Christ, are baptized into his death?* The sacrament of the Lord's supper, the bread broken, and the wine poured forth, signify that he died which instituted it;
 1 Cor. xi. 26. and *as often as we eat this bread, and drink this cup, we do shew forth the Lord's death till he come.*

Dead then our blessed Saviour was upon the cross; and that not by a feigned or metaphorical, but by a true and proper, death. As he was truly and properly man, in the same mortal nature which the sons of Adam have; so did he undergo a true and proper death, in the same manner as we die. Our life appeareth principally in two particulars, motion and sensation¹; and while both or either of these are per-

¹ Τὸ ἐμψυχον δὴ τοῦ ἀψύχου δυὼν μάλιστα διαφέρειν δοκεῖ, κινήσει τε καὶ τῷ αἰσθάνεσθαι· παρελήφαμεν δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν προγενεστέρων σχεδὸν δύο ταῦτα περὶ ψυχῆς. *Arist. de Anima.*

l. i. c. 2. § 2. Ὡς διαφέρει τὰ ἀψυχα (log. ἐμψυχα) τῶν ἀψύχων, τοῦτο ἐστὶ ψυχῇ· διαφέρει δὲ κινήσει, αἰσθήσει, φαντασίᾳ, νοήσει. *Sallust. de Diis et Mundo, c. 8.*

ceived in a body, we pronounce it lives. Not that the life itself consisteth in either or both of these, but in that which is the original principle of them both, which we call the soul; and the intimate presence or union of that soul unto the body is the life thereof. The real distinction of which soul from the body in man, our blessed Saviour taught most clearly in that admonition, *Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul; but rather fear him which is able to destroy both body and soul in hell.* Now being death is nothing else but the privation or recession of life¹, and we are then properly said to die when we cease to live; being life consisteth in the union of the soul unto the body, from whence, as from the fountain, flow motion, sensation, and whatsoever vital perfection: death can be nothing else but the solution of that vital union, or the actual separation of the soul, before united to the body². As therefore when the soul of man doth leave the habitation of its body, and being the sole fountain of

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¹ As Secundus: *φύσιν καὶ ἐνέργειαν*. *Secundus*. 19. *τί ἐστι θάνατος*; p. 639. ed. Gale. 1688. [*Fabricius Bibl. Græca*, Tom. XIII. p. 571.]

² As the philosophers have anciently expressed it, especially Plato, who by the advantage of an error in the original of souls, best understood the end of life. *Τούτῳ γὰρ θάνατος ἀνομήτεια, λόγος καὶ χωρισμὸς ψυχῆς ἀπὸ σώματος.* In *Phædon*, Tom. I. p. 153. Again: *Ὁ θάνατος τεχνήσεται ὥς, ὡς ἐπεί δοκεῖ, οὐδὲρ ἄλλο ἢ διὰ τὴν πραγματικὴν διδόνει, τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ τοῦ σώματος, ἀπ' ἀλλήλων.* In *Gorgia*, Tom. IV. p. 166. And more plainly and fully yet: *Ἡγορήθητι τί τὸ θάνατον εἶναι; Πάν· ἴ, ἐπὶ ἰσχυρίῳ ὁ Σαρμῆς, ἄρα μὴ ἄλλο τι ἢ τὴν τῇ ψυχῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος ἀπαστάσιν; καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν τελευτᾷ, χωρὶς μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπαστάσιν αὐτὸ καὶ ἑαυτὸ τὸ σώμα γινώσκου, χωρὶς δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς τοῦ σώματος ἀπαστάσιν αὐτὴ καὶ αὐτὴ τὴν εἶναι; ἄρα μὴ ἄλλο τι ἢ ὁ θάνατος ἢ τοῦτο; Οὐκ, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο, ἐπεὶ.* In *Phædon*, Tom. I. p. 145. Thus with four several words, *λόγος, διδόνει, χωρισμὸς, καὶ ἀπαστάσιν*, doth Plato express the separation of the soul from

the body, and maketh death formally to consist of that separation. This solution is excellently expressed by Phocylides, *Carm. Admon. v. 97, 100.*

*Οὐ καλὸν ἀνθρώπου ἀνελθεῖν ἀφ' αἵματος—
ψυχὴν γὰρ μένουσαν εἴματα ἐν φέρετρῳ.
Περίτρε γὰρ ἐστὶ θάνατος χωρὶς ἀνθρώπου καὶ αἵματος.
Σίμα γὰρ ἐκ γούρας ἔχουσιν, αἱ ψυχῆς ἐν αὐτῇ
ἀφαιρούσιν αἵματος ὑπὲρ διπλῆς ὅσον σῶμα ἐκ θανάτου.*

So Tertullian: *Opus actum mortis in medio est, discretio corporis animæ.* *De Anim. c. 51.* [p. 350 A.] *Et mors non aliud determinatur quam discretio corporis animæque, contrarium mortis vitæ non aliud definitur, quam conjunctio corporis animæque.* *Ibid. c. 27.* [p. 530 A.] This description of death is far more philosophical than the notion of Aristotle, who makes it to consist in the corruption of natural heat: *Ἀσθενέτωσαν ἅμα τῇ θερμότητι καὶ τῇ τοῦ θερμῆς φύσεως ἐνέργειᾳ, καὶ τὰ καλοῦσιν θάνατον εἶναι τῆς ψυχῆς φέρεται.* *De Juventut. lib. c. 4. § 6.* Inasmuch as the soul is not that natural heat, and the corruption of that heat followeth upon the separation of the soul.

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supreme power were not buried in their fathers' graves, yet public sepulchres there were appointed even for them to lie in; and not only they, but all the instruments which were used in the punishment were buried with them. And yet beside the general consequence of death among the Jews, there was a perfect type in the person of Jonas: for as that prophet *was three days and three nights in the whale's belly: so was the Messias, or the Son of man, to be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth.*

Matt. xii. 40.

Nor was his burial only represented typically, but foretold 218 prophetically, both by a suppositive intimation, and by an express prediction. The Psalmist intimated and supposed no less, when speaking in the person of the *Christ*, he said, *My flesh also shall rest in hope: for thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy One to see corruption.* That *flesh* is there supposed only such, that is, a body dead¹; and that body *resting* in the grave, the common habitation of the dead; yet *resting* there *in hope* that it should never *see corruption*, but rise from thence before that time in which bodies in their graves are wont to putrefy. Beside this intimation, there is yet a clear expression of the grave of the *Messias* in that eminent prediction of Isaiah, *He was cut off out of the land of the living, and he made his grave with the wicked, and with the rich in his death.* For whatsoever the true interpretation of the prophecy be (of which we shall speak hereafter), it is certain that he which was to be *cut off*, was to have a *grave*: and being we have already shewn that he which was to be *cut off* was the *Messias*; it followeth, that by virtue of this prediction the promised *Messias* was to be *buried*.

Psalm. xvi. 9, 10.

Isai. liii. 8, 9.

Secondly, That our *Jesus*, whom we believe to be the true *Messias*, was thus *buried*, we shall also prove, although

¹ So the Midrash Tillim anciently expounded it, *My flesh shall rest in hope* לאחר מיתה *after death*; adding אר' יצחק מלמד שלא שלט: בו רמה ורעלות *that Rabbi Isaac said, he taught by these words, that the moth and worm should have no power over him.* Whence by the argument of St Peter, it must be understood not of David: for his flesh saw corruption; nor of any other but the *Messias*. And although the

Rabbins are wont to say, that the worms shall never eat the just, in opposition to the last words of Isaiah; yet they must confess there is no difference in the grave: and therefore that worm must signify something else but the corruption of the body. Well therefore are those words paraphrased by Didymus: Ἐπ' ἐλπίδι κατεσκήνωσεν ἡ σὰρξ, διὰ τὴν εὐθὺς ἐσομένην ἀνάστασιν.

it seem repugnant to the manner of his death. For those who were sentenced by the Romans to die upon the cross, had not the favour of a sepulchre, but their bodies were exposed to the fowls of the air, and the beasts of the field¹; or if they escaped their voracity, to the longer injury of the air and weather². A guard was also usually set about them, lest any

¹ To this custom Horace alludes:

'Non hominera occidi. Non pasces in cruce corvoa.' *Epist.* 16. l. i. ver. 48. And Juvenal:

'Vultur, jumento et canibus crudibusque relictis,
Ad fortis properat, partemque cadaveris affort.'

Sat. xiv. 77.

So Prudentius:

— 'Crux istam tollat in auras,
Viventesque offerat alitibus.'

περί Στεφ. Hymn. x. 66.

This punishment did appear in the mythology of Prometheus; who though he were by some represented simply as δεσμώτης, by others particularly he is described as ἀνεστανυμένος, especially by Lucian, [*Prometheus*] who delivers him προσηλούμενον, κρεμάμενον, προσπαταλευόμενον, ἀναστανυόμενον, ἀνασκολοπιζόμενον. And Tertullian speaking of Pontus, from whence Marcion came: 'Omnia torpent, omnia rigent: nihil illic nisi feritas calet, illa scilicet quæ fabulas scenis dedit, de sacrificiis Taurorum, et amoribus Colchorum, et crucibus Caucasorum.' *Adv. Marc.* l. i. c. 1. [p. 430 c.] He touches the subject of three tragedies, Medea, Iphigenia in Tauris, and Prometheus Vincetus, or rather Crucifixus. As therefore the eagle there did feed upon his liver, so were the bodies of crucified persons left to the promiscuous rapacity of carnivorous fowls. So true it was of them what Augustus once said: 'Cuidam sepulturam petenti respondit, jam illam in volucrum esse potestate.' *Suet.* c. 13. 3. [Ut quidem uni suppliciter sepulturam petenti respondisse dicatur, jam istam in volucrum potestate fore *Suet.* August. 13. 3.] Nor were they only in the power of the fowls of the air, as Prometheus was, whom they durst not hang too low, lest men should succour him: *οὐτε γὰρ ταπεινὸν καὶ πρόσγειον ἐσταυρῶσθαι χρεῖ,* says Vulcan in Lucian for that reason, [*Pro-*

metheus, c. 1. Tom. i. p. 173.] but ordinarily they hung so low upon the cross, that the ravenous beasts might reach them, as Apuleius describes: 'Patibuli cruciatum, cum canes et vultures intima protrahant viscera.' *De Aur. Asin.* l. vi. [p. 167. Amstel. 1628.]

² So the bodies were often left upon the cross till the sun and rain had putrefied and consumed them. As when the daughter of Polycrates did see her father's fate in a dream, to be washed by Jupiter, and to be anointed by the sun, when he hung upon the cross, it was performed. Πολυκράτης δὲ ἀνακρεμάμενος ἐπετέλεε πᾶσαν τὴν ὕψιν τῆς θυγατρὸς: ἐλοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς ὅκως ὅσι, ἐχρίετο δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου, ἀνίει αὐτὸς ἐκ τοῦ σώματος ἰκμίδα. *Herod. Thalía*, c. 125. Of which Tertullian, *de Anim.* c. 46. [p. 347 A.] 'Ut cum Polycrati Samio filia crucem prospicit de Solis unguine et lavacro Jovis.' And which is farther thus expressed by Valerius Maximus: 'Putres ejus artus, et tabido cruore manantia membra, atque illam lævam, cui Neptunus annulum manu piscatoris restituerat, situ marcidam, Samos lætis oculis aspexit.' l. vi. c. 9. Thus were the bodies of the crucified left; ut in sublimi putrescerent. 'Quid! Cyrenæum Theodorum Philosophum non ignobilem nonne miramur? cui cum Lysimachus Rex crucem minaretur, Istis, queso, inquit, ista horribilia minitare purpuratis tuis: Theodori quidem nihil interest, humine an sublime putrescat.' *Cicero.* l. i. *Tusc. Quæst.* c. 43. And so they perished, as the Scythians generally did, according to the description of Silius Italicus, l. xiii. 485. 'At gente in Scythica suffixa cadavera trunci Lenta dies sepellit, putri liquentia tabo.' Thus whether by the fowls or beasts, or by the injury of time or weather, the flesh of those that were crucified was

pitying hand should take the body from the cursed tree, and cover it with earth¹.

Under that custom of the Roman law was now the body 219 of our Saviour on the cross, and the guard was set; there was the centurion, and they that were with him, watching Jesus. The centurion returned as soon as Christ was dead, and gave testimony unto Pilate of his death; but the watch continueth still. How then can the ancient predictions be fulfilled? How can this Jonas be conveyed into the belly of the whale? Where shall he make his grave with the wicked, or with the rich in his death of crucifixion? By the providence of him who did foretell it, it shall be fulfilled. They which petitioned that he might be crucified, shall intercede that he may be interred. For the custom of the Jews required, that whosoever suffered by the sentence of their law, should be buried, and that the same day he suffered². Particularly they could not but remember the express words of Moses, *If a man have committed a sin worthy of death, and he be to be put to*

Matt. xxvii.
64.

Isai. lili. 9.

Deut. xxi. 22.
23.

consumed; as Artemidorus observed, who concluded from thence, that it was bad for the rich to dream of being crucified: *Τοὺς δὲ πλουσίους βλάπτει γυμνοὶ γὰρ σταυροῦνται, καὶ τὰς σάρκας ἀπολλύουσιν οἱ σταυρωθέντες. Oneirocr.* l. ii. c. 58.

¹ As appeareth by that relation in Petronius Arbitr: 'Imperator Provincie latrones jussit crucibus affigi—Proxima ergo nocte, cum miles qui cruces asservabat, ne quis ad sepulturam corpora detraheret,' &c. And when that soldier was absent: 'Itaque cruciati unius parentes, ut viderunt laxatam custodiam, detraxerunt nocte pendantem, supremoque mandaverunt officio.' *Satyr.* c. 111, 112. [pp. 513, 521.] Where we see the soldier set for a guard, and the end of that *custodia* (which the Greek lexicographers do not well confine to the *στράτευμα τῷ δεσμοτηρίῳ ἐπιτελεῖν*), to keep the body of him which was crucified from being buried by his friends. Thus when Cleomenes was dead, his body was fastened to a cross (another example of the ignominy of this punishment), by the command of Ptolemy; 'Ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος, ὡς ἔγνω ταῦτα, προσέταξε, τὸ μὲν σῶμα τοῦ Κλεομένους

κρεμάσαι καταβυσώσαντας. [Plutarch *Vita Cleom.* c. 37. Tom. iv. p. 355. Bryant.] Where *κρεμάσαι* is again to be observed as taken for *ἀνασταυρώσαι*, for not long after in the same author it follows: 'Ὀλίγαις δὲ ὕστερον ἡμέραις, αἱ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Κλεομένους ἀνεσταυρωμένοι παραφυλάττοντες εἶδον εὐμεγέθη δράκοντα τῇ κεφαλῇ περιπεπλεγμένον, καὶ ἀποκρύπτοντα τὸ πρόσωπον, ὡς μὴδὲν ὄρεον ἐφίπτασθαι σαρκοφάγον. [*Ibid.* c. 38. p. 358.] Where we see a guard set to keep him from burial, and the voracious fowls ready to seize on him, had they not been kept off by a serpent involving his head. Thus were soldiers, upon the crucifixion of any person, set as a guard, *τὸν ἀνεσταυρωμένον παραφυλάττοντες, οἱ τηροῦντες*, 'et cruce[m] asservantes, viz. ne quis ad sepulturam corpus detraheret.'

² מוצא נפש לבקר את כל הרתי בית מן ההרים *Maimon. Tract. Sanhed.* c. 15. So Josephus: *Τοσαύτην ἰουδαίων περὶ τὰς ταφὰς πρόνοιαν ποιουμένων, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἐκ καταδίκης ἀνασταυρωμένους πρὸ δόντος ἡλίου ἀνελεῖν τε καὶ θάπτειν. De Bell. Jud.* l. iv. c. 18. [c. 5. § 2. p. 1183. 18.]

death, and thou hang him on a tree; his body shall not remain all night upon the tree, but thou shalt in any wise bury him that day. Upon this general custom and particular law, especially considering the sanctity of the day approaching, the Jews, that the bodies should not remain upon the cross on the sabbath-day, besought Pilate that their legs might be broken, and that they might be taken away. And this is the first step to the burial of our Saviour. John xix. 31.

For though, by the common rule of the Roman law, those which were condemned to the cross were to lose both soul and body on the tree, as not being permitted either sepulture or mourning¹; yet it was in the power of the magistrate to indulge the leave of burial²: and therefore Pilate, who crucified Christ only* because the Jews desired it, could not possibly deny him burial when they requested it; he which professed to find no fault in him while he lived, could make no pretence for an accession of cruelty after his death.

Now though the Jews had obtained their request of Pilate, though Christ had been thereby certainly buried; yet had not the prediction been fulfilled, which expressly mentioned the rich in his death. For, as he was crucified between two thieves, so had he been buried with them, because by the Jews there was appointed a public place of burial for all such as suffered as malefactors.

Wherefore to rescue the body of our blessed Saviour from the malicious hands of those which caused his crucifixion, there came a rich man of Arimathea, named Joseph, an honourable counsellor, a good man and a just; who also himself waited for the kingdom of God, being a disciple of Jesus, but Matt. xxvii.
Mark xv.
Luke xxiii.
John xix.

220 secretly for fear of the Jews: this Joseph came and went in boldly unto Pilate, and besought him that he might take away

¹ 'Non solent autem lugeri (ut Neratius ait) hostes, vel perduelliones damnati, nec suspendiosi, nec qui manus sibi intulerunt, non tædio vitæ, sed mala conscientia.' *Digest.* l. iii. tit. 2. l. *Liberorum.*

² So Ulpianus, l. ix. *de Officio Proconsulis*: 'Corpora eorum qui capite damnantur cognatis ipsorum neganda non sunt: et id se observasse etiam Divus Augustinus libro decimo de vita

sua scribit. Hodie autem eorum in quos animadvertitur corpora non aliter sepeliuntur, quam si fuerit petatum et permissum; et nonnunquam non permittitur, maxime majestatis causa damnatorum.' So Paulus, l. i. *Sententiarum*: 'Corpora animadversorum quibuslibet petentibus ad sepulturam danda sunt. Obnoxios criminum digno supplicio subjectos sepulture tradi non vetamus.' *Cod.* l. iii. tit. 43. l. 11.

* ['only' is omitted in the third edition.]

the body of Jesus. And Pilate gave him leave, and commanded the body to be delivered: he came, therefore, and took the body of Jesus.

John iii. 1, 10.

John xix. 39, 40.

Beside, there came also Nicodemus, which at the first came to Jesus by night, a man of the Pharisees, a ruler of the Jews, a master of Israel: this Nicodemus came and brought a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about an hundred pound weight. Then took they the body of Jesus, and wound it in linen clothes, with the spices, as the manner of the Jews is to bury.

And thus was the burial of the Son of God performed, according to the custom of the people of God. For the understanding of which there are three things considerable; first, What was done to the body, to prepare it for the grave; secondly, How the sepulchre was prepared to receive the body; thirdly, How the persons were fitted by the interring of our Saviour to fulfil the prophecy.

Mark xiv. 8.

Mark xvi. 1.
Luke xxiv. 1.

As for fulfilling the custom of the Jews as to the preparation in respect of his body, we find the *spices* and the *linen clothes*. When there came a woman having an alabaster box of ointment of spikenard, very precious, and she brake the box, and poured it on his head; Christ made this interpretation of that action, *She is come beforehand to anoint my body to the burying*. When Christ was risen, *Mary Magdalene and the other Mary brought the spices which they had prepared, that they might come and anoint him*. Thus was there an interpreted and an intended unction of our Saviour, but really and actually he was interred with the spices which Nicodemus brought. The custom of wrapping in the clothes we see in Lazarus rising from the grave; for *he came forth bound hand and foot with grave-clothes, and his face was bound about with a napkin*. In the same manner when our Saviour was risen, *Simon Peter went into the sepulchre, and saw the linen clothes lie, and the napkin that was about his head, not lying with the linen clothes, but wrapped together in a place by itself*. Thus according to the custom of the Jews, was the body of Christ bound in several linen clothes with an aromatical composition, and so prepared for the sepulchre¹.

John xi. 44.

John xx. 6, 7.

¹ There are four words in the Gospel expressing the linen clothes in which the dead were buried, *Συδῶν*, *ὀθῶν*, *κεῖλαι*, and *σουδάριον*. The

Συδῶν is used by three evangelists, as what was brought by Joseph: *Καὶ ἀγοράσας συδῶνα, καὶ καθελὼν αὐτόν, ἐπέθηκε τῇ σούτῃ*, Mark xv. 46. and

221 As for the preparation of the sepulchre to receive the body of our Saviour, the custom of the Jews was also punctually

St Matthew xxvii. 59. and St Luke xliii. 53. *ἐπετάλαν αὐτὸ σινδώνι*. 'Οθόνια is used by St John xix. 40. *ἔλαβον οὖν τὸ σῶμα Ἰησοῦ, καὶ ἔθησαν αὐτὸ ὀθονίοις*. (And St Luke xxiv. 12. *βλέπει τὰ ὀθόνια κείμενα μόνα*. Dr Burton.)

Now both these words shew that the clothes were linen. *Σινδών, tunica lineæ*. *Gloss.* Φωσάνιον, λινούν τι, ἦτοι σινδόνιον. *Etyim.* So 'Οθόνια, λινά ἱμάτια. *Heeych.* This was according to the custom of the Jews, amongst whom there was a kind of law, that they should use no other grave-clothes. As therefore the Egyptians in Herodotus, l. ii. c. 86. *Λούσαντες τὸν νεκρὸν, κατείλισσουσιν πᾶν αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα σινδόνας βυσσίνης*, so the Jews. But it is farther to be observed, that St John saith *ἔθησαν αὐτὸ ὀθονίοις*, they bound up his body with several clothes, which signifies it was done *fasciatim*. As Herodotus in another case, l. vii. c. 181. *Σμύρνησί τε ἰώμενοι τὰ ἔλκεα, καὶ σινδόνας βυσσίνης τελαμῶσι κατείλισσαντες*. Whereas then Julius Pollux observes, *Onomast.* l. vii. c. 16. [§ 72.] *ἐρηγται δὲ πον καὶ τελαμῶν σινδόνιτης*, I conceive these ὀθόνια in St John were such *τελαμῶνες σινδόνιται, lineæ fasciæ*, or *institæ*, called in the case of Lazarus *κειρίαί*, John xi. 44. for as he is described *δεδεμένος κειρίαίς*, so it is said of the body of Christ, *ἔθησαν αὐτὸ ὀθονίοις*, they bound it with linen bandages or swathes. These are the *ἐντάφια δεσμά*, as the grammarians interpret *κειρία ἰανquam κηρία*. So the ancient MS. in the library at St James's reads it: *Δεδεμένος τὰς χείρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας κηρίαίς*. And so Heeychius read it when he made that interpretation. *Κειρίαίς* (leg. *Κηρίαίς*) *ἐπιθανάτια ἐντετυλιγμένα*. What anciently *κηρία* was, will appear by the words of Julius Pollux, l. x. c. 7. [§ 36.] *Καὶ μὴν τότε τῇ κλήρῃ ἢ τῷ σκιμποδί ἐντεταμένον, ὡς φέρειν τὰ τυλεῖα, σπαρτια, σπάρτα, ὅπως, κειρίαί* the bands or cords by which the beds or couches are fastened, and upon which the bedding lies. In

this sense it is to be taken in that known place of Aristophanes, in *Avibus*, ver. 815.

Σπάρτην γὰρ ἂν θέλμην ἐγὼ τῇ, μὴ πόλει;
Οὐδ' ἂν χαμσὴν πάντῃσι κειρίαίς ἔχον.

Of which Eustathius, *liad.* β'. [135.] gives us this account: *Φησὶ μὴ ἀποδεσθῆναι σπάρτης, κειρίαίς ἔχων ἦτοι μὴ δεσθῆναι σπαρτίονον πλέγματος, ἐὰν ἄλλην ἔχοι κειρίαίς, ἦτοι δεσμὸν κλήρης*. Hence the grammarians give that interpretation of *Κειρίαίς*. As *Etymologus*: *Κειρίαίς, σημαίνει τὸ σχοινίον τὸ δεσμεύον τὴν κλήρην* in reference to that place of Aristophanes, otherwise it hath no relation to a bed, but indifferently signifieth any *fascia* or *band*. So the scholiast of Aristophanes: *Ἡ δὲ κειρία εἶδος ζώνης ἐκ σχοινίων παρειοῦς ἱμάτι, ἢ δεσμοῦσι τὰς κλήνας* not the cord of a bed, but a *fascia* or girdle like unto it. With such linen *fasciæ*, swathes, or bandages, was the body of Lazarus involved.

—*Ἐκ ποδὸς ἄχρι καπίνου*

Σφιγγόμενον πλακτίσιν ὄλον δέμας εἶχε κειρίαίς,

says Nonnus, [Joh. c. xi. 169.] And Juvenus, l. iii. 397. [Joh. xxi.]

Nec mora, connexis manibus pedibusque repente

Procedit tumulo, vultum cui linea textit,
Et totum gracilis connectit fascia corpus.

Hence Basil, bishop of Seleucia, makes Lazarus come out of the grave to live, like an infant, in swaddling-clothes: *Ἐκείθεν ἀνεπήδα νεκρὸς τετραήμερος τὰ τοῦ θανάτου περιεκείμενος σύμβολα καὶ τὸν θάνατον οὐκ ἀποδοσάμενος, τὴν τοῦ τάφου στολήν οὐκ ἠλλάξατο, ἀλλ' ἐφίστατο ταῖς κειρίαίς ὡς ἐκ τάφου τεχνεῖς, καὶ μετὰ τόκων φέρων τὰ σπάρτανα*. *Orat.* 35. in *Publican. et Pharis.* [p. 181 B.] The *κειρίαίς* then were *institæ*, as the Vulgar Latin; *fasciæ*, as Juvenus and the Syriac translation, *ܬܘܟܡܝܬܐ*, *vinculus fasciis*. Of the same nature I conceive were the ὀθόνια mentioned in our Saviour's burial; and so St Augustin does express them in reconciling the rest of the evangelists,

Matt. xvii.
60.
Mark xv. 46.

observed in that. Joseph of Arimathea had prepared a place of burial for himself, and the manner of it is expressed: for *in the place where he was crucified, there was a garden, and in the garden a new sepulchre, wherein never man was laid, which Joseph had hewn out of a rock for his own tomb:*

who mentioned only Joseph and the *sindon*, with St John, who addeth Nicodemus and the *óðvria*: 'Neque hic aliquid repugnet recte intelligentibus. Neque enim illi qui de Nicodemo tacuerunt, affirmaverunt, a solo Josepho Dominum sepultum, quamvis solius commemorationem fecerint; aut quia illi una sindone a Josepho involutum dixerunt, propterea prohibuerunt intelligi et alia lintea potuisse afferri a Nicodemo et superaddi: ut verum narraret Johannes quod non uno linteo, sed linteis, involutus sit; quamvis et propter sudarium quod capiti adhibebatur, et institas quibus corpus totum alligatum est, quia omnia de lino erant, etiamsi una sindon ibi fuit, verissime dici potuit, *ligaverunt eum linteis.*' *De consensu Evang.* l. iii. c. 23. [Tom. III. par. 2. p. 94 F.] (p. 132.) These which he calls *institas quibus totum corpus alligatum est*, were the *תבשית המית* *involucra mortui*. Beside these we read in the history of Lazarus, *ἡ δ' ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ σουδαρίῳ περιεδέδετο*, John xi. 44. And of our Saviour, *καὶ τὸ σουδαρίον, δ' ἦν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ*, John xx. 7. The same is rendered by the Syriac *סודר*, and Nonnus makes it a Syriac word,

Καὶ λινὴν πενίκαστο καλύμματι πεκλόδα
κόρησιν,
Σουδαρίον τό περ εἶνε Σύρον στόμα.
Joh. xi. 172.

Whereas the word is not of a Syriac but Latin origination; and from the Latins came to the Greek and eastern people, *sudor* and *sudare*, from thence *sudarium*. 'Vatinius reus, agente in eum Calvo, candido frontem sudario tersit.' *Quintil. Instit. Orat.* l. vi. c. 3. § 60. Suetonius of Nero: 'Plerumque prodiit in publicum ligato circa collum sudario.' c. 53. ['Circa cultum habitumque adeo pudendus, ut—plerumque—ligato circum collum sudario prodi-

erit in publicum.' c. 51. 3. Tom. II. p. 300. Edit. Pitisci.] This was translated into their own language by the latter Greeks, to signify that which before was called *ἡμιτύβιον* and *καψιδρώτιον*, as is observed by Julius Polux, l. vii. c. 16. § 71. *Τὸ δὲ ἡμιτύβιον, ἐστὶ μὲν καὶ τοῦτο Διγύπτῳ, εἴη δὲ ἀνὰ κατὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ μέσῃ Κωμῳδία καψιδρώτιον καλούμενον, δ' εὖν σουδαρίον ὁνομάζεται. Ἀριστοφάνει γὰρ ἐν Πλούτῳ (v. 729.) τοιαύτη τις ἡ δόξα,*

Ἐπειτα καθαρὸν ἡμιτύβιον λαβὼν,
Τὰ βλάβαρα περιέψησε·

where *τὰ βλάβαρα περιέψησε*, is the same with that in Quintilian, *frontem tersit*; *ἡμιτύβιον* then was the same with *sudarium*. So the scholiast upon that place: 'Ἡμιτύβιον ῥάκος ἡμιτριβὲς λινούν τι, ὅλον ἐκμαγείον. This is the proper signification of *Σουδαρίον*, viz. *a linen cloth used to wipe off sweat*: but when it was translated into the Chaldee or Syriac language, it received a more general signification, of any cloth, or veil, or covering of linen, for any other use, as Ruth iii. 15. *Bring the veil that thou hast upon thee*: the Chaldee rendereth it *עליון רי סודר* and it held six measures of barley. So when Moses is said to *put a veil on his face*, Exod. xxxiv. 33. the Chaldee again rendereth it *סודר אפני דבית איקונין* *יהב על איקונין דבית אפני סודר* and Jerusalem.] So the Rabbins ordinarily use, *היהב על רישו סודר* *the veil or covering of his head*: and in that sense it is here taken, not with any relation to the etymology, as Nonnus conceived in those words, Joh. xi. 171.

Θερμὸν ἔχον ἰδρῶτα καλυπτομένοιο προσώπου, as if Lazarus had come sweating out of his grave; but only to the use, as being bound about the head, and covering the face, which the Epistle of Martialis calls '*sudarium mortuorum.*' *Epist. ad Tolosan.* c. 1.

there laid they Jesus, and rolled a great stone to the door of the sepulchre. And so Christ was buried, after the manner of the Jews, in a vault made by the excavation of the rocky firm part of the earth, and that vault secured from external injury by a great massy stone rolled to the mouth or door thereof¹. After which stone was once rolled thither, the whole

¹ Strabo observeth of Jerusalem, that the ground about it, *ἐντὸς ἐξήκοντα σταδίων* was *ὑπόπετρος*, for nine miles rocky underneath, l. xvi. (p. 1104. ed. Amst. 1707. p. 761. ed. Par. 1620.) It is therefore no wonder that in a garden so near Jerusalem there should be found ground which was *petrosa*. It is said therefore of Joseph, Matt. xxvii. 60. that *μνημείον ἐλατόμησεν ἐν τῇ πέτρᾳ* of the sepulchre, Mark xv. 46. that *ἦν λελατομημένον ἐκ πέτρας*, and Luke xxiii. 53. *λαξευτόν*, which signify no less than that it was cut out of a rock: and Nonnus makes a particular paraphrase to that purpose of *λαξευτόν* only, Joh. xix. 214.

Ἔην δ' ἐνὶ γείτονι κήπῳ
Τύμβου οὐδὲ μοῖσιον βαθυομένης ἀπὸ πέτρας
Γλυπτὸς ὅλος νεότευκτος.

Where *βαθυομένη* signifies the excavation of the rock, and *γλυπτὸς* the manner by which that excavation was performed by incision, or exsculption. But Salmasius hath invented another way, making the earth to be digged, and a sepulchre built by art, of stone, within it. And this interpretation he endeavours to prove out of the text; first alleging that *πέτρα* signifies, in the writers of that age, a stone, not a rock, and therefore *λελατομημένον ἐκ πέτρας* is *ἐκ λίθου*, made of stone: otherwise the article would have been added *ἐκ τῆς πέτρας*, if he meant the rock which was there. But this is soon answered; for in St Matthew the article is expressly added, *ἐλατόμησεν ἐν τῇ πέτρᾳ*. St Matthew therefore understood it of that rock which was in the garden; and the rest without question understood the same. Again, he objects that *λατομεῖν* signifies not only *lapides ex lapidicina cedere*, but also *polire et quadrare ad edificandum*; and *λαξεύειν* signifies the last only.

Wherefore being it is said not only *λελατομημένον*, which may be understood of building, but also *λαξευτόν*, which can be understood of no other; therefore he concludes that it was a vault built of square stone within the ground. But there is no necessity of such a precise sense of *λαξεύειν*, which may be extended to any sense of *λατομεῖν* (as Origen indifferently *λατομητόν ἢ λαξευτόν μνημείον ἐν πέτρᾳ*, c. *Cels.* l. ii. § 69.), and that, when it speaks of a Jewish custom, must be taken in that sense which is most congruous to their custom, and as they used the word. Now they rendered the word *צִנְחָה* by *λατομεῖν*, as 1 Kings v. 15. *בְּרֹחַ צִנְחָה לַאֲבֹנִים* ἐν τῷ ὄρει. Isa. li. 1. *יִשְׁבֹּץ הַצִּנְחָה יִצְחָק* ἐμβλέψατε εἰς τὴν στερεὰν πέτραν ἣν ἐλατομήσατε, unde *ecclesi.* As therefore Deut. vi. 11. *λάκκους λελατομημένους οὓς οὐκ ἐξελατόμησας*. So Isa. xxii. 26. *Ὅτι ἐλατόμησας σεαυτὸν ὥδε μνημείον, — καὶ ἔγραψας σεαυτὸν ἐν πέτρᾳ σκηπτήν* in both places *λατομεῖν* is nothing else but *צִנְחָה*, and there *μνημείον λελατομημένον*, in the language of the Jews, is to be taken in the same sense with *λάκκος λελατομημένος*, that is, *digged or hewn out of the ground*. This is well expressed by Origen: *Ἡ ταφή ἔχει τὴν καθαρότητα διὰ τοῦ συμβολικοῦ δηλουμένην ἐν τῷ ἀποτεθεῖσθαι αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα ἐν μνημείῳ καινῷ ὑφειστώτῃ· οὐκ ἐκ λογάδων λίθων οἰκοδομηθέντι, καὶ τὴν ἔνωσην οὐ φυσικὴν ἔχοντι, ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν καὶ δι' ὅλων ἡνωμένη πέτρα λελατομητῇ καὶ λαξευτῇ.* l. ii. *adv. Celsum*, c. 69. [Tom. i. p. 439 D.] And this cutting the sepulchre out of the rock, rather than building of it in the earth, is very material, in the opinion of St Jerome, who makes this observation, *Comm. on Matt.* xxvii. 64. (Vol. vii. p. 240.) *‘In monumento novo quod,*

funeral action was performed, and the sepulture completed: so that it was not lawful by the custom of the Jews any more to open the sepulchre, or disturb the interred body¹.

Thirdly, Two eminent persons did concur unto the burial²²² of our Saviour, a ruler and a counsellor², men of those orders among the Jews as were of greatest authority with the people; Joseph of Arimathea, rich and honourable, and yet inferior to Nicodemus, one of the great Council of the Sanhedrim: these two, though fearful while he lived to acknowledge him, are brought by the hand of Providence to inter him; that so the prediction might be fulfilled which was delivered by Isaiah to this purpose. The counsel of his enemies, the design of the Jews, *made his grave with the wicked*, that he might be buried with them which were crucified with him: but *because he had done no violence, neither was any deceit in his mouth*; because he was no way guilty of those crimes for which they justly suffered; that there might be a difference after their death, though there appeared little distinction in it; the counsel of his Father, the design of heaven, put him *with the rich in his death*, and caused a counsellor and a ruler of the Jews to bury him.

Isai. lxxx. 9.

Isai. lxxx. 9.

Isai. lxxx. 9.

excisum fuerat in Petra, conditus est: ne si ex multis lapidibus edificatum esset, suffossis tumuli fundamentis, ablatus furto diceretur: and gives this interpretation of the prophet Isaiah: 'Quod autem in sepulcro ponendus esset, Prophetæ testimonium est, dicentis, *Hic habitabit in excisa spelunca petre fortissimæ*, statimque post duos versiculos sequitur, *Regem cum gloria videbitis.*' *Ibid.* Another use of the same supposition is made likewise by St. Ambrose: 'Domini corpus tanquam per Apostolorum doctrinam infertur in vacuum et in novam requiem lapidis excisi; scilicet in pectus duritiæ gentilis quodam doctrinæ opere excisum Christus infertur, rude scilicet ac novum, et nullo antea ingressu timoris Dei pervium.' *In Matt. c. xxvii.* Thus was the sepulchre prepared for the body: and when Joseph had laid it there, *προσεκύλισε λίθον μέγαν πρὸς τὴν θύραν*, he rolled a great stone to the door, the last part of that solemnity. *Matt. xxvii. 60.* For this great stone

was said to be rolled, by reason of the bigness, as being not portable, (from whence arose the women's doubt, *Mark xvi. 3. Who shall roll us away the stone from the door of the sepulchre?*) and that very properly, for it had its name from that rolling, being called constantly by the Jews, גוֹלֵל אוֹלֵל, from גוּלל *volvere*. גוֹלֵל אֶבֶן גְּדוֹלָה וְרוֹחָבָה, שֶׁמֶתוֹמֵם בָּהּ פִּי הַקֶּבֶר מִלְמַעְלָה מִלְשׁוֹן וְגוֹלֵל שֶׁמֶתוֹמֵם בָּהּ פִּי הַקֶּבֶר מִלְמַעְלָה מִלְשׁוֹן וְגוֹלֵל Obadías de Bartenora.

¹ This hath been observed by the Jews themselves, אֲמָר לַפֶּתַח הַקֶּבֶר אֲחֵר, אֲמָר לַפֶּתַח הַקֶּבֶר אֲחֵר, *it is prohibited for any man to open the sepulchre, after it is shut with the rolled stone.*

² So they are styled in the Scriptures, Joseph βουλευτής, and Nicodemus δρχων, and these two powers ruled all them at Jerusalem under the Romans. As appeared when Agrippa prevented a war by the sudden raising of a tax: Εἰς δὲ τὰς κόμας οἱ τε δρχοι καὶ οἱ βουλευταὶ μερισθέντες τοὺς φόρους συνέλεγον. *Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 29. [c. 17. § 1. p. 1090. 32.]*

The necessity of this part of the Article appeareth, first, in that it gives a testimony and assurance of the truth both of *Christ's* death preceding, and of his resurrection following. Men are not put into the earth before they die: Pilate was very inquisitive whether our Saviour *had been any while dead*, and ^{Mark xv. 44.} was fully satisfied by the centurion, before he would *give the body to Joseph* to be interred. Men cannot be said to rise who never died; nor can there be a true resurrection, where there hath not been a true dissolution. That therefore we might believe *Christ* truly rose from the dead, we must be first assured that he died; and a greater assurance of his death than this we cannot have, that his body was delivered by his enemies from the cross, and laid by his disciples in the grave.

Secondly, A profession to believe that *Christ was buried* is necessary, to work within us a correspondence and similitude of his burial: for we are *buried with him in baptism*, even ^{Col. II. 12.} *buried with him by baptism into death; that like as Christ was* ^{Rom. vi. 4.} *raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father; even so we also should walk in newness of life.* That nothing may be done or suffered by our Saviour in these great transactions of the Mediator, but may be acted in our souls, and represented in our spirits¹.

¹ Quicquid gestum est in cruce Christi, in sepultura, in resurrectione tertio die, in adscensione in coelum, in sede ad dexteram Patris; ita gestum est, ut his rebus non mystice tantum dictis, sed etiam gestis, configuraretur vita Christiana quae hio geritur. Nam propter ejus crucem dictum est, *Qui autem Jesu Christi sunt, carnem suam crucifixerunt cum vitiis et concupiscentiis: propter sepulturam, Consepulti sumus cum Christo per baptismum in mortem: propter resurrectionem, Ut quemadmodum Christus resurrexit a mortuis per gloriam Patris, ita et nos in novitate vitae ambulemus: propter adscensionem in coelum, sedemque ad dexteram Patris, Si autem resurrexistis cum Christo, quae sursum sunt quaerite, ubi Christus est ad dexteram Dei sedens.* S. August. Enchirid. ad Laur. c. 53. § 14. [Tom. vi. p. 158 F.] (p. 216.) And this was before observed by Origen, l. ii. adv. Cels. § 69. [Tom. i. p.

438 E.] Τὰ συμβεβηκέναι ἀναγεγραμμένα τῷ Ἰησοῦ οὐκ ἐν ψυχῇ τῇ λήξει καὶ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ τὴν πᾶσαν ἔχει θεωρίαν τῆς ἀληθείας. Ἐκαστον γὰρ αὐτῶν καὶ σύμβολόν τινος εἶναι παρὰ τοῖς συνετώτερον ἐντυγχάνουσι τῇ γραφῇ ἀποδείκνυνται. Ὡς περὶ οὖν τὸ σταυρωθῆναι αὐτὸν ἔχει τὴν δηλουμένην ἀλήθειαν ἐν τῷ, Χριστῷ συνεσταύρωμαι· καὶ τῷ σηματομένῳ ἐκ τοῦ, Ἐμοὶ δὲ μὴ γένοιτο καυχῆσθαι εἰ μὴ ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ Κυρίου μου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι' ὃ ἐμοὶ κόσμος ἐσταύρωται, καὶ γὰρ τῷ κόσμῳ. καὶ ὁ θάνατος αὐτοῦ ἀναγκαῖος, διὰ τὸ, ὃ γὰρ ἀπέθανε τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ ἀπέθανεν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς· καὶ διὰ τὸ τὸν δίκαιον λέγειν, Συμμορφούμενος τῷ θανάτῳ αὐτοῦ· καὶ τὸ, Εἰ συναπεθόνομεν, καὶ συζηήσομεν. οὕτω καὶ ἡ ταφή αὐτοῦ φθάσει ἐπὶ τοῖς συμμόρφους τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοὺς συσταυρωθέντας αὐτῷ καὶ συναποθανόντας, καθὼ καὶ τῷ Παύλῳ λέλεκται· τό, Συνετάφημεν γὰρ αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος, καὶ συναίστημεν αὐτῷ.

Thirdly, It was most convenient that those pious solemnities should be performed on the body of our Saviour, that his disciples might for ever learn what honour was fit to be received and given at their funerals. When Ananias died, *though for his sin, yet they wound him up, and carried him out, and buried him:* when Stephen was stoned, *devout men carried him to his burial, and made great lamentation over him:* and when Dorcas died, *they washed her, and laid her in an upper chamber:* so careful were the primitive Christians of the rites of burial. Before, and at our Saviour's time, the Greeks did much, the Romans more, use the burning of the bodies of the dead, and reserved only their ashes in their urns; but when Christianity began to increase, the funeral flames did cease, and after a few emperors had received baptism, there was not a body burnt in all the Roman empire¹. For the first Christians wholly abstained from consuming of the dead bodies with fire, and followed the example of our Saviour's funeral², making use of precious ointments for the dead, which they refused while they lived, and spending the spices of Arabia in their graves. The description of the persons which interred *Christ*, and the enumeration of their

¹ This appeareth by Macrobius, who lived in the time of Theodosius junior, and testifieth thus much: 'Licet urendi corpora defunctorum usus nostro seculo nullus sit, lectio tamen docet, eo tempore quo igni dari honor mortuis habebatur,' &c. *Saturnal.* l. vii. c. 7. [p. 601.] That this was done by the Christians is certain, because the heathens anciently did object it to the Christians: 'Inde videlicet et exsecrantur rogos, et damnant ignium sepulturae.' And the answer given to this objection was: 'Nec, ut creditis, ullum damnum sepulturae timemus, sed veterem et meliorem consuetudinem humandi frequentamus.' *Minuc. Felix, in Octavio*, c. 11. and 34. And Tertullian: 'Et hoc enim in opinione quorundam est; propterea nec ignibus funerandum aiunt, parentes superfluo animæ. Alia est autem ratio pietatis istius, non reliquiis animæ adulatorix, sed crudelitatis etiam corporis nomine aversatrix, quod et ipsum homo non utique mereatur poenali exitu impendi.'

De Anima, c. 51. [p. 350 c.] 'At ego magis ridebo vulgus, tunc quoque, cum ipse defunctos atrocissime exurit, quos postmodum gulosissime nutrit, iisdem ignibus et promerens et offendens. O pietatem de crudelitate ludentem! sacrificat, an insultat, quum crematis cremat?' *Idem de Resur. Carn.* c. 1. [p. 379 B.]

² The heathens objected it to the primitive Christians: 'Reservatis unguenta funeribus.' *Minucius Fel.* c. 12. And Tertullian confesseth it: 'Thura plane non emimus. Si Arabiæ queruntur, scient Sabæi pluri et carioris suas merces Christianis sepeliendis profligari, quam diis fumigandis.' *Apol.* c. 42. And speaking of spices, *lib. de Idololat.* c. 11. [p. 110 c.] 'Etiam hominibus ad pigmenta medicinalia, nobis quoque insuper ad solatia sepulturae usui sunt.' So Clemens Alexandrinus, *Μυρίσματα γὰρ οἱ νεκροί* and again: *Αἱ γὰρ ὑπέμετροι χρίσεις τῶν μύρων κηδείας, οὐ συμβιώσεως, ἀποπνέουσιν.* *Pædag.* l. ii. c. 8. [p. 205. 39. 208. 22.]

virtues, and the everlasting commendation of her who brake the box of precious ointment for his burial, have been thought sufficient grounds and encouragements for the careful and decent sepulture of Christians¹. For as natural reason will teach us to give some kind of respect unto the bodies of men though dead, in reference to the souls which formerly inhabited them²; so, and much more, the followers of our Saviour, while they looked upon our bodies as living *temples* ^{1 Cor. vi. 12.} *of the Holy Ghost*, and *bought by Christ*, to be made one ^{2 Pet. ii. 1.} *day like unto his glorious body*, they thought them no ways ^{Phil. iii. 21.} to be neglected after death³, but carefully to be laid up in the wardrobe of the grave, with such due respect as might

¹ 'Ipse Dominus die tertio resurrecturus religiosæ mulieris bonum opus prædicat, prædicandumque commendat, quod unguentum pretiosum super membra ejus effuderit, atque hoc ad eum sepeliendum fecerit. Et laudabiliter commemorantur in Evangelio, qui corpus ejus de cruce acceptum diligenter atque honorifice tegendum sepeliendumque curarunt. Verum istæ auctoritates non hoc admonent, quod insit ullus cadaveribus sensus: sed ad Dei providentiam, cui placent etiam talia pietatis officia, corpora quoque mortuorum pertinere significant, propter fidem resurrectionis adstruendam.' *S. August. de Civitate Dei*, l. i. c. 13. [Tom. vii. p. 12 A.]

² Οὐδὲν δὲ—*λυπεῖ ἡμᾶς, οὐδὲ τὸ ὑπὸ 'Ηρακλείτου λεγόμενον, ὅπερ Κέλσος παρελήφεν, ὅτι νέκυες εἰσι κοπιῶν ἐκβλητότεροι. καίτοιγε εἴποι τις ἂν καὶ περὶ τούτου, ὅτι τὰ μὲν κόπρια ἐκβλητά ἐστιν, οἱ δ' ἐξ ἀνθρώπων νέκυες, διὰ τὴν ἐνοικήσασαν ψυχὴν, καὶ μάλιστα ἐὰν ᾖ ἀσκειοτέρα, οὐκ ἐκβλητοί. Κατὰ γὰρ τοὺς ἀσκειοτέρους τῶν νόμων, μετὰ τῆς ἐνδεχομένης ὡς πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα τιμῆς, ταφῆς ἀξιούνται: ἵνα μὴ ὑβρίζωμεν τῇ δυνάμει τὴν ἐνοικήσασαν ψυχὴν ἀπορίπτουντες μετὰ τὸ ἐξελεῖν αὐτήν, τὸ σῶμα, ὡς καὶ τὰ τῶν κτηνῶν σώματα. Orig. adv. Celsum, l. v. § 24.* [Tom. i. p. 595 E.]

—*Νεμεσώμαί γε μὴν οὐδὲν Κλαίειν, ὅς κε θάνῃσι βροτῶν καὶ πότμον ἐπίσση.*
Τοῦτό νυ καὶ γέρας ὁλον διζυροῖσι βροτοῖσι,

Καίρασθαί τε κόμην, βαλάνυ τ' ἀπὸ δάκρυον παρειῶν.
Odys. Δ. 196.

³ 'Nec ideo tamen contemnenda et abjicienda sunt corpora defunctorum, maximeque justorum atque fidelium, quibus tanquam organis et vasis ad omnia bona opera sanctus usus est Spiritus. Si enim paterna vestis et annulus, ac si quid hujusmodi tanto carius est posteris, quanto erga parentes major exstitit affectus; nullo modo ipsa spernenda sunt corpora, quæ utique multo familiarius atque conjunctius quam quælibet indumenta gestamus. Hæc enim non ad ornamentum vel adjutorium, quod adhibetur extrinsecus, sed ad ipsam naturam hominis, pertinent.' *S. August. de Civit. Dei*, l. i. c. 13. [Tom. vii. p. 11 F.] Ταῦτα τελέσας ὁ ἱεράρχης, ἀποτίθῃσιν ἐν οἰκῇ τιμῇ τὸ σῶμα μετ' ἑτέρων ὁμοταγῶν ἱερῶν σωμάτων. Εἰ γὰρ ἐν ψυχῇ καὶ σώματι τὴν θεοφιλεῖ ζωὴν ὁ κεκοιμημένος ἐβίω, τίμιον ἔσται μετὰ τῆς δόξας ψυχῆς καὶ τὸ συναβλήσαν αὐτῇ σῶμα κατὰ τοὺς ἱεροὺς ἰδρώτας. Ἐνθεν ἡ θεία δικαιοσύνη μετὰ τοῦ σφετέρου σώματος αὐτῇ δωρεῖται τὰς ἀμοιβὰς λήξεις, ὡς ὁμοπορεύειν καὶ συμμετέχειν τῆς δόξας ἢ τῆς ἐναντίας ζωῆς. *Dionys. Areopagitæ. Eccl. Hierarch. c. 7. [§ 9.]* [Tom. i. p. 416.] 'Propter patrem militiam Christi deseram, cui sepulturam Christi causa non debeo, quam etiam omnibus ejus causa debeo?' *S. Hieron. Epist. 5. al. 1. ad Heliodorum, de Laud. Vit. Sol. c. 3. (Ep. 14. Tom. i. p. 30 A.)*

become the honour of the dead, and comfort of the living. And this decent custom of the primitive Christians was so acceptable unto God, that by his providence it proved most effectual in the conversion of the heathens and propagation of the Gospel¹.

Thus I believe the only-begotten and eternal Son of God, 224 for the confirmation of the truth of his death already past, and the verity of his resurrection from the dead suddenly to follow, had his body, according to the custom of the Jews, prepared for a funeral, bound up with linen clothes, and laid in spices; and after that accustomed preparation, deposited in a sepulchre hewn out of a rock, in which never man was laid before, and, by rolling of a stone unto the door thereof, entombed there. Thus I believe that *Christ* WAS BURIED.

¹ This was observed by Julian the apostate, who, writing to an idolatrous high-priest, puts him in mind of those things by which he thought the Christians gained upon the world, and recommends them to the practice of the heathen priests. Of these he reckons three; the gravity of their carriage, their kindness to strangers, and their care for the burial of the dead. *Τί οὖν ἡμεῖς οὐόμεθα ταῦτα ἀρκεῖν, οὐδ' ἀποβλέπομεν ὃ μάλιστα τὴν ἀθεότητα* (so he calls Christianity, because they rejected all the heathen gods) *συνηξήσεν, ἢ περὶ τοὺς ξένους φιλανθρωπία, καὶ περὶ τὰς ταφὰς τῶν νεκρῶν προμήθεια, καὶ ἡ πεπλασμένη σεμνότης κατὰ τὸν βίον; ὧν ἕκαστον οἴομαι χρήναι παρ' ἡμῶν ἀληθῶς ἐπιτηδεύεσθαι. Εἰρίστ. 49. ad Antacium. [p. 429 D.] And as Julian observed the care of burial as*

a great encouragement to the heathens to turn Christians, so Gregory Nazianzen did observe the same to the great dishonour of the apostate, comparing his funeral with his predecessors. *Ο μὲν γὰρ* (that is Constantius) *παραπέμπεται πανδήμοις εὐφημίαις τε καὶ πομπαῖς, καὶ τούτοις δὴ τοῖς ἡμετέροις σεμνοῖς, ὧδαῖς παννύχοις καὶ δαδουχίαις, αἷς Χριστιανοὶ τιμᾶν μετέστασιν εὐσεβῇ νομίζομεν· καὶ γίνεται πανήγυρις μετὰ πάθος ἢ ἐκκομδῇ τοῦ σώματος. Orat. iv. in Jul. ii. [Orat. 5. § 16. Tom. I. p. 157 D.] But as for Julian: *Μῆμοι γελοίων ἦγον αὐτόν, καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς ἀσχεσίην ἐκομπεύετο—ἔως ἡ Ταρσέων αὐτὸν ὑποδέχεται πόλις—ἐνθα δέ οἱ τέμενος ἀτιμῶν, καὶ τάφος ἐξάγιτος, καὶ ναὸς ἀπόπτυστος, καὶ οὐδὲ θεατὸς εὐσεβῶν ὄψεσι. Ibid. [§ 18. p. 159 B.]**

ARTICLE V.

225 HE DESCENDED INTO HELL: THE THIRD DAY HE ROSE AGAIN FROM THE DEAD.

THE former part of this Article, of the *descent into hell*, hath not been so anciently in the CREED¹, or so universally, as the rest. The first place we find it used in was the Church of Aquileia; and the time we are sure it was used in the Creed of that church was less than four hundred years after Christ. After that it came into the *Roman Creed*², and

¹ First, It is to be observed, that the descent into hell was not in the ancient Creeds or rules of faith. Some tell us that it was not in the confession of Ignatius. *Epist. ad Magnes.* But indeed there is no confession of faith in that Epistle; for what is read there was thrust in out of Clemens's Constitutions. In the like manner, in vain is it objected that it was omitted by Polycarp, Clemens Romanus, and Justin Martyr, because they have not pretended any rule of faith or Creed of their times. But that which is material in this cause, it is not to be found in the rules of faith delivered by Irenæus, l. i. c. 2. by Origen, 1. *repl. ap. xiv.* in *Proem.*, or by Tertullian, *adv. Praxeam*, c. 2. *De Virg. veland.* c. 1. *De Præscript. adv. Heret.* c. 13. It is not expressed in those Creeds which were made by the Councils as larger explications of the Apostles' Creed: not in the Nicene or Constantinopolitan, not in that of Ephesus or Chalcedon; not in those confessions made at Sardica, Antioch, Seleucia, Sirmium, &c. It is not mentioned in several confessions of faith delivered by particular persons: not in that of Eusebius Cæsariensis, presented to the Council of Nice. *Theodoret. Hist. Eccles.* l. i. c. 2; not in that of Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra, delivered to Pope Julius, *S. Epiphan. Hæc.* lxxii. § 10; not in that of Arius and Euzoius, presented to Constantine, *Socrat.* l. i. c. 26; not in that of Acacius, bishop of Cæsarea, delivered in to the Synod of Seleucia,

Socrat. l. ii. c. 40; not in that of Eustathius, Theophilus, and Silvanus, sent to Liberius, *Socrat.* l. iv. c. 12. There is no mention of it in the Creed of St Basil, *Tract. de Fide*, in *Asceticis*, c. 4; in the Creed of Epiphanius, in *Anacrato*, § 120. Gelasius, in *Biblioth. Patr. Lat.* T. v. par. 3. p. 669. Damasus, *inter Op. S. Hieron.* T. v. p. 122. Macarius, in *Hom. &c.* It is not in the Creed expounded by St Cyril (though some have produced that Creed to prove it); it is not in the Creed expounded by St Augustin, *De Fide et Symbolo*; not in that *De Symbolo ad Catechumenos*, attributed to St Augustin; not in that which is expounded by Maximus Taurinensis, nor in that so often interpreted by Petrus Chrysologus; nor in that of the Church of Antioch, delivered by Cassianus, *De Incarn.* l. vi. c. 3; neither is it to be seen in the MS. Creeds set forth by the learned archbishop of Armagh. Indeed, it is affirmed by Rufinus, that in his time it was neither in the Roman nor in the Oriental Creeds: 'Sciendum sane est, quod in Ecclesiæ Romanæ Symbolo non habetur additum, *descendit ad inferna*; sed neque in Orientalis Ecclesiis habetur hic sermo.' *Ruff. in Exposit. Symboli*, § 20. [p. 22.] It is certain therefore (nor can we disprove it by any acknowledged evidence of antiquity) that the Article of the *descent into hell* was not in the Roman or any of the Oriental Creeds.

² That the descent into hell came afterwards into the Roman Creed ap-

others¹, and hath been acknowledged as a part of the *Apostles' Creed* ever since.

Indeed, the *descent into hell* hath always been accepted, but with a various exposition²; and the *Church of England* at the Reformation, as it received the *three Creeds*, in two of which this Article is contained, so did it also make this one of the Articles of Religion, to which all who are admitted to any benefice, or received into holy orders, are obliged to subscribe. And at the first reception it was propounded with a certain explication, and thus delivered in the fourth year of king Edward the Sixth, with reference to an express place of Scripture interpreted of this *descent*: 'That the body of Christ lay in the grave until his resurrection; but his spirit, which he gave up, was with the spirits which were detained in prison, or in hell, and preached to them, as the place in St Peter testifieth³.' So likewise after the same manner in the CREED set forth in metre after the manner of a psalm, and still remaining at the end of the Psalms, the same exposition is delivered in this staff:

1 Pet. III. 12.

'And so he died in the flesh,
But quickened in the spirit:
His body then was buried,
As is our use and right.

His spirit did after this descend
Into the lower parts,
Of them that long in darkness were,
The true light of their hearts.'

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peareth, not only because we find it there of late, but because we find it often in the Latin Church many ages since: as in that produced by Etherius against Elipandus in the year 785, in the 115th sermon, *de Tempore*, falsely ascribed to St Augustin, where it is attributed to St Thomas the apostle; in the exposition of the Creed falsely ascribed to St Chrysostom.

¹ As in the Creed attributed to St Athanasius, which, though we cannot say was his, yet we know was extant about the year 600, by the epistle of Isidorus Hispalensis *ad Claudium duccem*. It was also inserted into the Creed of the Council of Ariminum, A.D. 359. *Socrat. Hist. Eccl.* l. ii. c. 37. and of the fourth Council of Toledo,

held in the year 633: and of the sixteenth Council of the same Toledo, held in the year 693.

² 'Quis nisi infidelis negaverit fuisse apud inferos Christum?' *S. August. Epist.* 99. al. 164. § 3. [Tom. II. p. 436 c.]

³ 'Nam corpus usque ad resurrectionem in sepulcro jacuit; Spiritus ab illo emissus cum spiritibus qui in carcere sive in inferno detinebantur fuit, illisque prædicavit, quemadmodum testatur Petri locus,' &c. *Articuli ann.* 1552. Which place was also made use of in the Exposition of the Creed contained in the Catechism set forth by the authority of King Edward, in the seventh year of his reign.

But in the Synod ten years after, in the days of Queen Elizabeth, the Articles, which continue still in force, deliver the same descent, but without any the least explication or reference to any particular place of Scripture, in these words: "As Christ died for us and was buried, so also it is to be believed that he went down into hell¹." Wherefore being our Church hath not now imposed that interpretation of St Peter's words, which before it intimated; being it hath not delivered that as the only place of Scripture to found the *descent into hell* upon; being it hath alleged no other place to ground it, and delivered no other explication to expound it: we may with the greater liberty pass on to find out the true meaning of this Article, and to give our particular judgment in it, so far as a matter of so much obscurity and variety will permit.

First, then, it is to be observed, that as this Article was first in the *Aquileian Creed*, so it was delivered there not in the express and formal term of *hell*, but in such a word as may be capable of a greater latitude, 'descendit in inferna:' which words as they were continued in other *Creeds*², so did they find a double interpretation among the Greeks; some translating 'inferna,' *hell*; others, the *lower parts*³: the first with relation to St Peter's words of *Christ, Thou wilt not leave* Acts ii. 37. *my soul in hell*; the second referring to that of St Paul, *He* Ephes. iv. 9. *descended into the lower parts of the earth*.

¹ Article III. 1562.

² *Descendit in inferna*, or *ad inferna*, is the general writing in the ancient MSS. as the learned archbishop testifieth of those in the Benedictine and Cottonian libraries; to which I may add those in the library at Westminster: we see the same likewise in that of Elipandus, *Descendit ad inferna*. Which words are so recited in the Creed delivered in the Catechism set forth by the authority of Edward VI. *An. Dom.* 1553.

³ So the ancient MSS. in Bene's college library, *Κατελθόντα εἰς τὰ κατώτερα* and the confession made at Birmium, *εἰς τὰ καταχθόνια κατελθόντα*. [*Labbé*, Tom. II. p. 789 A.] Since that it is *Descendit ad inferos*, and *κατελθόντα εἰς ἄδου*, or *Descendit ad infernum*, as Venantius Fortunatus, [l. xi. art. i. in *Biblioth. Patr. Lat. T.*

vi. par. 2. p. 382 B.] For τὰ κατώτερα is a fit interpretation, if we take *inferna* according to the vulgar etymology; as St Augustin: '*Inferi*, eo quod infra sint, Latine appellantur.' *De Gen. ad lit.* l. xii. c. 34. or as Nonius Marcellus, c. i. § 221. '*Inferum ab imo dictum, unde inferi quibus inferius nihil.*' Again, *inferna* may be well translated ἄδης, if it be taken according to the true origination, which is from the Greek ἔρεποι, with the Æolic digamma, from which dialect most of the Latin language came, Ἐρ' ἔρεποι, *inferi*. Now *ἔρεποι*, according to the Greek composition, is nothing else but ὑποχθόνιοι. Etym. Ἐρεποι, οἱ νεκροί, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν τῇ ἔρᾳ κείσθαι, ὃ ἐστὶν, ἐν τῇ γῇ and Suidas, Ἐρέποις, νεκροίς, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν τῇ ἔρᾳ κείσθαι. Ἐρα is anciently the earth, from whence ἐρασε, χαμάζε, to the earth: *ἔρεποι* then are in the earth, as they

Secondly, I observe that in the *Aquileian Creed*, where this Article was first expressed, there was no mention of *Christ's* burial; but the words of their confession ran thus: *crucified under Pontius Pilate, he descended in inferna*¹. From whence there is no question but the observation of Ruffinus, who first expounded it, was most true, that though²²⁷ the *Roman* and *Oriental Creeds* had not their words, yet they had the sense of them in the word *buried*. It appear-eth therefore, that the first intention of putting these words in the CREED was only to express the burial of our Saviour, or the descent of his body into the grave. But although they were first put in the *Aquileian Creed* to signify the

supposed the manes or spirits of the dead to be; from whence Homer, *Iliad*. O. 188.

Ἄλθης ἐνέρουσιν ἀνέσσω,

of Pluto; and Hesiod, *Theog*. 849.

Τρέσο' Ἄλθης ἐνέρουσι καταφθιμένοισιν ἀνέσσω.

and in imitation of them Æschylus in *Persis*, v. 635. [ed. Blomf.]

*Ὡ γὰρ τε, καὶ Ἑρμῇ, βασιλεύς τ' ἐνέρων,
Πέμψατ' ἐνερθεν ψυχὰν εἰς φάος.*

Thus *ἐνεροι* are those which Æschylus elsewhere calls *τοὺς γὰρ νέρθεν* and *τοὺς γῆς ἐνερθεν*. And as *ἐνεροι* are the souls of the dead in the earth, so are *inferi* in the first acception; that is *manes*. Pomponius Mela, *de Sit. Orb.* l. i. c. 9. '*Augylæ manes tantum deos putant;*' which Pliny delivers thus, *Hist. Nat.* l. v. c. 8. [Tom. i. p. 250.] '*Augylæ inferos tantum colunt;*' and Solinus, *Polyhist.* c. 34. [p. 73.] '*Augylæ vero solos colunt inferos.*' *Inferi* were then first *ἐνεροι*, the souls of men in the earth: and as *manes* is not only put for the souls below, but also for the place, as in the poet;

— *Manesque profundi,
Virg. Georg.* l. 243.

and
— *Hæc manes veniet mihi fama sub imos;
Æn.* iv. 887.

so *inferi* is most frequently used for the place under ground where the souls departed are, and the *inferna* must then be those regions in which they take up their habitations. And so *descendit ad inferna*, κατήλθεν εἰς ᾗδου,

and *descendit ad inferos*, are the same.

¹ So are the words cited in Ruffinus: '*Crucifixus sub Pontio Pilato, descendit in inferna.*' § 16. [p. 21.] And his observation upon them is this: '*Sciendum sane est, quod in Ecclesiæ Romanæ Symbolo non habetur additum, descendit ad inferna: sed neque in Orientis Ecclesiæ habetur hic sermo: vis tamen verbi eadem videtur esse in eo quod sepultus est.*' *Expos. Symb.* § 20. [p. 22.] The same may also be observed in the Athanasian Creed, which has the descent, but not the sepulture: *Who suffered for our salvation, descended into hell, rose again the third day from the dead*. Nor is this only observable in these two, but also in the Creed made at Sirmium, and produced at Ariminum, in which the words run thus: *σταυρωθέντα, καὶ ἀποθανόντα, καὶ εἰς τὰ καταχθόνια κατελθόντα. Socrat. Hist. Eccles.* l. ii. c. 37. Where, though the descent be expressed, and the burial be not mentioned, yet it is most certain, those men which made it (heretics, indeed, but not in this) did not understand his burial by that descent; and that appears by addition of the following words: *εἰς τὰ καταχθόνια κατελθόντα, καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖσε οἰκονομήσαντα, ὃν πυλῶροι ᾗδου ἰδόντες ἐφρίξαν*. For he did not dispose and order things below by his body in the grave: nor could the keepers of the gates of hell be affrighted with any sight of his corpse lying in the sepulchre.

burial of *Christ*, and those which had only the *burial* in their *Creed* did confess as much as those which without the *burial* did express the *descent*; yet since the *Roman Creed* hath added the *descent* unto the *burial*, and expressed that *descent* by words signifying more properly *hell*, it cannot be imagined that the *CREED*, as now it stands, should signify only the *burial* of *Christ* by his *descent* into *hell*. But rather, being the ancient Church did certainly believe that *Christ* did some other way descend beside his *burial*: being, though *Ruffinus*¹ interpreted those words of the *burial* only, yet in the relation of what was done at our Saviour's death, he makes mention of his *descent into hell*, beside, and distinct from, his sepulture²; being those, who in after-ages added it to the *burial*, did actually believe that the soul of *Christ* descended: it followeth that, for the exposition of the *CREED*, it is most necessary to declare in what that *descent* consisteth.

Thirdly, I observe again, that whatsoever is delivered in the *CREED*, we therefore believe, because it is contained in the Scriptures, and consequently must so believe it as it is contained there; whence all this exposition of the whole is nothing else but an illustration and proof of every particular part of the *CREED* by such Scriptures as deliver the same, according to the true interpretation of them, and the general consent of the Church of God. Now these words as they lie in the *CREED*, *He descended into hell*, are nowhere formally and

¹ [He, in the third Edition.]

² For having produced many places of Scripture to prove the circumstances of our Saviour's death, and having cited those particularly which did belong unto his burial, he passes farther to his descent, in these words: 'Sed et quod in infernum descendit, evidenter prænuntiatur in Psalmis, ubi dicit, *Et in pulverem mortis deduxisti me*; et iterum, *Quæ utilitas in sanguine meo dum descendero in corruptionem?* et iterum, *descendi in limum profundum, et non est substantia*. Sed et Joannes dicit, *Tu es qui venturus es*,—an alium expectamus? Unde et Petrus dixit, *Quia Christus mortificatus carne, vivificatus autem spiritu*. In ipso, ait, eis

qui in carcere inclusi erant in diebus Noe; in quo etiam quid operis egerit in inferno declaratur. Sed et ipse Dominus per Prophetam dicit tanquam de futuro, *Quia non derelinques animam meam in inferno, nec dabis sanctum tuum videre corruptionem*: quod rursus prophetice nihilominus ostendit impletum, cum dicit, *Domine, eduxisti ab inferno animam meam, salvasti me a descendentibus in lacum*.' *Expos. Symb.* § 27. [p. 24.] Whence it appeareth, that though *Ruffinus* thought that the sense of *descendit ad inferna* was expressed in *sepultus est*; yet he did distinguish the doctrine of *Christ's* descent into hell from that of his burial.

expressly delivered in the Scriptures; nor can we find any one place in which the Holy Ghost hath said in express and plain terms, that Christ, as he died and was buried, so *he descended into hell*. Wherefore being these words of the CREED are not formally expressed in the Scripture, our inquiry must be in what Scriptures they are contained virtually; that is, where the Holy Ghost doth deliver the same doctrine, in what words soever, which is contained, and to be understood in this expression, *He descended into hell*.

Now several places of Scripture have been produced by the ancients as delivering this truth, of which some without question prove it not: but three there are which have been always thought of greatest validity to confirm this Article. First, that of St Paul to the Ephesians seems to come very near the words themselves, and to express the same almost in terms¹: *Now that he ascended, what is it but that he descended first into the lower parts of the earth?* This many of the ancient Fathers understood of the descent into hell², as placed in the lowest parts of the earth: and this exposition must be confessed so probable, that there can be no argument to disprove it. Those *lower parts of the earth* may signify *hell*, and *Christ's* descending thither may be, that his soul went to that place when his body was carried to the grave. But that it was actually so, or that the apostle intended so much in those words, the place itself will not

Ephes. iv. 9.

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¹ For the first expression which we find in Ruffinus, *descendit in inferna*, comes most near to this quotation; especially if we take the ancient Greek translation of it: *κατελθόντα εἰς τὰ κατώτατα*. For if we consider that *κατώτερα* may well have the signification of the superlative, especially being the LXX. hath so translated Psalm lxiii. 9. *εἰσελεύσονται εἰς τὰ κατώτατα τῆς γῆς* and Psalm cxxxix. 15. *καὶ ἡ ὑπόστασις μου ἐν τοῖς κατωτάτοις τῆς γῆς* what can be nearer than these two, *κατελθὼν εἰς τὰ κατώτατα*, and *καταβὰς εἰς τὰ κατώτατα*; or these two, *κατελθόντα εἰς τὰ καταχθόνια*, and *καταβάντα εἰς τὰ κατώτερα μέρη τῆς γῆς*?

² This appeareth by their quota-

tion of this place to prove, or express, the descent into hell, as Irenæus does, l. v. c. 31. Origen. *Hom.* 35. in *Matt.* al. § 132. Athanasius, *Epist. ad Epictetum*, and *Orat.* i. contr. *Arian.* § 45. [Tom. i. p. 449 B.] Hilarius in *Psalm.* lxxvii. § 19. St Jerome upon the place: 'Inferiora autem terræ infernus accipitur, ad quem Dominus noster Salvatorque descendit.' So also the Commentary attributed to St Ambrose and St Hilary: 'Si itaque hæc omnia Christus unus est, neque alius est Christus mortuus, alius sepultus; aut alius descendens ad inferna, et alius ascendens in cælos, secundum illud Apostoli, *Ascendit autem quid est,*' &c. *De Trinit.* l. x. § 65. (p. 1077 B.)

manifest. For we cannot be assured that the descent of Christ, which St Paul speaketh of, was performed after his death; or if it were, we cannot be assured that the *lower parts of the earth* did signify *hell*, or the place where the souls of men were tormented after the separation from their bodies. For as it is written, *No man ascended up to heaven, but he that descended from heaven*; so this may signify so much, and no more, 'In that he ascended, what is it but that he descended first?' And for *the lower parts of the earth*, they may possibly signify no more than *the place beneath*: as when our Saviour said, *Ye are from beneath, I am from above*; John iii. 13. *ye are of this world, I am not of this world*: or as God spake by the prophet, *I will shew wonders in heaven above, and signs in the earth beneath*. Joel ii. 30. Nay, they may well refer to his incarnation, according to that of David, *My substance was not hid from thee, when I was made in secret, and curiously wrought in the lower parts of the earth*; or to his burial, according to that of the prophet, *Those that seek my soul to destroy it, shall go into the lower parts of the earth*: and these two references have a great similitude, according to that of Job, *Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return thither*. Psalm. cxxxix. 15. Psalm. lxxiii. 9. Job i. 21.

The next place of Scripture brought to confirm the descent is not so near in words, but thought to signify the end of that descent, and that part of his humanity by which he descended. For Christ, saith St Peter, was *put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the Spirit, by which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison*: where the Spirit seems to be the soul of Christ, and the spirits in prison the souls of them that were in hell, or in some place at least separated from the joys of heaven: whither, because we never read our Saviour went at any other time, we may conceive he went in spirit then when his soul departed from his body on the cross. This did our Church first deliver as the proof and illustration of the descent, and the ancient Fathers did apply the same in the like manner to the proof of this Article¹. But yet those words of St Peter have no such

¹ As *Hermas*, l. iii. *Simil.* 9. *Irenæus*, l. iv. c. 45. *Clem. Alexand. Strom.* l. vi. c. 6. *Orig. Hom.* 35. in *Matt.* al. § 132. *Athanas. l. de Incarn. et Epist.*

ad Epictetum, § 5. 6. [Tom. i. p. 905 c.] *Epiphani. Hæres.* lxxvii. § 7. *Cyril. de recta Fide ad Theodosium*, p. 20. in *Ioan.* l. xii. c. 36. p. 1068. *Orat. Pasch.*

power of probation; except we were certain that the *Spirit* there spoken of were the *soul of Christ*, and that the time intended for that preaching were after his death, and before his resurrection. Whereas if it were so interpreted, the difficulties are so many, that they staggered St Augustin¹, and caused him at last to think that these words of St Peter belonged not unto the doctrine of *Christ's* descending into hell. But indeed the *Spirit*, by which he is said to preach, was not the soul of *Christ*, but that Spirit by which he was quickened; as appeareth by the coherence of the words, *being put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the Spirit, by which* 229 *also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison*. Now that Spirit by which *Christ* was quickened is that by which he was raised from the dead², that is, the power of his Divinity, as St Paul expresseth it, *Though he was crucified through weakness, yet he liveth by the power of God*: in respect of which he preached to those which were disobedient in the days of Noah, as we have already shewn³.

2 Cor. xiii. 4.

et alibi sæpius. Auctor *Comment. Ambros. ascript. ad Rom.* x. Ruffin. in *Expos. Symb.* § 27.

¹ For in his answer to Euodius, *Epist.* 99. al. 164. he thus begins: 'Quæstio, quam mihi proposuisti ex Epistola Apostoli Petri, solet nos, ut te latere non arbitror, vehementissime commovere, quomodo illa verba accipienda sint tanquam de Inferis dicta. Replio ergo tibi eandem quæstionem, ut, sive ipse potueris, sive aliquem qui possit invenieris, auferas de illa atque finias dubitationem meam.' § 1. (Vol. II. p. 573.) Then setting down in order all the difficulties, which occurred at that time in the exposition of the descent into hell, he concludes with an exposition of another nature: 'Considera tamen, ne forte totum illud quod de conclusis in carcere spiritibus, qui in diebus Noe non crediderant, Petrus Apostolus dicit, omnino ad Inferos non pertineat, sed ad illa potius tempora, quorum formam ad hæc tempora transulit.' § 15. (p. 578.)

² 'Quid est enim quod *vivificatus est spiritu*, nisi quod eadem caro, qua sola fuerat mortificatus, vivificante

spiritu resurrexit! Nam quod fuerit anima mortificatus Jesus, hoc est, eo spiritu qui hominis est, quis audeat dicere? cum mors animæ non sit nisi peccatum, a quo ille omnino immunis fuit, cum pro nobis carne mortificaretur.' *S. August. Epist.* 99. al. 164. § 18, 19. [Tom. II. p. 441 A.] (p. 580.) 'Certe anima Christi non solum immortalis secundum cæterarum naturam, sed etiam nullo mortificata peccato vel damnatione punita est; quibus duabus causis mors animæ intelligi potest; et ideo non secundum ipsam dici potuit, *Christus vivificatus spiritu*. In ea re quippe vivificatus est, in qua fuerat mortificatus: ergo de carne dictum est. Ipsa enim revixit anima redeunte, quia ipsa erat mortua, anima recedente. *Mortificatus ergo carne* dictus est, quia secundum solam carnem mortuus est: *vivificatus autem spiritu*, quia illo spiritu operante, in quo ad quos volebat veniebat et prædicabat, etiam ipsa caro vivificata surrexit, in qua modo ad homines venit.' *Ibid.* § 20. [p. 441 C.]

³ Page 112.

The third, but principal text, is that of David, applied by St Peter: *For David speaketh concerning him, I foresaw the Lord always before my face; for he is on my right hand, that I should not be moved. Therefore did my heart rejoice, and my tongue was glad: moreover also my flesh shall rest in hope. Because thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy One to see corruption.* Thus the apostle repeated the words of the Psalmist, and then applied them: *he being a prophet, and seeing this before, spake of the resurrection of Christ, that his soul was not left in hell, neither his flesh did see corruption.* Acts ii. 25, 26, 27, 30, 31. Psal. xvi. 8-10. Acts ii. 25, 26, 27, 30, 31. Now from this place the Article is clearly and infallibly deduced thus: If the soul of *Christ* were, not left in hell at his resurrection, then his soul was in hell before his resurrection: but it was not there before his death; therefore upon or after his death, and before his resurrection, the soul of *Christ* descended into hell; and consequently the CREED doth truly deliver, that *Christ* being crucified, was dead, buried, and descended into hell. For as his flesh did not see corruption, by virtue of that promise and prophetic expression, and yet it was in the grave, the place of corruption, where it rested in hope until his resurrection, so his soul, which was not left in hell, by virtue of the like promise or prediction, was in that hell, where it was not left, until the time that it was to be united to the body for the performing of the resurrection. We must therefore confess from hence that the soul of *Christ* was in *hell*; and no Christian can deny it, saith St Augustin, it is so clearly delivered in this prophecy of the Psalmist and application of the apostle¹.

The only question then remains, not of the truth of the proposition, but the sense and meaning of it. It is most certain that *Christ* descended into *hell*; and as infallibly true as any other Article of the CREED: but what that *hell* was, and how *he* descended thither, being once questioned, is not easily determined. Different opinions there have been of old, and of late more different still, which I shall here examine

¹ 'Dominum quidem carne mortificatum venisse in infernum satis constat. Neque enim contradici potest vel prophetiæ quæ dixit, *Quoniam non derelinques animam meam in inferno* (quod ne aliter quisquam sapere auderet, in Actibus Apostolorum idem

Petrus exponit), vel ejusdem Petri illis verbis, quibus eum asserit *solvisse inferni dolores, in quibus impossibile erat eum teneri*. Quis ergo nisi infidelis negaverit fuisse apud inferos Christum?' *Epist. 99. al. 164. § 3. [Tom. II. p. 436 c.] (p. 574.)*

after that manner which our subject will admit. Our present design is an exposition of the CREED as now it stands, and our endeavour is to expound it according to the Scriptures in which it is contained: I must therefore look for such an explication as may consist with the other parts of the CREED, and may withal be conformable unto that Scripture upon which the truth of the Article doth rely: and consequently, whatsoever interpretation is either not true in itself, or not consistent with the body of the CREED, or not conformable to the doctrine of the apostle in this particular, the expositor of 230 that CREED by the doctrine of the apostle must reject.

First, then, we shall consider the opinion of Durandus, who, as often, so in this, is singular. He supposeth this descent to belong unto the soul¹, and the name of *hell* to signify the place where the souls of dead men were in custody: but he maketh a metaphor in the word *descended*, as not signifying any local motion, nor inferring any real presence of the soul of *Christ* in the place where the souls of dead men were; but only including a virtual motion, and inferring an efficacious presence, by which descent the effects of the death of *Christ* were wrought upon the souls in *hell*; and because the merit of *Christ's* death did principally depend upon the act of his soul, therefore the effect of his death is attributed to his soul as the principal agent; and consequently, *Christ* is truly said at the instant of his death to *descend into hell*, because his death was immediately efficacious upon the souls detained there. This is the opinion of Durandus, so far as it is distinct from others.

But although a virtual influence of the death of *Christ* may be well admitted in reference to the souls of the dead, yet this opinion cannot be accepted as to the exposition of this Article; being neither the CREED can be thought to speak a language of so great scholastic subtilty, nor the place of David, expounded by St Peter, can possibly admit any such explication. For what can be the sense of those words, *Thou shalt not leave my soul in hell*, if his being in *hell* was only virtually acting there? If the efficacy of his death

¹ 'Cum Articulus sit, Christum ad inferos descendisse, et non possit intelligi ratione Divinitatis, secundum quam est ubique; nec ratione corporis, secundum quod fuit in sepulcro; re-

stat quod intelligatur ratione animæ: quo supposito, videndum est, qualiter anima Christi descendit ad infernum.' *Durand. in Sent. Theol.* l. iii. dist. 22. q. 3.

were his descent, then is he descended still, because the effect of his death still remaineth. The opinion therefore of Durandus, making the descent into hell to be nothing but the efficacy of the death of *Christ* upon the souls detained there, is to be rejected, as not expositive of the CREED's confession, nor consistent with the Scripture's expression.

The next opinion, later than that of Durandus, is, that the descent into hell is the suffering of the torments of hell¹; that the soul of *Christ* did really and truly suffer all those pains which are due unto the damned; that whatsoever is threatened by the Law unto them which depart this life in their sins, and under the wrath of God, was fully undertaken and borne by *Christ*; that he died a² true and natural death, the death of *Gehenna*, and this dying the death of *Gehenna* was the *descending into hell*; that those which are now saved by virtue of his death, should otherwise have endured the same torments in hell which now the damned do and shall endure; but that he, being their Surety³, did himself suffer the same for them, even all the torments which we should have felt, and the damned shall.

This interpretation is either taken in the strict sense of the words, or in a latitude of expression; but in neither to be admitted as the exposition of this Article. Not if it be taken in a strict, rigorous, proper, and formal sense; for in that acception it is not true. It must not, it cannot, be admitted, that *Christ* did suffer all those torments which the damned suffer; and therefore it is not, it cannot, be true, that by suffering them he descended into hell. There is a worm that never dieth, which could not lodge within his breast; that is, a remorse of conscience, seated in the soul, for what that soul hath done: but such a remorse of conscience could not be in *Christ*, who though he took upon

¹ 'Si [Christus] ad inferos descendisse dicitur, nihil mirum est, cum eam mortem pertulerit quæ sceleratis ab irato Deo infligitur:' which he expresseth presently in another phrase: '— diros in anima cruciatus damnati ac perdit hominis pertulerit.' *Calvin. Institut.* l. ii. c. 16. § 10. [p. 132.]

² [Some copies read: true supernatural death, the second death, the death of *Gehenna*.]

³ 'Quid igitur? Christus persona sua secundum humanitatem pœnam Gehennalem nobis debitam passus est, anima principaliter, corpore secundario, utroque causaliter ad merendum, ad nos suo ipsius merito liberandos.' *Parkerus de Descensu.* l. iii. § 48. Et statim, § 49. 'Descendisse namque Servatorem, modo supra memorato, ad Haden mortis Gehennalis, innumeris patet argumentis.'

himself the sins of those which otherwise had been damned, yet that act of his was a most virtuous, charitable, and most glorious act, highly conformable to the will of God, and consequently could not be the object of remorse. The grief and horror in the soul of *Christ*, which we have expressed in the explication of his sufferings antecedent to his crucifixion, had reference to the sins and punishment of men, to the justice and wrath of God; but clearly of a nature different from the sting of conscience in the souls condemned to eternal flames. Again, an essential part of the torments of hell is a present and constant sense of the everlasting displeasure of God, and an impossibility of obtaining favour, and avoiding pain; an absolute and complete despair of any better condition, or the least relaxation: but *Christ*, we know, had never any such resentment, who looked upon the reward which was set before him, even upon the cross, and offered up himself a sweet-smelling sacrifice; which could never be efficacious, except offered in faith. If we should imagine any damned soul to have received an express promise of God, that after ten thousand years he would release him from those torments and make him everlastingly happy, and to have a true faith in that promise and firm hope of receiving eternal life: we could not say that man was in the same condition with the rest of the damned, or that he felt all that hell which they were sensible of, or all that pain which was due unto his sins: because hope and confidence, and relying upon God, would not only mitigate all other pains, but wholly take away the bitter anguish of despair. *Christ* then, who knew the beginning, continuance, and conclusion of his sufferings; who understood the determinate minute of his own death and resurrection; who had made a covenant with his Father for all the degrees of his passion, and was fully assured that he could suffer no more than he had freely and deliberately undertaken, and should continue no longer in his passion than he had himself determined; he who by those torments was assured to overcome all the powers of hell, cannot possibly be said to have been in the same condition with the damned, and strictly and properly to have endured the pains of hell.

Again, if we take the torments of hell in a metaphorical sense, for those terrors and horrors of the soul which our Saviour felt, which may therefore be called infernal torments,

because they are of greater extremity than any other tortures of this life, and because they are accompanied with a sense of the wrath of God against the unrighteousness of men; yet this cannot be an interpretation of the descent into hell, as it is an Article of the CREED, and as that Article is grounded upon the Scriptures. For all these pains which our Saviour felt (whether, as they pretend, properly infernal, or metaphorically such) were antecedent to his death; part of them in the garden, part on the cross; but all before he commended his spirit into the hands of his Father, and gave up the ghost. Whereas it is sufficiently evident, that the descent into hell, as it now stands in the CREED signifieth something commenced after his death, contradistinguished to his burial; and, as it is considered in the apostle's explication, is clearly to be understood of that which immediately preceded his resurrection; and that also grounded upon a confidence totally repugnant to infernal pains. For it is thus particularly expressed, *I fore-^{Psalm xvi. 9, 10.} saw the Lord always before my face; for he is on my right hand, that I should not be moved. Therefore did my heart rejoice, and my tongue was glad: moreover also my flesh shall rest in hope; because thou wilt not leave my soul in hell.* Where the faith, hope, confidence, and assurance of Christ is shewn, and his flesh, though laid in the grave, the place of corruption, is said to *rest in hope*, for this very reason, because

232 God would not leave his soul in hell. I conclude, therefore, that the descent into hell is not the enduring the torments of hell: because, if strictly taken, it is not true; if metaphorically taken, though it be true, yet it is not pertinent.

The third opinion, which is also very late, at least in the manner of explication, is, that in those words *Thou shalt not leave my soul in hell*, the soul of Christ is taken for his body, and hell for the grave; and consequently, in the CREED, *He descended into hell*, is no more than this, that Christ in his body was laid into the grave. This explication ordinarily is rejected, by denying that the soul is ever taken for the body, or hell for the grave; but in vain: for it must be acknowledged, that sometimes the Scriptures are rightly so, and cannot otherwise be understood. First, The same word in the Hebrew¹, which the Psalmist used, and in the Greek, which

¹ The Hebrew word is נַשְׁמָה and the Greek ψυχή, *οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψεις τὴν ψυχὴν μου εἰς ᾗδου*, Psalm. xvi. 10. But both נַשְׁמָה and

the Apostle used, and we translate *the soul*, is elsewhere used for the body of a dead man, and translated so. And when we read in Moses of a prohibition given to the high-priest or the Nazarite, of going to or coming near a dead body, and of the pollution by the dead; the *dead body* in the Hebrew and the Greek is nothing else but that which elsewhere signifieth the *soul*. And Mr Ainsworth, who translated the Pentateuch nearer the letter than the sense, hath so delivered it in compliance with the original phrase; and may be well interpreted thus by our translation: *Ye shall not make in your flesh any cutting for a soul, that is, for the dead. For a soul he shall not defile himself among the people, that is, there shall none be defiled for the dead among his people. He that toucheth any thing that is unclean by a soul, that is, by the dead: Every*

Lev. xix. 28.

Lev. xxi. 1.

Lev. xxii. 4.

ψυχή are used for the body of a dead man, Numb. vi. 6. and it is so translated; for Moses speaking there of a Nazarite, gives this law, *All the days that he separateth himself unto the Lord, he shall come at no dead body*, in the original *בכל ימיו לא יבא אל מת* and in the LXX. *ἐπὶ πάσῃ ψυχῇ τετελευτηκυῖα οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται*. In the same manner the law for the high-priest, Lev. xxi. 11. *Neither shall he go in to any dead body*, *לא יבא אל מת* and *לעל לא יבא אל מת* and in the LXX. *ἐπὶ πάσῃ ψυχῇ τετελευτηκυῖα οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται*. And the general law, Lev. xxii. 4. *And whoso toucheth any thing that is unclean by the dead*, *והנגע בכל טמא מת* and *והנגע בכל טמא מת* and in the LXX. *ἐπὶ πάσῃ ψυχῇ τετελευτηκυῖα οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται*. Which is farther cleared by that of Numb. xix. 11. *He that toucheth the dead body of any man, who toucheth the dead body of any man that is dead*. *Omnis qui tetigerit humanæ animæ morticinum*. Therefore the *מת* and *ψυχῇ* in Lev. xxii. 4. do signify the *cadaver* or *morticinum*; as also Numb. v. 2. *Whosoever is defiled by the dead*, *והנגע בכל טמא מת* and *והנגע בכל טמא מת* and in the LXX. *ἐπὶ πάσῃ ψυχῇ τετελευτηκυῖα οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται*. And *מת* and *ψυχῇ* in Hag. ii. 13. is rightly translated, *one that is unclean by a dead body*. Thus several times *מת* and *ψυχῇ* are taken for the body of a dead man; that body which pol-

luted a man under the Law by the touch thereof. And Maimonides hath observed, that there is no pollution from the body till the soul be departed. Therefore *מת* and *ψυχῇ* did signify the body after the separation of the soul. And this was anciently observed by St Augustin, that the soul may be taken for the body only: '*Animæ nomine corpus solum posse significari, modo quodam locutionis ostenditur, quo significatur per id quod continetur illud quod continet; sicut ait quidam, Vina coronant, (Virg. Æn. vii. 147.) cum coronarentur vasa vinaria; vinum enim continetur, et vas continet. Sicut ergo appellamus Ecclesiam Basilicam, qua continetur populus, qui vere appellatur Ecclesia, ut nomine Ecclesiæ, id est, populi qui continetur, significemus locum qui continet: ita quod animæ corporibus continentur, intelligi corpora filiorum per nominatas animas possunt. Sic enim melius accipitur etiam illud, quod Lex inquinari dicit eum, qui intraverit super animam mortuam, hoc est, super defuncti cadaver; ut nomine animæ mortuæ mortuum corpus intelligatur, quod animam continebat, quia et absente populo, id est Ecclesia, locus tamen ille nihilominus Ecclesia nuncupatur.*' *Epist. 157. al. 190. ad Optatum, de Animarum Origine, c. 5. § 19.* [Tom. II. p. 537 A.] (p. 705.)

one defiled by a soul, that is, by the dead: He shall not come at Numb. v. 2. a dead soul, that is, he shall come at no dead body. Thus Numb. vi. 6. Ainsworth's translation sheweth, that in all these places the original word is that which originally signifieth the *soul*; and our translation teacheth us, that though in other places it signifieth the *soul*, yet in these it must be taken for the *body*, and that body bereft of the soul.

Secondly, The word¹ which the Psalmist used in the Hebrew, and the Apostle in Greek, and is translated *hell*, doth certainly in some other places signify no more than the grave, and is translated so. As where Mr Ainsworth followeth the word, *For I will go down unto my son mourning to hell*; our translation, aiming at the sense, rendereth it, *For I will go down into the grave unto my son mourning*. So Gen. xxvii. 86. again he, *Ye shall bring down my gray hairs with sorrow unto hell*, that is, *to the grave*. And in this sense we say, *the Lord killeth, and maketh alive: he bringeth down to the grave, and bringeth up*. Gen. xlii. 38. 1 Sam. ii. 6.

233 Now being the *soul* is sometimes taken for the *body deserted by the soul*, and *hell* is also sometimes taken for the *grave*, the receptacle of the body dead: therefore it is conceived that the prophet did intend these significations in those words, *Thou shalt not leave my soul in hell*; and consequently, the Article grounded on that Scripture must import no more than this: *Christ* in respect of his body bereft of his soul,

¹ The Hebrew word is שָׁאֵל, the Greek ἔδης. כִּי לֹא תָעֹב נַפְשִׁי לִשְׁאֵל כִּי לֹא תָעֹב נַפְשִׁי לִשְׁאֵל. *Ὅτι οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψεις ψυχὴν μου εἰς ἔδης*, (or *εἰς ἔδου*, as it is read in the Acts and in the Psalms, also by the ancient MS. at St James's). And these generally run together, and sometimes signify no more than the grave, as Gen. xxxvii. 35. where Jacob thinking that his son Joseph had been dead, breaks out into this sad expression, כִּי־אֵרֵד אִלֵּיכֶם אֲבִל שָׂאֵל *Ὅτι καταβήσομαι πρὸς τὸν τάφον μου πενθῶν εἰς ἔδου*, which we translate, *For I will go down into the grave unto my son mourning*, upon the authority of the ancient Targums. For although that of Onkelos keeps the original word לשָׁאֵל, yet the Jerusalem Targum and that of Jonathan render it קְבִירָא, *in domum sepulchri*:

and the Persian Targum, to the same purpose בְּנוֹר; as also the Arabic translation, *Imo descendam ad pulverem moestus de filio meo*. So Gen. xlii. 38. וְהוֹרֵדוֹם *καὶ κατὰξέρε μου τὸ γῆρας μετὰ λύπης εἰς ἔδου* which we translate, *Then shall ye bring down my gray hairs with sorrow to the grave*: where the Jerusalem Targum and that of Jonathan have it again קְבִירָא; and the Persian again בְּנוֹר *in sepulchrum*: the Arabic אֵלִי אֲלֵי *ad pulverem*, or *ad terram*. And it is observed by the Jewish commentators that those Christians are mistaken who interpret those words spoken by Jacob, *I will go down into sheol*, of hell; declaring that *sheol* there is nothing else but the grave.

which was recommended into, and deposited in, the hands of his Father, *descended* into the grave.

This exposition hath that great advantage, that he which first mentioned this descent in the CREED, did interpret it of the burial; and where this Article was expressed, there that of the burial was omitted. But notwithstanding those advantages, there is no certainty of this interpretation: first, Because he which did so interpret, at the same time, and in the tenor of that expression, did acknowledge a descent of the soul of *Christ* into hell¹; and those other Creeds which did likewise omit the burial, and express the descent, did shew, that by that descent, they understood not that of the body, but of the soul². Secondly, Because they which put these words into the Roman Creed, in which the burial was expressed before, must certainly understand a descent distinct from that; and therefore, though it might perhaps be thought a probable interpretation of the words of David, especially taken as belonging to David, yet it cannot pretend to an exposition of the CREED as now it stands.

The next opinion is, that the *soul* may well be understood, either for the nobler part of man distinguished from the body; or else, for the person of man consisting of both soul and body, as it often is; or, for the living soul, as it is distinguished from the immortal spirit: but then the term *hell* shall signify no place, neither of the man, nor of the body, nor of the soul; but only the state or condition of men in death, during the separation of the soul from the body. So

¹ Ruffinus, who first mentioned this Article, did interpret it of the grave, as we have already observed; but yet he did believe a descent distinct from that, in the Exposition of the Creed: 'Sed et quod in infernum descendit, evidenter prænunciatur in Psalmis,' &c. and then citing that of St Peter: 'Unde et Petrus dixit, Quia Christus mortificatus carne, vivificatus autem spiritu: in ipso, ait, et eis qui in carcere inclusi erant [*descendit spiritibus prædicare qui increduli fuerunt*] in diebus Noe, in quo etiam quid operis egerit in inferno declaratur.' § 27. [p. 24.] as we before more largely cited the same place. [p. 226.]

² I shewed before, that in the Creed

made at Sirmium there was the descent mentioned, and the burial omitted, and yet that descent was so expressed, that it could not be taken for the burial: besides now I add, that it was made by the Arians, who in few years before had given in another Creed, in which both the burial and the descent were mentioned; as that of Nice in Thracia: ἀποθανόντα, καὶ ταφέντα, καὶ ἐκ τῆς καταχθόνιας κατελθόντα, ὃν αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς ἐγείρασε. Theodoret, Hist. l. ii. c. 21. and not long after gave in another at Constantinople to the same purpose: σταυρωθέντα, καὶ ἀποθανόντα, καὶ ταφέντα, καὶ ἐκ τῆς καταχθόνιας διελθυσθέντα, ὃν πᾶσα καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς ἐγείρατο. Sozom. lib. ii. c. 41.

that the prophecy shall run thus, *Thou shalt not leave my soul in hell*, that is, Thou shalt not suffer me to remain in the common state of the dead, to be long deprived of my natural life, to continue without exercise, or power of exercising my vital faculty: and then the CREED will have this sense, that Christ was *crucified, dead, and buried, and descended into hell*; that is, he went unto the dead, and remained for a time in the state of death, as other dead men do.

234 But this interpretation supposeth that which can never appear, that *Hades* signifieth not death itself, nor the place where souls departed are, but the state and condition of the dead, or their permansion in death; which is a notion wholly new, and consequently cannot interpret that which representeth something known and believed of old, according to the notions and conceptions of those times. And that this notion is wholly new, will appear, because not any of the ancient Fathers is produced to avow it, nor any of the heathen authors which are produced do affirm it: nay, it is evident that the Greeks did always by *Hades* understand a place into which the souls of men were carried and conveyed, distinct and separate from that place in which we live; and that their different opinions shew, placing it, some in the earth, some under it, some in one unknown place of it, some in another. But especially *Hades*, in the judgment of the ancient Greeks, cannot consist with this notion of the state of death, and the permansion in that condition, because there were many which they believed to be dead, and to continue in the state of death, which yet they believed not to be in *Hades*, as those who died before their time, and those whose bodies were unburied¹. Thus

¹ The opinion of the ancient Greeks in this case is excellently expressed by Tertullian, who shews three kinds of men to be thought not to descend *ad inferos* when they die; the first *insepulti*, the second *aori*, the third *biathanati*: 'Credendum est, insepultos non ante ad inferos redigi quam justa perceperint.' *De Anim.* c. 56. [p. 354 A.] 'Aiunt et immatura morte præventas eousque vagari isthic, donec reliquatio compleatur statum, quas tum pervixissent, si non intempestive obiissent.' *Ibid.* 'Proinde extorres inferum habebuntur, quas vi ereptas arbitrantur,

præcipue per atrocitates suppliciorum; crucis dico, et securis, et gladii, et feræ.' *Ibid.* [p. 354 B.] The souls then of those whose bodies were unburied were thought to be kept out of *Hades* till their funerals were performed; and the souls of them who died an untimely or violent death, were kept from the same place until the time of their natural death should come. This he farther expresses in the terms of the magicians, whose art was conversant about souls departed: 'Aut optimum est hic retineri, secundum ahoros (i. e. δῶρος), aut pessimum, secundum Biso-

likewise the ancient Fathers differed much concerning the place of the *Infernus*; but never any doubted but that it signi-

thanatos (*βαιοθανάτους*), ut ipsis jam vocabulis utar, quibus auctrix opinio- num istarum Magica sonat, Hostanes, et Typhon, et Dardanus, et Damigeron, et Nectabis, et Bernice. Publica jam literatura est, quæ animas etiam justa ætate sopitas, etiam proba morte disjunctas, etiam prompta huma- tione dispunctas, evocaturam se ab in- ferum incolatu pollicetur.' *Ibid.* c. 57. Of that of the *insepulti*, he produceth the example of Patroclus: 'Secundum Homericum Patroclum funus in som- nis de Achille flagitantem, quod non alias adire portas inferum posset, ar- centibus eum longe animabus sepul- torum.' *Ibid.* c. 56. The place he intended is that, *Iliad.* Ψ. 71.

Θάπτε με, ὅτι τάχιστα πόδας αἰῶος παρήσω.
Τῆλ' ἐμὲ εἰργασίην ψυχῆς, εἰδὼς καμάντων,
Οὐδέ μ' ἐπὶ πῶς μίσγεσθαι ὑπὲρ ποταμοῖο ἔδωκεν.
In the same manner he describes El- penor, *Odys.* Δ. 51.

Πρώτῃ δὲ ψυχῇ Ἐλπήνορος ἦλθεν ἐταῖρου.
Οὐ γὰρ πῶς ἐτέθαιτο ὑπὸ χθονὸς εὐρυβοῆϊς.
Where it is the observation of Eusta- thius: 'Ὅτι δόξα ἦν τοῖς Ἕλλησι, τὰς τῶν ἀθάπτων ψυχὰς μὴ ἀναμίγνεσθαι ταῖς λοιπαῖς. And the same Eusta- thius observes an extraordinary accu- rateness in that question of Penelope concerning Ulysses, upon that same ground. *Odys.* Δ. 833.

Εἶπον ἐπὶ ζῆει, καὶ ὄρε' φῶς ψέλλω·
Ἦ ἦθ' ἐτέθηκε, καὶ εἰν αἰῶος δόμοισι.

Τὸ δέ, καὶ ὄρε' φῶς ἡλίου, δι' ὁρθότητα ἐννοίας κεῖται· ὡς δυνατόν ἐν ζῆν μὲν, μὴ βλέπειν δέ. Οὕτω δὲ καὶ τῶ, εἰν αἰῶος δόμοισι, πρὸς ἀκριβείαν λόγου ἐρρέθη· κατὰ γὰρ τὸν ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς δηλω- θησόμενον Ἑλληνικὸν μῦθον, οὐ πᾶς τεθνηκὼς καὶ ἐν ζῶον γινεται, εἰ μὴ καὶ πυρρὴ δοθῇ, καθὰ καὶ ὁ τοῦ Εὐριπίδου ἐμφαίνει Πολύδωρος· ὥστε τῶ, ἡ ἦθ' ἐτέθηκε, καὶ εἰν αἰῶος δόμοισιν, ἀντὶ τοῦ, ἡ ἦθ' ἐτέθηκε, καὶ τέθαιπται. It is here very observable that, according to the opinion of the Greeks, to be dead is one thing, and to be in *hades* is another: and that every one which died was not in *hades*, οὐ πᾶς τεθνηκὼς καὶ ἐν ζῶον γινεται, as Eustathius

speaks. 'Legimus præterea in Sexto insepultorum animas vagas esse,' *Serv.* in *Æneid.* iii. 67. The place which he intended, I suppose is this,

Hæc omnis, quam cernis, inops inhumataque turba est;
Portitor ille Charon; hi, quos vehit unda, se- pulch.

Nec ripas datur horrendas nec rauca fluentes
Transportare prius, quam sedibus omnia quierunt.
Centum errant annos, volitantque hæc littora circum.

Virg. *Æn.* vi. 525.

Thus he is to be understood in the de- scription of the funeral of Polydorus, *Æn.* iii. 62.

Ergo instauramus Polydoro funus, et ingens Aggeritur tumulo tellus,——

——animamque sepulcro
Condimus.——

Not that *anima* does there signify the body, as some have observed; but that the soul of Polydorus was then in rest, when his body received funeral rites, as Servius: 'Legimus præterea in Sexto insepultorum animas vagas esse, et hinc constat non legitime sepultum fuisse. Rite ergo, reddita legitima sepultura, redit anima ad quietem sepulchri,' saith Servius, *Æn.* iii. 67; or rather, in the sense of Virgil, *ad quietem inferni*, according to the petition of Palinurus, *Æn.* vi. 371, Sedibus ut saltem placidis in morte quiescam. And that the soul of Polydorus was so wandering about the place where his body lay unburied, appeareth out of Euripides in *Hecuba*, where he speaketh thus, v. 30:

Νῦν δ' ὑπὲρ μητρὸς φῶις
Ἐκάβης δίσσω, σὺνί' ἀρημαίους μόνον,
Τριταῖον ἦθ' ἔφτης αἰσρούμενος.

And in the *Troades* of the same poet this ἀλη, or *erratio vagabunda insepultorum*, is acknowledged by the Chorus in these words, v. 1082.

Ὁ φίλος, ὃ πῶς μοι,
Σὺ μὲν φθίμενος ἀλάνεις
Ἄθαπτος, ἀνδρὸς.

And when their bodies were buried, then their souls passed into Hades to the rest. So was it with Polydorus, and that man mentioned in the history of the philosopher Athenodorus, whose *umbra* or *phasma* walked after his

fied some place or other¹: and if they had conceived any such notion as the state of death, and the permansion of the dead in that state, they needed not to have fallen into doubts or questions; the patriarchs and the prophets being as certainly in the state of death, and remaining so, as Corah, Dathan, and Abiram are, or any person which is certainly condemned to everlasting flames. Though therefore it be certainly true that *Christ* did truly and properly die, as other men are wont to do, and that after expiration he was in the state or condition of the dead, in deadlihood, as some have learned to speak; yet the CREED had spoken as much as this before, when it delivered that he *was dead*. And although it is true that he might have died, and in the next minute of time revived, and consequently his death not (precisely taken) signify any permansion or duration in the state of death, and therefore it might be added, *he descended into hell*, to signify farther a permansion or duration in that condition: yet if *hell* do signify nothing else but the state of the dead, as this opinion doth suppose, then to *descend into hell* is no more than to be dead; and so, notwithstanding any duration implied in that expression, *Christ* might have ascended the next minute after he descended thither, as well as he might be imagined to revive the next minute after he died. Being then to *descend into hell*, according to this interpretation, is no more than to be dead; being no man ever doubted but that person was dead who died; being it was before delivered in the CREED that *Christ* died, or, as we render it, *was dead*: we cannot imagine but they which did add this part of the Article to the CREED, did intend something more than this, and therefore we cannot admit this notion as a full or proper exposition.

death. 'Inveniuntur ossa inserta catenis et implicita, quæ corpus ævo teraque putrefactum nuda et exesa reliquerat vinculis: collecta publice sepeliuntur; domus postea rite conditis manibus caruit.' *Plin.* l. vii. *Epist.* 27. [p. 201, l. 24.] This was the case of the *insepulti*. And for that of the *biathanati*, it is remarkable that Dido threateneth *Æneas*, *Æn.* iv. 384.

— sequar atris ignibus absens,
Et, cum frigida mors animæ seduxerit artus,
Omnibus umbra locis adero. —

Upon which place Servius observes:

'Dicunt Physici Bisethanatorum animas non recipi in originem suam, nisi vagantes legitimum tempus fati compleverint; quod Poetæ ad sepulcrum transferunt, ut *centum errant annos* (*Æn.* vi. 319.) Hoc ergo nunc dicit Dido, Occisura me ante diem sum; vaganti mihi dabis pœnas: nam te persequar, et adero quamdiu erravero semper.'

¹ "Ἄδης δὲ τόπος ἡμῶν αἰδώς, ἔργον ἀφανὲς καὶ ἀγνωστός, ὃ τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν ἐντεῦθεν ἐκδημιόους δεχόμενος. *Andreas Cæcarius in Apocal.* c. 63.

There is yet left another interpretation grounded upon the 235
 general opinion of the Church of *Christ* in all ages, and upon
 a probable exposition of the prophecy of the Psalmist, taking
 the *soul* in the most proper sense for the spirit or rational part
 of *Christ*; that part of a man which, according to our Saviour's
 doctrine, the Jews could not kill; and looking upon *hell*, as a
 place distinct from this part of the world where we live, and
 distinguished from those heavens whither *Christ* ascended,
 into which place the souls of men were conveyed after or
 upon their death; and therefore thus expounding the words
 of the Psalmist in the person of *Christ*: Thou shalt not suffer
 that soul of mine which shall be forced from my body by the
 violence of pain upon the cross, but resigned into thy hands,
 when it shall go into that place below where the souls of men
 departed are detained; I say, thou shalt not suffer that soul
 to continue there as theirs have done; but shalt bring it
 shortly from thence, and reunite it to my body.

Matt. x. 28.

For the better understanding of this exposition there are
 several things to be observed, both in respect to the matter of
 it, and in reference to the authority of the Fathers. First,
 therefore, this must be laid down as a certain and necessary
 truth, that the soul of man, when he dieth, dieth not, but
 returneth unto him that gave it, to be disposed of at his
 will and pleasure, according to the ground of our Saviour's
 counsel, *Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able*
to kill the soul. That better part of us therefore, in and after
 death, doth exist and live, either by virtue of its spiritual and
 immortal nature, as we believe; or at least [by] the will of
 God, and his power upholding and preserving it from dissolu- 236
 tion, as many of the Fathers thought. This soul, thus exist-
 ing after death, and separated from the body, though of a
 nature spiritual, is really and truly in some place; if not by
 way of circumscription, as proper bodies are, yet by way of
 determination and indistancy; so that it is true to say, this
 [soul] is really and truly present here and not elsewhere.

Again, the soul of man, which, while he lived, gave life
 to the body, and was the fountain of all vital actions; in that
 separate existence after death must not be conceived to sleep,
 or be bereft and stripped of all vital operations, but still to
 exercise the powers of understanding and of willing, and to
 be subject to the affections of joy and sorrow. Upon which

is grounded the different estate and condition of the souls of men during that time of separation; some of them, by the mercy of God, being placed in peace and rest, in joy and happiness; others, by the justice of the same God, left to sorrow, pains, and misery.

As there was this different state and condition before our Saviour's death, according to the different kinds of men in this life, the wicked and the just, the elect and reprobate; so there were two societies of souls after death; one of them which were happy in the presence of God, the other, of those which were left in their sins and tormented for them. Thus we conceive the righteous Abel, the first man placed in this happiness, and the souls of them that departed in the same faith, to be gathered to him. Whosoever it was of the sons of Adam, which first died in his sins, was put into a place of torment; and the souls of all those which departed after with the wrath of God upon them were gathered into his sad society.

Now as the souls at the hour of death are really separated from the bodies; so the place where they are in rest or misery after death, is certainly distinct from the place in which they lived. They continue not where they were at that instant when the body was left without life: they do not go together with the body to the grave; but as the sepulchre is appointed for our flesh, so there is another receptacle, or habitation and mansion, for our spirits. From whence it followeth, that in death the soul doth certainly pass by a real motion from that place, in which it did inform the body, and is translated to that place, and unto that society, which God of his mercy or justice hath allotted to it. And not at present to inquire into the difference and distance of those several habitations (but for method's sake to involve them all as yet under the notion of the infernal parts, or the mansions below), it will appear to have been the general judgment of the Church, that the soul of *Christ* contradistinguished from his body, that better and more noble part of his humanity, his rational and intellectual soul, after a true and proper separation from his flesh, was really and truly carried into those parts below, where the souls of men before departed were detained; and that, by such a real translation of his soul, he was truly said to have descended into hell.

Many have been the interpretations of the opinion of the Fathers made of late; and their differences are made to appear so great, as if they agreed in nothing which concerns this point: whereas there is nothing which they agree in more than this which I have already affirmed, the real descent of the soul of *Christ* unto the habitation of the souls departed. The persons to whom, and end for which, he descended, they differ in; but as to a local descent into the infernal parts they all agree. Who were then in those parts, they could not certainly define; but whosoever were there, that *Christ* by the presence of his soul was with them, they all determined.

That this was the general opinion of the Church, will appear, not only by the testimonies of those ancient writers which 237 lived successively¹, and wrote in several ages, and delivered

¹ As Irenæus: 'Cum enim Dominus in medio umbræ mortis abierit, ubi animæ mortuorum erant, post deinde corporaliter resurrexit—manifestum est, quia et discipulorum ejus, propter quos et hæc operatus est Dominus, animæ abibunt in invisibilem locum definitum eis a Deo, &c.' l. v. [c. 31. p. 451. 16.] Clemens Alexandrinus was so clearly of that opinion, that he thought the soul of Christ preached salvation to the souls in hell. *Strom.* l. vi. c. 6. [p. 762. 32. See p. 241, note.] And Tertullian proves that the *inferi* are a cavity in the earth where the souls of dead men are, because the soul of Christ went thither: 'Quod si Christus Deus, quia et homo mortuus secundum Scripturas, et sepultus secus easdem, huic quoque legi satisfecit, forma humanæ mortis apud inferos functus, nec ante adscendit in sublimiora cælorum quam descendit in inferiora terrarum, ut illic Patriarchas et Prophetas compotes sui faceret; habes et regionem inferum subterraneam credere, et illos cubito pellere, qui satis superbe non putent animas fidelium inferis dignas.' *De Anim.* c. 55. [p. 353 B.] Γνωμὴ σώματος γενόμενος ψυχῇ ταῖς γυναικὶς σωμάτων ὡμιλεῖ ψυχαῖς. *Orig. contra Celsum*, l. ii. § 43. [Tom. I. p. 419 D.] 'Ipsa anima, etsi fuit in abyso, jam non est, quia scriptum est, Quoniam non derelinques ani-

ma meam in inferno.' *S. Ambros. de Incarn.* c. 5. [Tom. iv. p. 291 L.] 'Si ergo secundum hominem, quem Verbum Deus suscepit, putamus dictum esse, Hodie mecum eris in Paradiso, non ex his verbis in cælo existimandus est esse Paradisus. Neque enim ipso die in cælo futurus erat homo Christus Jesus, sed in inferno secundum animam, in sepulcro autem secundum carnem. Et de carne quidem, quod eo die in sepulcro sit posita, manifestissimum est evangelium. Quod vero illa anima in infernum descenderit, apostolica doctrina prædicat. Quandoquidem B. Petrus ad hanc rem testimonium de Psalmis adhibet,—Quoniam non derelinques animam meam in inferno, neque dabis Sanctum tuum videre corruptionem. Illud de anima dictum est, quia ibi non est derelicta, unde tam cito remeavit; illud de corpore, quod in sepulcro corrumpi celeri resurrectione non potuit.' *S. August. Epist.* 57. al. 187. *ad Dardanum*, c. 2. § 5. [Tom. II. p. 517 A.] (p. 679.)

Καταβάς μὲχρι καὶ χθονὸς
'Επισημὸς ἱθαμφοῖς,
Κατὰ βῆλα δ' ὑπὸ τέφραρα,
Ψυχῶν δὲ μυστὰ
Θάνατος νέμεν ἔδνα.
Φρίξεν σε γέρονι τότε
'Αἰῶας ὁ παλαιγενής,
Καὶ λαοβόρος κύνων
'Ανεχάσσαστο βελού.

Synec. Hymn. ix. 7.

Ψυχὴ δὲ ἡ θεία, τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν λαχοῦσα

this exposition in such express terms as are not capable of any other interpretation; but also because it was generally used as an argument against the Apollinarian heresy: than which nothing can shew more the general opinion of the catholics and the heretics, and that not only of the present, but of the precedent ages. For it had been little less than ridiculous to have produced that for an argument to prove a point in controversy, which had not been clearer than that which was controverted, and had not been some way acknowledged as a truth by both. Now the error of Apollinarius was, That *Christ* had no proper intellectual or rational soul, but that the Word was to him in the place of a soul: and the argument produced by the Fathers for the conviction of this error was, That *Christ descended into hell*¹, which the Apollinarians

συνδρομήν τε καὶ ἔνωσιν, καταπεφόλ-
τηκε μὲν εἰς ἔδον, θεοπρεπεῖ δὲ δυνάμει
καὶ ἔκνοσιν χρωμένη, καὶ τοῖς ἐκείσε
πνεύμασι κατεφάβετο. *S. Cyril. Alex.*
Dial. de Incarn. T. v. par. i. p. 693. [B.]

‘Ο μὲν τάφος αὐτοῦ σῶμα μόνον ὑπέδε-
ξατο, ψυχὴν δὲ μόνην ὁ ἄδης. *Anast.*
apud Euthym. Panopl. par. ii. tit. 17.

‘Postquam igitur exaltatus est, id est,
a Judæis in cruce suspensus, et spiri-
tum reddidit, unita suæ Divinitati ani-
ma ad inferorum profunda descendit.’
Auctor Serm. de tempore. ‘Corpore in
sepulcro seposito, Divinitas cum anima
hominis ad inferna descendens vocavit
de locis suis animas sanctorum.’ *Gau-*
dentius. Briz. Tract. 10. [p. 819 B.]

‘In hoc Divinitas Christi virtutem suæ
impassibilitatis ostendit, quæ ubique,
semper atque ineffabiliter præsens, et
secundum animam suam in inferno sine
doloribus fuit, et secundum carnem
suam in sepulcro sine corruptione ja-
cuit; quia nec carni suæ defuit, cum
animam suam in inferno dolere non
sineret; nec animam suam in inferno
deseruit, cum in sepulcro carnem suam
a corruptione servaret.’ *Fulgent. ad*
Thrasimund. l. iii. c. 31. [p. 61 E.]

¹ What the Apollinarian heresy
was, is certainly known: they denied
that Christ had a human soul, affirm-
ing the Word was to him in the place
of a soul. ‘Apollinarius Apollinarius
instituit, qui de anima Christi a catho-

lica dissenserunt, dicentes, sicut Ariani,
Deum Christum carnem sine anima
suscepisse. In qua questione testi-
moniis evangelicis victi, mentem, qua
rationalis est anima hominis, defuisse in
anima Christi, sed pro hac ipsum Ver-
bum in eo fuisse, dixerunt.’ *S. August.*
de Hæres. 55. [Tom. VIII. p. 14 E.]
(p. 19.) Against this heresy the Catho-
lics argued from the descent into hell,
as that which was acknowledged by
them all, even by the Arians (with
whom the Apollinarians in this agreed),
as we have shewn before by three se-
veral creeds of theirs in which they
expressed this descent. This is the
argument of Athanasius in his fourth
dialogue *De Trinitate*, which is particu-
larly with an Apollinarian: “Ὡς περ οὐκ
ἡδύνατο ὁ Θεὸς ἐν μνήματι καὶ ἐν ταφῇ
γενέσθαι, εἰ μὴ εἶχεν τὸ τιθέμενον σῶ-
μα· οὕτως οὐκ ἂν ἐλέχθη κεχωρίσθαι τοῦ
σώματος, πανταχοῦ ὄν, καὶ τὰ πάντα
περιέχων, εἰ μὴ εἶχε τὴν χωριζομένην
ψυχὴν, μεθ’ ἧς καὶ τοῖς ἐν ἔδου εὐήγ-
ηλίστατο· διὰ γὰρ αὐτὴν καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν
τοῦ σώματος λέγεται, καὶ ἐν ἔδου γεγε-
νῆσθαι· καὶ τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐν
ἔδου γενέσθαι διὰ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ ἐν
μνήματι τεθῆναι διὰ τὸ σῶμα. § 7. [In-
ter Spuria Athanasii Opera, Tom. II.
p. 519 F.] But because these dialogues
may be questioned as not genuine, the
same argument may be produced out
of his book *De Incarnatione Christi*,

could not deny; and that this descent was not made by his Divinity, or by his body, but by the motion and presence of

written particularly against Apollinarius: Πελσθητε ον, οτι ο εσωθεν ημῶν ανθρωπος εστιν η ψυχη· τουτο και της πρωτης πλασεως δεκνουσας, και της δευτερας διαλυσως δηλουσας, ου μωνον εφ' ημῶν τουτων δεκνουμενων, αλλα και εν αυτω τῷ θανῳ του Χριστου εδεικνυτο· το μεντοι, μεχρι ταφου φθασαν· η δε, μεχρι θδου διαβασα, διαμετων δε οτων των τῶν πολλῶν τῷ μετρω και του μεν ταφου σωματικῃ ἐπιδεχομενου την ἐκβασιν, ἐκεισε παρην το σωμα, του δε θδου ασωματων. Πως ἐκει παρων ο Κριος ασωματως, ως ανθρωπος ἐνομισθη ὑπο του θανατου; ὅα ψυχαις ταῖς ἐν δεσμοῖς κατεχομεναις, μορφην ἰβας ψυχῆς ἀνεπιδεκτων ως δεκτικῃ των δεσμων του θανατου παραστήσας, παρῶσαν παρῶσαις, διαρρήξῃ τὰ δεσμὰ ψυχῶν των ἐν θδου κατεχομενων. l. i. [§ 13, 14. Tom. i. p. 933 O.] Thus Euthymius, in his commentary upon the words of the Psalmist, *Thou shalt not leave my soul in hell*: Τίθησι και της ἐλπίδος την αἰτίαν. Καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἐγκαταλείνεις, φησί, την ψυχήν μου εἰς θδον, οπου των τετελευτηκῶτων αἱ ψυχαὶ κατέχονται· τῶτος γὰρ ο θδης ὑπο γῆν ἀποκεκληρωμενος ταῖς των ἀποθησκόντων ψυχαις· πῶς τοιῶν ο λῆρος Ἀπολλινάριος, ο την προσληφθεῖσαν σάρκα δογματίζων ἀψυχον και ἄνουν; ὡς ἀόητος. And from hence we may understand the words of Theodoret, who at the end of his exposition of this Psalm thus concludes: Οδτος ο ψαλμὸς και την Ἀρελου και την Εὐνομίου και Ἀπολλιναρίου φρενοβλάβειαν ἐλέγχει. [Tom. i. p. 450 A.] Which is in reference to those words, *Thou shalt not leave my soul in hell*. In the same manner, Leporius Presbyter ('quod male senserat de Incarnatione Christi, corrigens,' as Gennadius observeth, *Illust. Vir. cat.* 60. and particularly disavowing that of the Arians and Apollinarians, 'Deum hominemque commixtum, et tali confusione carnis et Verbi quasi aliquod corpus effectum' [Libell. Emend. c. 4. p. 397 D.] does thus express the reality and distinction

of the soul and body of the same Christ: 'Tam Christus Filius Dei tunc mortuus jacuit in sepulcro, quam idem Christus Filius Dei ad inferna descendit; sicut beatus apostolus dicit, *Quod autem ascendit, quid est nisi etiam quod descendit primum in inferiores partes terrae!*—Ipse utique Dominus ac Deus noster Jesus Christus unicus Dei, qui cum anima ad inferna descendit, ipse cum anima et corpore ascendit ad coelum.' Libell. Emendationis, [c. 9. p. 399 c.] And Capreolus, bishop of Carthage, writing against the Nestorian heresy, proveth that the soul of Christ was united to his Divinity when it descended into hell, and follows that argument, urging it at large; in which discourse among the rest he hath this passage: 'Tantum abest, Deum Dei Filium, incommutabilem atque incomprehensibilem, ab inferis potuisse concludi; ut nec ipsam adumptionis animam credamus, aut exitiabiliter susceptam aut tenaciter derelictam. Sed nec carnem ejus credimus contagione alicujus corruptionis infectam. Ipsius namque vox est in Psalmo, sicut Petrus interpretatur apostolus, *Non derelinques animam meam apud inferos, neque dabis Sanctum tuum videre corruptionem.*' Epist. ad Vital. et Constant. [Sirmondii, Tom. i. p. 368. col. 2 A.] Lastly, The true doctrine of the incarnation against all the enemies thereof, Apollinarians, Nestorians, Eutychians, and the like, was generally expressed by declaring the verity of the soul of Christ really present in hell, and the verity of his body at the same time really present in the grave; as it is excellently delivered by Fulgentius: 'Humanitas vera Filii Dei nec tota in sepulcro fuit, nec tota in inferno; sed in sepulcro secundum veram carnem Christus mortuus jacuit, et secundum animam ad infernum Christus descendit. Secundum eandem animam ab inferno ad carnem, quam in sepulcro reliquerat, rediit: secundum divinitatem vero suam, quæ nec loco tenetur nec fine concluditur, totus fuit

his soul, and consequently, that he had a soul distinct both from his flesh and from the Word. Whereas if it could have then been answered by the heretics, as now it is by many, that his descent into hell had no relation to his soul, but to his body only, which descended to the grave; or that it was not a real, but only virtual, descent, by which his death extended to the destruction of the powers of hell; or that his soul was not his intellectual spirit or immortal soul, but his living soul, which descended into hell, that is, continued in the state of death: I say, if any of these senses could have been affixed to this Article, the Apollinarians' answer might have been sound, and the catholics' argument of no validity. But being those heretics did all acknowledge this Article; being the catholic Fathers did urge the same to prove the real distinction of the soul of *Christ* both from his Divinity and from his body, because his body was really in the grave when his soul was really present with the souls below; it followeth that it was the general doctrine of the Church, that *Christ* did descend into hell by a local motion of his soul, separated from his body, to the places below where the souls of men departed were.

238 Nor can it be reasonably objected, that the argument of the Fathers was of equal force against these heretics, if it be understood of the animal soul, as it would be if it were understood of the rational: as if those heretics had equally deprived *Christ* of the rational and animal soul. For it is most certain that they did not equally deprive *Christ* of both; but most of the Apollinarians denied an human soul to *Christ* only in respect of the intellectual part, granting that the animal soul of *Christ* was of the same nature with the animal soul of other men¹. If therefore the Fathers had proved only that the

in sepulcro cum carne, totus in inferno cum anima. Ac per hoc plenus fuit ubique Christus; quia non est Deus ab humanitate quam suscepit separatus, qui et in anima sua fuit, ut solutis inferni doloribus ab inferno victrix rediret, et in carne sua fuit, ut celeri resurrectione corrumpi non posset.' *Ad Thrasimund.* l. iii. c. 34. [p. 62 C.]

¹ At first indeed the Apollinarians did so speak, as if they denied the human soul in both acceptions; but afterwards they clearly affirmed the

ψυχῇ, and denied the νοῦς alone. So Socrates testifies of them: Πρώτερον μὲν εἶπον ἀναληφθῆναι τὸν ἀνθρώπον ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου ἐν τῇ οἰκονομίᾳ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως ψυχῆς ἀνεν· εἶτα ὡς ἐκ μεταβολῆς ἐπιδιορθούμενοι, προσέθεσαν ψυχὴν μὲν ἀνελήφθαι. νοῦν δὲ οὐκ ἔχειν αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' εἶναι τὸν Θεὸν Λόγον ἀντὶ νοῦ ἐκ τὸν ἀναληφθέντα ἀνθρώπου. *Hist.* l. ii. c. 46. 'Nam et aliqui eorum fuisse in Christo animam negare non potuerunt. Videte absurditatem et insaniam non ferendam. Ani-

animal soul of *Christ* had descended into hell, they had brought no argument at all to prove that *Christ* had an human intellectual soul. It is therefore certain that the catholic Fathers in their opposition to the Apollinarian heretics did declare, that the intellectual and immortal soul of *Christ* descended into hell.

The only question which admitted any variety of discrepance among the ancients was, Who were the persons to whose souls the soul of *Christ* descended? and that which dependeth on that question, What was the end and use of his descent? In this indeed they differed much, according to their several apprehensions of the condition of the dead, and the nature of the place into which the souls before our Saviour's death were gathered; some looking on that name which we translate now *hell*, *hades*, or *infernus*, as the common receptacle of the souls of all men¹, both the just and unjust,

mam irrationalem eum habere voluerunt, rationalem negaverunt; dederunt ei animam pecoris, subtraxerunt hominis.' *S. August. Tract. 47. in Ioan.* § 8. [Tom. III. par. 2. p. 443 E.] (p. 611.) This was so properly indeed the Apollinarian heresy, that it was thereby distinguished from the Arian. 'Nam Apollinaristæ quidem carnis et animæ naturam sine mente adsumpsisse Dominum credunt, Ariani vero carnis tantummodo.' *Facundus*, l. ix. c. 3. [p. 762 O.]

¹ Some of the ancient Fathers did believe that the word *ἔδης* in the Scriptures had the same signification which it hath among the Greeks, as comprehending all the souls both of the wicked and the just; and so they took *infernus* in the same latitude. As therefore the ancient Greeks did assign one *ἔδης* for all which died, Πάρας ὁμῶς θνητοῦς διδῶς δέχεται· and κοινὸν *ἔδην* πάντες ἤξουσιν βοροῦ· as they made within that one *ἔδης* two several receptacles, one for the good and virtuous, the other for the wicked and unjust (according to that of Diphilus, ap. *Clem. Alex. Strom.* v. c. 14. p. 721. 17.

Καὶ γὰρ καθ' ἑνὴν ὁδὸν τρέφοντες νομίζομεν,
μίαν δικαιοσύνην, χεῖρας ἀσπάζειν ὁδόν·
and that of Plato, in *Gorgia*, [Tom. IV. p. 166. Edit. Bipont.] Οὗτοι οὖν ἐπει-

δὲν τελευτήσωσι, δικάσουσιν ἐν τῷ λειμῶνι, ἐν τῇ τράδῳ, ἐξ ἧς φέρετον τὸ δδῶ, ἡ μὲν εἰς μακάρων ἤσους, ἡ δὲ εἰς τάρταρον· and that of Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 540.

Hic locus est, partes ubi se via findit in ambas :
Dextera, quæ Ditis magni sub membra tendit,
Hæc iter Elysium nobis : at læva malorum
Exercet penas, et ad impla Tartara mittit.)

as they did send the best of men to *ἔδης*, there to be happy, and taught rewards to be received there as well as punishments: (Λέγεται δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ μελικοῦ Πινδάρου ταυτὶ περὶ τῶν εὐσεβέων ἐν *ἔδου*,

Τοῖσι λάμπατ' ἄλκυονας ἀέλουσιν
τὴν ἐνθάδε νύκτα κάτω,
Φαινικορόβιαι τὴν λευκῶν
Εἰσι προάστειον αὐτῶν.

Plut. de Consolat. ad Apollon. [c. 27. Tom. I. par. 2. p. 120 c.]

—Ὁ τρισόλβιος

Καίνοι βοροῦν, οἱ ταῦτα δερχόμενοι τὸν
Μόλωσ' ἐς ἔδου· τοῖσδε γὰρ μόνος ἐκεί
Ζῆν' ἐστὶ, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις πάντ' ἐκεί κακῶς.
Sophocl. ap. Philarch. de Aud. Poet. c. 4.)
[Brunck, *Fragm.* LVIII.]

so did the Jews also before and after our Saviour's time. For Josephus says, the soul of Samuel was brought up ἐξ *ἔδου*, and delivers the opinion of the Pharisees after this manner, *Ant. Jud.* l. xviii. c. 2. [§ 3. p. 793. 10.] 'Ἀθανάτων τε λογὴν ταῖς ψυχαῖς πύστις αὐτοῖς, εἶναι καὶ ὑπὸ χθρόνος δικαιοσύνης τε καὶ τιμῆς οἷς ἀπερίτης ἡ κακίας ἐπιτήδευσις

thought the soul of *Christ* descended unto those which departed in the true faith and fear of God, the souls of the patriarchs and the prophets, and the people of God.

ἐν τῷ βίῳ γέγονε and of the Sadducees after this manner: [*De Bel. Jud.* lib. ii. c. 8. § 14. p. 1065. 14.] Ψυχῆς τε τὴν διαμονήν, καὶ τὰς καθ' ἑδου τιμωρίας καὶ τιμὰς ἀναιρούσι. Therefore the Jews which thought the souls immortal did believe that the just were rewarded, as well as the unjust punished, ὅτ' ἡθελόν, or καθ' ἑδου. And so did also most of the ancient Fathers of the Church. There was an ancient book written *De Universi Natura*, which some attributed to Justin Martyr, some to Irenæus, others to Origen, or to Caius a presbyter of the Roman Church in the time of Victor and Zephyrinus, a fragment of which is set forth by David Hoescheli in his Annotations upon Photius, delivering the state of ἑδου at large. Περὶ δὲ ἑδου, ἐν ᾧ συνέχονται ψυχὰι δικαίων τε καὶ ἀδίκων, ἀναγκαῖον εἶπέν. Here then were the just and unjust in Hades, but not in the same place. Οἱ δὲ δίκαιοι ἐν τῷ ἑδῳ νῦν μὲν συνέχονται, ἀλλ' οὐ τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ ᾧ καὶ οἱ ἀδικοί. Μία γὰρ ἐστὶν τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον καθόδοις, &c. There was but one passage into the Hades, saith he; but when that gate was passed, the just went on the right hand to a place of happiness, (Τοῦτο δὲ ὄνομα κυκλῆσκομεν κόλπον Ἀβραάμ) and the unjust on the left to a place of misery: Οὗτος ὁ περὶ ἑδου λόγος, ἐν ᾧ ψυχὰι πάντων κατέχονται ἀπὸ καιροῦ ὃν ὁ Θεὸς ὥρισεν. p. 923. Tertullian wrote a tract, *De Paradiso*, now not extant, in which he expressed thus much: 'Habes etiam de Paradiso a nobis libellum, quo constituimus omnem animam apud Inferos sequestrari in diem Domini.' *De Anima*, c. 55. [p. 353 D.] St Jerome on the third chapter of *Ecclesiastes*: 'Hoc dicit quod ante adventum Christi omnia ad inferos pariter duerentur. Unde et Jacob ad inferos descendurum se dicit; et Job pios et impios in inferno queritur retentari. Et Evangelium, chaos magnum interpositum apud inferos, et

Abraham cum Lazaro et divitem in suppliciis, esse testatur.' *Ad Gal.* [Tom. III. p. 416 A.] And in his 25th Epistle: [Ep. 39. § 3. Tom. I. p. 179 B.] 'Perfacilis ad ista responsio est; Luxisse Jacob filium, quem putabat occisum, ad quem et ipse erat ad inferos descendurus, dicens, *Descendam ad filium meum lugens in infernum*: quia necdum Paradisi januam Christus effragerat, necdum flammam illam romphæam et vertiginem præsentium Cherubim sanguis ejus extinxerat. Unde et Abraham, licet in loco refrigerii, tamen apud inferos cum Lazaro fuisse scribitur.' And again: 'Nequeo satis Scripturæ laudare mysteria, et divinum sensum in verbis licet simplicibus admirari:—quod, *Moyses plangitur*: et Jesus Nave, vir sanctus, sepultus refertur, et tamen fletus esse non scribitur. Nempe illud, quod in Moyse, id est, in lege veteri, sub peccato Adam omnes tenebantur elogio, et ad inferos descendentes consequenter lacrymæ prosequabantur.—In Jesu vero, id est, in Evangelio, per quem Paradisus est apertus, mortem gaudia prosequuntur.' *Ibid.* [p. 179 F.] ['Quod autem ait, *in inferno quo tu vadis illuc*, nota ut Samuelum quoque vere in inferno credas fuisse; et ante adventum Christi, quamvis sanctos, omnes inferni lege detentos.' *Hieron. in Ecclesiast.* ix. Tom. III. p. 464 A.] Τὸ πρότερον ὁ θάνατος ἐστὶν τὸν ἑδῳ κατ' ἑγὼ νῦν δὲ ὁ θάνατος πρὸς τὸν Χριστὸν παραπέμπτει. *S. Chrysost. Panegyri. in Sanctis Martyres Bernicen et Prosdocen.* [§ 3. Tom. II. p. 638 B.] And in his Tractate proving that Christ is God, he makes this exposition of Isaiah xlv. 2. Πύλας χαλκᾶς συνθλάσω, καὶ μοχλοῦς σιδηροῦς συντρίψω, καὶ ἀνοίξω σοὶ θύσαντες σκοτεινοῖς, ἀποκρύφους, ἀόρατους ἀναδείξω σοὶ τὸν ἑδῳ οὗτω καλῶν. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἑδῳς ἦν, ἀλλὰ ψυχὰς ἐκράτει ἁγίας, καὶ σκέθη τιμία, τὸν Ἀβραάμ, τὸν Ἰσαάκ, τὸν Ἰακώβ διὰ καὶ θύσαντες ἐκδέσσει. [*Contra Judæos et Gen-*

But others there were who thought *Hades* or *Infernus* was never taken in the Scriptures for any place of happiness¹; and therefore they did not conceive the souls of the patriarchs or the prophets did pass into any such infernal place; and, consequently, that the descent into hell was not his going to the prophets or the patriarchs, which were not there. For as, if it had been only said that *Christ* had gone unto the bosom of Abraham, or to Paradise, no man would ever have believed that he had *descended into hell*; so, being it is only written, *Thou shalt not leave my soul in hell*, it seems incongruous to think that he went then unto the patriarchs who were not there.

Now this being the diversity of opinions anciently in respect 240 of the persons unto whose souls the soul of *Christ* descended at his death, the difference of the end or efficacy of that descent is next to be observed. Of those which did believe the name of *Hades* to belong unto that general place which comprehended all the souls of men (as well those who died in the favour of God, as those which departed in their sins), some of them thought that *Christ* descended to that place of *Hades*, where the souls of all the faithful, from the death of the righteous Abel to the death of *Christ*, were detained²; and there dissolving

tilles, § 5. Tom. i. p. 564 D.] This doctrine was maintained by all those who believed that the soul of Samuel was raised by the witch of Endor: for though he were so great a prophet, yet they thought that he was in Hades; and not only so, but under the power of Satan. Thus Justin Martyr in his Dialogue with Trypho, § 105. p. 333. [364. 13. Thirlby.] *Φαίνεται δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ πᾶσι αἱ ψυχὰς τῶν οὕτως δικαίων καὶ προφητῶν ὑπὸ ἐξουσίαν ἐκπίπτειν τῶν τοιούτων δυνάμεων, ὅποια δὴ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐγγαστριμύθῳ ἐκείνῃ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων ὁμολογεῖται.* Who was followed in this by Origen, Anastasius, Antiochenus, and others.

¹ St Augustin began to doubt of that general reason ordinarily given of *Christ's* descent into hell, to bring the patriarchs and prophets thence, upon this ground, that he thought the word *infernus* was never taken in the Scriptures with a good sense: 'Quamquam et illud me nondum invenisse confiteor, *inferos* appellatos, ubi justorum animæ

requiescunt.' *De Genesi ad litteram*, l. xii. c. 33. [§ 63, Tom. iii. par. 1. p. 240 A.] (p. 320.) 'Proinde, ut dixi, nondum inveni, et adhuc quæro; nec mihi occurrit *inferos* alicubi in bono posuisse Scripturam, duntaxat Canonice.' *Ibid.* [§ 64.] 'Non facile alicubi Scripturarum *inferorum* nomen positum invenitur in bono.' *Epist.* 57. al. 187. § 6. [Tom. ii. p. 517 D.] (p. 679.) 'Præsertim quia ne ipsos quidem *inferos* uspiam Scripturarum in bono appellatos potui reperire. Quod si nusquam in divinis auctoritatibus legitur, non utique sinus ille Abraham, id est, secretæ cujusdam quietis habitatio, aliqua pars inferorum esse credenda est. Quamquam in his ipsis tanti Magistri verbis, ubi ait dixisse Abraham, *Inter vos et nos chaos magnum firmatum est*, satis, ut opinor, appareat, non esse quandam partem et quasi membrum inferorum tantæ illius felicitatis sinum.' *Epist.* 99. al. 164. § 7. [Tom. ii. p. 437 D.] (p. 575.)

² This is the opinion generally received in the Schools, and delivered as

all the power by which they were detained below, translated them into a far more glorious place, and estated them in a condition far more happy in the heavens above.

Others of them understood no such translation of place, or alteration of condition there, conceiving that the souls of all men are detained below still¹, and shall not enter into heaven

the sense of the Church of God in all ages: but though it were not so general as the Schoolmen would persuade us, yet it is certain that many of the Fathers did so understand it. 'Ο μὲν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῶν ἐν ᾧδου ψυχῶν παρήει, ἐκ μακρῶν αἰώνων τὴν ἀφίξιν αὐτοῦ περιμενουσῶν. *Euseb. de Demonstrat.* l. x. c. 8. (p. 501 c.) Κατήλθεν εἰς τὰ καταχθόνια, ἵνα κἀκεῖθεν λυτρώσῃται τοὺς δικαίους. *Cyrl. Hier. Catech.* iv. § 8. [p. 78.] 'Ἦμελλε γὰρ ἡ θεότης τελειοῦν τὰ πάντα τὰ κατὰ μυστήριον τοῦ πάθους, καὶ σὺν τῇ ψυχῇ κατελθεῖν εἰς τὰ καταχθόνια, ἐπὶ τὸ ἐργάσασθαι τὴν ἐκεῖ τῶν προκεκοιμημένων σωτηρίαν, φημὶ τῶν ἁγίων πατριαρχῶν. 'Translatus erat Enoch, raptus Elias: sed non est servus supra Dominum. *Nullus enim ascendit in cælum, nisi qui descendit de cælo.* Nam et Moysen, licet corpus ejus non apparuerit in terris, nusquam tamen in gloria cælesti legimus, nisi postquam Dominus resurrectionis suæ pignore vincula solvit inferni, et piorum animas elevavit.' *S. Ambros.* l. iv. *de Fide ad Gratianum*, c. 1. [Tom. iv. p. 162 A.] 'Qui in eo loco detinebantur sancti, vinculorum solutionem in Christi adventu sperabant. Nemo enim ab inferni sedibus liberatur nisi per Christi gratiam. Eo igitur post mortem Christus descendit. Ut Angelus in caminum Babylonis ad tres pueros liberandos descendit, ita Christus ad fornacem descendit inferni, in quo clausæ justorum animæ tenebantur. Postquam eo descendit, inferorum claustra perfodit, diripuit, vastavit, spoliavit, vinctas inde animas liberando.' *S. Hier. in Ecclesiasten**.

¹ Justin Martyr in his Dialogue with Trypho first begins: 'Ἀλλὰ μὴ

οὐδὲ ἀποθνήσκειν φημὶ πάσας τὰς ψυχὰς ἐγὼ (ἔρμαιον γὰρ ἦν ὡς ἀληθῶς τοῖς κακοῖς)· ἀλλὰ τί; τὰς μὲν τῶν εὐσεβῶν ἐν κρείττονι ποιῶ χώρῳ μένειν, τὰς δὲ ἀδίκους καὶ πονηροὺς ἐν χεῖρονι, τὸν τῆς κρίσεως ἐκδεχομένους χρόνον τότε. § 5. p. 223. [148. 21. Thirlby.] After him Irenæus: 'Cum—Dominus in medio umbræ mortis adierit, ubi animæ mortuorum erant, post deinde corporaliter resurrexit, et post resurrectionem assumptus est; manifestum est quia et discipulorum ejus, propter quos et hæc operatus est Dominus, animæ abibunt in invisibilem locum definitum eis a Deo, et ibi usque ad resurrectionem commorabuntur, sustinentes resurrectionem; post recipientes corpora et perfecte resurgentes, hoc est corporaliter, quemadmodum et Dominus resurrexit, sic venient ad conspectum Dei. *Nemo enim est discipulus super magistrum: perfectus autem omnis erit sicut magister ejus.* Quomodo ergo magister noster non statim evolans abiit, sed sustinens definitum a Patre resurrectionis suæ tempus, (quod et per Jonam manifestatum est) post triduum resurgens assumptus est; sic et nos sustinere debemus definitum a Deo resurrectionis nostræ tempus prænuntiatum a Prophetis, et sic resurgentes assumi, quotquot Dominus hoc dignos habuerit.' *Adv. Hæres.* l. v. c. 26. [p. 451. 16.] Tertullian followeth Irenæus in this particular: 'Habes et regionem inferum subterraneam credere, et illos cubito pellere, qui satis superbe non putent animas fidelium inferis dignas, servi super Dominum et discipuli super magistrum, aspernati si forte in Abrahamæ sinu expectandæ resurrectionis solatium capere.' *De Anima*, c. 55. [p. 353

[* This passage is not in Jerome's Commentary on Ecclesiastes. In Dr Burton's edition several other quotations are substituted for it.]

until the general resurrection. They made no such distinction at the death of *Christ*, as if those which believed in a Saviour to come, should be kept out from heaven till he came, and those which now believe in the same Saviour already come, should be admitted thither immediately upon their expiration.

But such as thought the place, in which the souls of the 241 patriarchs did reside, could not in propriety of speech be called *hell*, nor was ever so named in the Scriptures, conceived, that as our Saviour went to those who were included in the proper hell, or place of torment, so the end of his descent was to deliver souls from those miseries which they felt, and to translate them to a place of happiness and a glorious condition. They which did think that hell was wholly emptied, that every soul was presently released from all the pains which be-

B.] 'Nulli patet coelum, terra adhuc salva, ne dixerim clausa. Cum transactione enim mundi reserabuntur regna coelorum.' *Ibid.* [p. 353 C.] 'Eam itaque regionem sinum dico Abraham, etsi non coelestem, sublimiorem tamen inferis, interim refrigerium præbituram animabus justorum, donec consummatio rerum resurrectionem omnium plenitudine mercedis expungat.' *Adv. Marcion.* l. iv. c. 34. [p. 359 D.] 'Omnes ergo animæ penes inferos? Inquis. Velis ac nolis, et supplicia jam illic et refrigeria. Habes pauperem et divitem. — Cur enim non putes animam et puniri et foveri in inferis, interim sub expectatione utriusque judicii in quadam usurpatione et candida ejus?' *De Anima*, c. 58. [p. 356 D.] St Hilary, in his Commentary upon these words of the Psalm, *Dominus custodiet exitum tuum et introitum tuum ex hoc et usque in seculum*: 'Non enim temporis hujus et seculi est ista custodia, non aduri sole atque luna, et ab omni malo conservari: sed futuri boni expectatio est, cum exeuntes de corpore ad introitum illum regni coelestis per custodiam Domini fideles omnes reservabuntur, in sinu scilicet interim Abraham collocati, quo adire impios interjectum Chaos inhibet, quo usque introeundi rursum in regnum coelorum tempus adveniat. Custodiet ergo Dominus exitum, dum

de corpore exeuntes secreti ab impiis interjecto Chaos quiescant. Custodiet introitum Dominus, in æternum illud et beatum regnum introducens.' *Tract. in Psal.* cxx. § 16. (p. 383 D.) And at the end of the second Psalm: 'Judicii enim dies vel beatitudinis retributio est æterna, vel pœnæ: tempus vero mortis habet interim unumquemque suis legibus, dum ad judicium unumquemque aut Abraham reservata aut pœna.' § 48. (p. 52 D.) Thus Gregory Nyssen still leaves the patriarchs in Abraham's bosom, in expectation of admittance into heaven: Καὶ γὰρ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀβραὰμ πατρίδρχει τοῦ μὲν ἰδεῖν τὰ ἀγαθὰ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἔσχον, καὶ οὐκ ἀνήκαν ἐπεὶ τούτους τὴν ἐπουράνιον πατρίδα καθὼς φησιν ὁ Ἀπόστολος· ἀλλὰ ὁμῶς ἐν τῷ ἐλπίσῃ ἐτι τὴν χάριν εἰσι, τοῦ Θεοῦ κρείττον τι περὶ ἡμῶν προσβλεψαμένων, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Παύλου φωνήν, ἵνα μὴ, φησί, χωρὶς ἡμῶν τελειωθῶσι. *De Hominis Officio*, c. 22. [Tom. I. p. 103 D.] These therefore which conceived that the souls of the godly now after Christ's ascension do go unto the bosom of Abraham, where the patriarchs and prophets were and are, and that both remain together till the general resurrection, did not believe that Christ did therefore descend into hell, that he might translate the patriarchs from thence into heaven.

fore it suffered, were branded with the names of heretics': but to believe that many were delivered, was both by them and many others counted orthodox.

¹ St Augustin in his book *De Hæresibus*, [Tom. VIII. p. 18 A.] reckons this as the seventy-ninth heresy: 'Alia, descendente ad inferos Christo credidisse incredulos, et omnes exinde existimat liberatos.' And though he gives the heresy without a name, as he found it in Philastrius, yet we find the opinion was not very singular. For Euodius propounded it to St Augustin as a question in which he desired satisfaction: 'An descendens Christus omnibus evangelizavit, omnesque a tenebris et poenis per gratiam liberavit ut a tempore resurrectionis Domini iudicium expectetur exinanitis inferis?' *Ep.* 98. al. 163. *ad S. August.* [Tom. II. p. 435 D.] (p. 573.) And in his answer to that question, he looks not upon the affirmative part as a heresy, but as a doubtful proposition. His resolution, first, is, that it did not concern the prophets and the patriarchs, because he could not see how they should be thought to be in hell, and so capable of a deliverance from thence: 'Addunt quidam hoc beneficium antiquis etiam Sanctis fuisse concessum, Abel, Seth, Noe, et domui ejus, Abraham, Isaac, et Jacob, aliisque patriarchis et prophetis, ut cum Dominus in infernum venisset, illis doloribus solverentur. Sed quonam modo intelligatur Abraham, in cujus sinum pius etiam pauper ille susceptus est, in illis fuisse doloribus, ego quidem non video: explicant fortasse qui possunt.' *Epist.* 99. al. 164. *ad Euodium*, § 6, 7. [Tom. II. p. 437 C.] (p. 575.) *Et paulo post*: 'Unde illis justis, qui in sinu Abrahamæ erant cum ille in inferna descenderet, nondum quid contulisset inveni, a quibus eum secundum beatificam præsentiam suæ Divinitatis nunquam video recessisse.' § 8. [p. 437 E.] And yet in another place he will not blame them that believed the contrary, nor did he think their opinion absurd: 'Si enim non absurde credi videtur, antiquos etiam Sanctos, qui venturi Christi tenuerunt

fidem, locis quidem a tormentis impiorum remotissimis, sed apud inferos, fuisse, donec eos inde sanguis Christi et ad ea loca descensus erueret, &c.' *De Civitate Dei*, l. xx. c. 15. [Tom. VII. p. 488 D.] His second resolution was, that Christ did by his descent relieve some out of the pains of hell, taking hell in the worst sense: 'Quia evidētia testimonia et infernum commemorant et dolores, nulla causa occurrit, cur illo credatur venisse Salvator, nisi ut ab ejus doloribus salvos faceret.' *Epist.* 99. al. 164. § 8. [Tom. II. p. 437 E.] (p. 576.) 'Quamobrem teneamus firmissime quod fides habet fundatissima auctoritate firmata, quia Christus mortuus est secundum Scripturas, et quia sepultus est, et quia resurrexit tertia die secundum Scripturas; et cætera quæ de illo testatissima veritate conscripta sunt. In quibus etiam hoc est, quod apud inferos fuit, solutisque eorum doloribus, quibus eum erat impossibile teneri; a quibus etiam recte intelligitur solvisse et liberasse quos voluit.' *Ibid.* c. 5. § 14. [p. 439 E.] (p. 578.) His third resolution was, that how many these were which were delivered out of the torments of hell was uncertain, and therefore temerarious to define: 'Sed utrum omnes quos in eis invenit, an quosdam quos illo beneficio dignos judicavit, adhuc requiro.' *Ibid.* c. 3. § 8. [p. 437 E.] (p. 576.) 'Hoc scilicet quod scriptum est, *Solutis doloribus inferni*, non in omnibus, sed in quibusdam accipi potest, quos ille dignos ista liberatione judicabat: ut neque frustra illuc descendisse existimetur, nulli eorum profuturus qui ibi tenebantur inclusi; nec tamen sit consequens, ut quod Divina quibusdam misericordia justitiæque concessit, omnibus concessum esse putandum sit.' *Ibid.* c. 2. § 5. [p. 437 E.] (p. 575.) 'Potest et sic, ut eos dolores eum solvisse credamus quibus teneri ipse non poterat, sed quibus alii tenebantur quos ille noverat liberandos. Verum quinam isti sint, temerarium

The means by which they did conceive that *Christ* did free the souls of men from hell, was the application of his death unto them, which was propounded to those souls by preaching of the Gospel there¹: that as he revealed here on earth the will

est definire. Si enim omnes omnino dixerimus tunc esse liberatos qui illic inventi sunt, quis non gratuletur, si hoc possimus ostendere? *Ibid.* c. 2. § 3, 4. [p. 436 D.] Thus the opinion of St Augustin is clear, that those which departed in the faith of Christ were before in happiness and the beatifical presence of God, and so needed no translation by the descent of Christ; and of those which were kept in the pains of hell, some were loosed and delivered from them, some were not; and this was the proper end or effect of Christ's descent into hell. Thus Capreolus: 'Ipse in homine est visitare inferorum dignatus abstrusa, et prepositos mortis presentia invictæ majestatis exterruit, et propter liberandos quos voluit, inferorum portas reserari precepit.' *Epist. ad Vital. et Constant.* [Sirmondi, Tom. I. p. 367, col. 1 D.] St Ambrose: 'Ipse autem inter mortuos liber remissionem in inferno positis, soluta mortis lege, donabat.' *De Incarn.* c. 5. [Tom. IV. p. 291. I.] 'Όλον γάρ εὐθὺς σκυλεύσας τῶν ἔθνη, καὶ τὰς ἀφύκτους τοῖς τῶν κεκοιμημένων πνεύμασιν ἀναπετράσας πύλας, ἐρημόν τε καὶ μόνον ἀπέλς ἐκείσε τὸν διάβολον ἀνέστη. *S. Cyril. Alex. Homil. Pasch.* 7. T. v. par. 2. p. 91 C. Who speaks full as high as those words of Euodius, or that heretic, whosoever it was, which is mentioned, though not named, by Philastrius, *Lib. de Hæres.* 74. For ἔρημος καὶ μόνος διάβολος, is as much as, *inferi exinanitii*; and κενώσας τοῦ θανάτου μυχῶν (which he useth in another homily) is the same.

¹ This preaching of the Gospel to the dead, was the general opinion of the Fathers, as the end of his descent, or means by which that good was wrought for the souls below, which was effected by his death. 'Propter hoc Dominum in ea quæ sunt sub terra descendisse, evangelizantem et illis adventum suum, remissam peccatorum

existentem his qui credunt in eum. Crediderunt autem in eum omnes qui sperabant in eum, id est, qui adventum ejus prænunciaverunt, et dispositionibus ejus servierunt, Justī, et Prophete, et Patriarchæ, quibus similiter ut nobis remisit peccata.' *Irenæus, adr. Hæc.* l. iv. c. 45. [p. 347. I.] 'Ἐνεργεῖ δὲ ὁμοί, καὶ ὁ Σωτὴρ, ἐπεὶ τὸ σῶσεν ἔργον αὐτοῦ ὅπερ οὖν καὶ πεποιήκεν, τοὺς εἰς αὐτὸν πιστεύσαι βεβουλημένους διὰ τοῦ κηρύγματος, ὅσοι ποτ' ἔτυχον γενοσῶτες, ἐλκυσας εἰς σωτηρίαν. Εἰ γ' οὖν ὁ Κύριος δι' οὐδὲν ἕτερον εἰς ἔθνη κατήλθεν, ἢ διὰ τὸ εὐαγγελισσασθαι, ὥσπερ κατήλθεν, ἥτοι πάντας εὐαγγελισσασθαι, ἢ μόνους Ἑβραίους. Εἰ μὲν οὖν πάντας, σωθήσονται πάντες οἱ πιστεύσαντες, κἂν ἐξ ἐθνῶν ὄντες τύχσω, ἐξομολογησάμενοι ἦδη ἐκεῖ. *Clem. Alex. Strom.* l. vi. c. 6. [p. 763. 29.] Τριττὸ μέρος γὰρ ἀνεβίβω, κηρύξας καὶ τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ πνεύμασι. Πληρεστάτῃ γὰρ οὕτως ἡ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας ἐπίδειξις ἦν, τῷ μὴ μόνον ἀνασῶσαι φημί, τοὺς ἐπὶ ζῶντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἦδη κατοικομένοις, καὶ ἐν τοῖς τῆς ἀβύσσου μυχοῖς καθημένοις ἐν σκότῳ, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον, διακηρύξαι τὴν ἀφῆσιν. *S. Cyril. Alex. in Ioan.* [xvi. 16. Tom. IV.] l. xi. c. 2. p. 933 B. Πολλαχὸς διαμαρτύρεται ἡ γραφή, ὅν τρόπον τοῖς τμηκᾶδε ζῶσι, τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ τοῖς ἐν ἔθου διὰ Χριστοῦ τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν παραγενέσθαι. Λέγει γὰρ ὁ τῶν μαθητῶν κορυφαῖος, Εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ἀνέθανε καὶ ἀνέστη, ἵνα καὶ νεκρῶν καὶ ζώντων κυριεύῃ· καὶ πάλιν, Τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ πορευθεῖς ἐκήρυξε πνεύμασιν, ἵνα κριθῶσι μὲν σαρκί, ζῶσι δὲ πνεύματι· τούτους, ὅπως οἱ μὲν ἀπιστοί, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἁμαρτωλοί, μεμερηκότες κατακριθῶσι, ὅτε δὴ ὁλοκληρῶς σὰρξ γεγονότες, καὶ διχοτομηθέντες τοῦ πνεύματος· ὅσοι δὲ κἂν ἐν ἔθου Χριστῷ τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ πεπιστεύκασι, τῆς πνευματικῆς εὐφροσύνης ἀπολαύσωσι. *Iohannis apud Photium*, l. ix. c. 38. [col. 637. 30.]

of God unto the sons of men, and propounded himself as the object of their faith, to the end that whosoever believed in him should never die; so after his death he shewed himself unto the souls departed, that whosoever of them would yet accept of and acknowledge him should pass from death to life.

242 Thus did they think the soul of *Christ* descended into hell to preach the Gospel to the spirits there, that they might receive him who before believed in him, or that they might believe in him who before rejected him. But this cannot be received as the end, or way to effect the end, of *Christ's* descent: nor can I look upon it as any illustration of this Article, for many reasons. For, first, I have already shewn that the place of St Peter, so often mentioned for it, is not capable of that sense, nor hath it any relation to our Saviour after death; secondly, The ancients seem upon no other reason to have interpreted this place of St Peter in that manner, but because other Apocryphal Writings led them to that interpretation, upon the authority whereof this opinion only can rely. A place of the prophet Jeremy was first produced¹, that *The Lord God of Israel remembered his dead, which slept in the land of the grave, and descended unto them, to preach unto them his salvation.* But being there is no such verse extant in that prophet or any other, it was also

¹ Justin Martyr in his Dialogue with Trypho the Jew: *Kal ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἱερεμίου ὁμολογῶν ταῦτα περὶ κοίτης, Ἐμνήσθη δὲ Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἀπὸ Ἰσραὴλ τῶν νεκρῶν αὐτοῦ τῶν κοιμημένων ἐν γῆν χώματος, καὶ κατέβη πρὸς αὐτοὺς εὐαγγελίσασθαι αὐτοῖς τὸ σωτήριον αὐτοῦ.* § 72. p. 298. [294. 4. Thirlby.] This place is first brought by Irenæus, to prove that he which died for us was not only man but God: 'Et quoniam non solum homo erat qui moriebatur pro nobis, Esaias ait, *Et commemoratus est Dominus Sanctus Israel mortuorum suorum, quia (leg. qui) dormierant in terra sepulchris, et descendit ad eos, evangelizare salutem quæ est ab eo, ut salvaret eos.*' *Adv. Hæres.* l. iii. c. 23. [p. 252. 15.] Only he names Isaiah instead of Jeremiah, whom he rightly names again: 'Sicut Hieremias ait, *Recommemoratus est Dominus Sanctus Israel mortuorum, &c.*'

l. iv. c. 39. [p. 338. 6.] And as there, so more plainly, l. v. c. 26. [31. p. 451. 12.] applies it to the soul of Christ while it was absent from his body: 'Nunc autem tribus diebus conversatus est ubi erant mortui, quemadmodum prophetia [Propheta] ait de eo, *Commemoratus est Dominus Sanctorum (lege, Sanctus Israel) mortuorum suorum, eorum qui ante dormierunt in terra stipulationis (lege, sepulchris), et descendit ad eos, extrahere eos, et salvare eos.*' Thus did Irenæus make use of this verse, to shew Christ preached unto the dead, rather than that of St Peter; and yet there is no authority in it. For it is not to be found in the Hebrew text, and Justin Martyr charges the Jews only of rasing it out of the LXX. which how they could do out of those copies which were in the Christians' hands is scarce intelligible; and yet it is not now to be found there.

delivered that it was once in the translation of the Septuagint, but rased out from thence by the Jews, which as it can scarcely be conceived true, so if it were, it would be yet of doubtful authority, as being never yet found in the Hebrew text. And Hermes, in his book called the *Pastor*, was thought to give sufficient strength to this opinion¹; whereas the book itself is of no good authority, and in this particular is most extravagant; for he taught that not only the soul of *Christ*, but also the souls of the apostles, preached to the spirits below; that as they followed his steps here, so did they also after their death, and therefore descended to preach in hell.

Nor is this only to be suspected in reference to those pretended authorities which first induced men to believe it, and to make forced interpretations of Scripture to maintain it; but 243 also to be rejected in itself, as false and inconsistent with the nature, scope, and end, of the Gospel (which is to be preached with such commands and ordinances as can concern those only which are in this life), and is incongruous to the state and condition of those souls to whom *Christ* is supposed to preach. For if we look upon the patriarchs, prophets, and all saints before departed, it is certain they were never disobedient in

¹ Clemens Alexandrinus first brings a strange place of Scripture to prove Christ's preaching in hell, *Strom.* l. vi. c. 6. (p. 763. 36.) Διότι ὁ Κύριος, ἐπηγγέλσατο καὶ τοῖς ἐν ᾧδου. Φησὶ γ' οὗν ἡ γραφή, Λέγει ὁ ᾄδης τῇ ἀπολείᾳ, Εἶδος μὲν αὐτοῦ οὐκ εἶδομεν, φωνὴν δὲ αὐτοῦ ἤκούσαμεν· which he thus interprets: Οὗχ ὁ τόπος δῆπου φωνὴν λαβὼν εἶπεν τὰ προειρημένα, ἀλλ' οἱ ἐν ᾧδου καταταγέντες καὶ εἰς ἀπόλειαν αὐτοῦ ἐκδεδωκότες, καθάπερ ἐκ τινος νεῶς εἰς θάλασσαν ἐκόντες ἀποβρίψαντες· αὐτοὶ τοῖνυν εἰσὶν οἱ ἐπακούσαντες τῆς θέας δυνάμεως τε καὶ φωνῆς· and then seeming to aim at the place of St Peter, he passes to another proof, which he had produced in his second book: Δέδεκται δὲ καὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ Στρωματί, τοὺς Ἀποστόλους, ἀκολούθως τῷ Κυρίῳ, καὶ τοὺς ἐν ᾧδου ἐπηγγελισμένους· which he there proved by the authority of his book called *Pastor*, and attributed to Hermes: Ὁ Ποιμὴν δὲ—φησὶ γοῶν τοὺς Ἀποστόλους καὶ

τοὺς διδασκάλους, τοὺς κηρύττας τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ κοιμηθέντας, τῇ δυνάμει καὶ τῇ πλῆτει κηρύττει τοῖς προκεκοιμημένοις. *Strom.* l. ii. c. 9. [p. 452. 3.] which words are thus in the old Latin translation of Hermes, l. iii. Sim. 9. [c. 16. p. 120. col. 1.] 'Quoniam hi Apostoli et doctores qui prædicaverunt nomen Filii Dei, cum habentes fidem ejus et potestatem defuncti essent, prædicaverunt his qui ante obierunt.' And then Clemens supplies that authority with a reason of his own, that as the apostles were to imitate Christ while they lived, so they did also imitate him after death: Ἐχρὴν γάρ, οἶμαι, ὥσπερ κἀναυθα, οὕτως δὲ κἀκείσε τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν μαθητῶν μιμητὰς γενέσθαι τοῦ διδασκάλου. *Stromat.* l. vi. c. 6. [p. 763. 17.] And therefore they preached to the souls in hell as Christ did before them. This is the doctrine of Clemens Alexandrinus out of his Apocryphal Authorities.

the days of Noah ; nor could they need the publication of the Gospel after the death of *Christ*, who by virtue of that death were accepted in him while they lived, and by that acceptance had received a reward long before. If we look upon them which died in disobedience, and were in torments for their sins, they cannot appear to be proper objects for the Gospel preached. The rich man, whom we find in their condition, desired one might be sent from the dead to preach unto his brethren then alive, lest they also should come unto that place ; but we find no hopes he had that any should come from them which were alive to preach to him. For if the living, *who heard not Moses and the prophets, would not be persuaded though one rose from the dead ;* surely those which had been disobedient unto the prophets, should never be persuaded after they were dead. Luke xvi. 31.

Whether therefore we consider the authorities first introducing this opinion, which were Apocryphal ; or the testimonies of Scripture, forced and improbable ; or the nature of this preaching, inconsistent with the Gospel ; or the persons to whom *Christ* should be thought to preach (which, if dead in the faith and fear of God, wanted no such instruction ; if departed in infidelity and disobedience, were unworthy and incapable of such a dispensation), this preaching of *Christ* to the spirits in prison cannot be admitted either as the end, or as the means proper to effect the end, of his descent into hell.

Nor is this preaching only to be rejected as a means to produce the effect of *Christ's* descent ; but the effect itself pretended to be wrought thereby, whether in reference to the just or unjust, is by no means to be admitted. For though some of the ancients thought, as is shewn before, that *Christ* did therefore descend into hell, that he might deliver the souls of some which were tormented in those flames, and translate them to a place of happiness : yet this opinion deserveth no acceptance, neither in respect of the ground or foundation on which it is built, nor in respect of the action or effect itself. The authority upon which the strength of this doctrine doth rely, is that place of the Acts, *whom God hath raised up, loosing the pains of hell,* for so they read it ; from whence the argument is thus deduced : God did loose the pains of hell when *Christ* was raised. But those pains did not take hold of *Christ* himself, who was not to Acts ii. 24.

suffer any thing after death; and consequently he could not be loosed from or taken out of those pains in which he never was: in the same manner the patriarchs and the prophets, and the saints of old, if they should be granted to have been in a place sometimes called hell, yet were they there in happiness, and therefore the delivering them from thence could not be the loosing of the pains of hell: it followeth then, that those alone which died in their sins were involved in those pains, and when those pains were loosed, then were they released; and being they were loosed when *Christ* was raised, the consequence will be, that he, descending into hell, delivered some of the damned souls from their torments there.

But, first, though the Latin translation render it so, *the* 244 *pains of hell*¹; though some copies, and other translations, and divers of the Fathers, read it in the same manner; yet the original and authentic Greek acknowledgeth no such word as *hell*, but propounds it plainly thus, *whom God hath raised up, loosing the pains of death*. Howsoever, if the words were so expressed in the original text, yet it would not follow that God delivered *Christ* out of those pains in which he was detained any time, much less that the soul of *Christ* delivered the souls of any other; but only that he was preserved from enduring them².

¹ The Vulgar Latin renders it thus, *Quem Deus suscitavit, solutis doloribus inferni*: so also the Syriac, *ישא חבלי, ורשול*. So some of the ancient Fathers read it: as Irenæus, l. iii. c. 12. [p. 224. col. 1. 40.] or rather his interpreter: 'Quem Deus excitavit, solutis doloribus inferorum:' Capreolus bishop of Carthage: 'Resolvere, sicut scriptum est, inferorum parturitiones.' *Epist. ad. Vital. et Constant.* [Sirmondi, Tom. I. p. 367. col. 1 A.] and before these Polycarpus: 'Οὐ ἤγειρεν ὁ Θεὸς λόγος τὰς ὀδύνας τοῦ ᾄδου' *Quem resuscitavit Deus, dissolvens dolores inferni. Epist. ad. Phil.* §. 1. whom I suppose Grotius understood, when he cited Barnabas; and thus St Augustin read it, and laid the stress of his interpretation upon this reading: 'Quia evidentia testimonia et infernum commemorant et dolores, &c.' *Epist. 99. al. 164. § 8.* [Tom. II. p. 437 B.] (p. 576.) But in the original Greek it is

generally written ὀδύνας θανάτου, and in all these many copies of it, only that of Petrus Fraxardus, and two of the sixteen copies which Robertus Stephanus made use of, read it ᾄδου. And this mistake was very easy, for in the eighteenth Psalm, verse the fifth, there is חבלי מות ὀδύνας θανάτου, and verse the sixth, שאל ὀδύνας ᾄδου. And we find twice in the Proverbs, xiv. 12. and xvi. 25. ריכי מות translated πρὸς θάνατον ᾄδου, and 2 Sam. xxii. 6. שאל חבלי מות ὀδύνας θανάτου.

² 'Quod si movet, quemadmodum accipiendum sit inferni ab illo solutos dolores (neque enim coeperat in eis esse tanquam in vinculis, et sic eos solvit tanquam si catenas solvisset quibus fuerat alligatus): facile est intelligere, sic eos solutos esse quemadmodum solvi possunt laquei venantium, ne teneant; non quia tenuerunt.' *S. August. Epist. 99. al. 164. c. 2. § 3.* [Tom. II. p. 436 C.] (p. 574.)

Again, as the authority is most uncertain, so is the doctrine most incongruous. The souls of men were never cast into infernal torments, to be delivered from them. The days which follow after death were never made for opportunities to a better life. The angels had one instant either to stand or fall eternally; and what that instant was to them, that this life is unto us. We may as well believe the devils were saved, as those souls which were once tormented with them. For it is an *everlasting fire*; an *everlasting punishment*; a *worm that dieth not*. Nor does this only belong to us who live after the death of *Christ*, as if the damnation of all sinners now were ineluctable and eternal, but before that death it were not so; as if faith and repentance were now indispensably necessary to salvation, but then were not. For thus the condition of mankind before the fulness of time, in which our Saviour came into the world, should have been far more happy and advantageous than it hath been since¹. But neither they nor we shall ever escape eternal flames, except we obtain the favour of God before we be swallowed by the jaws of death. *We must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things done in his body*; but if they be in the state of salvation now by virtue of *Christ's* descent into hell which were numbered amongst the damned before his death, at the day of the general judgment they must be returned into hell again; or if they be received then into eternal happiness, it will follow either that they were not justly condemned to those flames at first, according to the general dispensations of God, or else they did not receive the things done in their body at the last; which all shall as certainly receive as all appear. This life is given unto men to work out their salvation with fear and trembling: but after death cometh judgment, reflecting on the life that is past, not expecting amendment or conversion then. He that liveth and believeth in *Christ* shall never die; he that believeth, though he die, yet shall he live; but he that dieth

Matt. xxv. 41.
Matt. xxv. 46.
Mark ix. 44.

2 Cor. v. 10.

¹ This is the argument of Gregory the Great: 'Si fideles nunc sine bonis operibus non salvantur, et infideles ac reprobi sine bona actione, Domino ad inferos descendente, salvati sunt; melior illorum sors fuit qui incarnationem Domini minime viderunt, quam horum

qui post incarnationis ejus mysterium nati sunt. Quod quantæ fatuitatis sit dicere vel sentire, ipse Dominus testatur discipulis dicens: *Multi reges et prophete cupierunt videre quæ vos videtis, et non viderunt.*' L. vi. c. 179. *Epist.* 15. [Tom. II. p. 204 D.]

in unbelief, shall neither believe nor live. And this is as true of those which went before, as of those which came after, our Saviour, because he was the Lamb slain before the foundation of the world. I therefore conclude, that the end for which the soul of *Christ* descended into hell, was not to deliver any damned souls, or to translate them from the torments of hell unto the joys of heaven.

The next consideration is, Whether by virtue of his descent ²⁴⁵ the souls of those which before believed in him, the patriarchs, prophets, and all the people of God, were delivered from that place and state in which they were before; and whether *Christ descended into hell* to that end, that he might translate them into a place and state far more glorious and happy. This hath been, in the later ages of the Church, the vulgar opinion of most men, and that as if it followed necessarily from the denial of the former: He delivered not the souls of the damned¹, therefore he delivered the souls of them which believed, and of them alone: till at last the Schools have followed it so fully, that they deliver it as a point of faith and infallible certainty², that the soul of *Christ* descending into hell, did deliver from thence all the souls of the saints which were in the bosom of Abraham, and did confer upon them ac-

¹ So Gregory the Great, after he had proved that none of the damned were released by Christ's descent, thus infers and concludes: 'Hæc itaque omnia pertractantes nihil aliud teneatis nisi quod vera fides per catholicam ecclesiam docet; quia descendens ad inferos Dominus illos solummodo ab inferni claustris eripuit, quos viventes in carne per suam gratiam in fide et bona operatione servavit.' L. vi. c. 179. *Epist.* 15. [Tom. II. p. 204 E.] So Isidore Hispalensis by way of opposition: 'Ideo Dominus in inferna descendit, ut his, qui ab eo non poenaliter detinebantur, viam aperiret revertendi ad coelos.' *Sentent.* l. i. c. 16. So Venerable Bede upon the place of St Peter, 1 Ep. iii. 19. [Tom. v. p. 981. 2.] 'Catholica fides habet, quia descendens ad inferna Dominus non incredulos inde, sed fideles tantummodo suos educens, ad celestia secum regna perduxerit; neque exutis corpore

animabus et inferorum carcere scelorum inclusis, sed in hac vita vel per seipsum, vel per suorum exempla sive verba fidelium, quotidie viam vitæ demonstret.'

² These are the words of Suarez: 'Primo ergo, certum est, Christum descendendo ad inferos, animabus sanctis, quæ in sinu Abraham erant, essentiali beatitudinem et cætera animæ dona quæ illam consequuntur, contulisse. Hoc de fide certum existimo: quia de fide est, illas animas non vidisse Deum ante Christi mortem.—Deinde est de fide certum, Christum per mortem aperuisse hominibus januam regni;—ideoque de fide etiam certum est, animas sanctorum omnium post Christi mortem deocedentium (si nihil purgandum habeant) statim videre Deum. Ergo idem est de predictis animabus.' *In tertiam partem D. Thomæ, Disputat.* 43. sect. 3. [p. 455 D.]

tual and essential beatitude, which before they enjoyed not. And this they lay upon two grounds: first, That the souls of saints departed saw not God; and secondly, That *Christ* by his death opened the gate of the kingdom of heaven.

But even this opinion, as general as it hath been, hath neither that consent of antiquity, nor such certainty, as it pretendeth, but is rather built upon the improbabilities of a worse. The most ancient of all the Fathers¹, whose writings are extant, were so far from believing that the end of *Christ's* descent into hell was to translate the saints of old into heaven, that they thought them not to be in heaven yet, nor ever to be removed from that place in which they were before *Christ's* death, until the general resurrection. Others, as we have also shewn, thought the bosom of Abraham was not in any place which could be termed hell: and consequently, could not think that *Christ* should therefore descend into hell to deliver them which were not there. And others yet, which thought that *Christ* delivered the patriarchs from their infernal mansions, did not think so exclusively, or in opposition to the disobedient and damned spirits, but conceived many of them to be saved as well as the patriarchs were, and doubted whether all were not so saved or no². Indeed, I think there

¹ We have shewn this before to have been the opinion of the most ancient, producing the express testimonies of Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian, Hilary, Gregory Nyssen. So also Novatian: 'Quæ infra terram jacent, neque ipsa sunt digestis et ordinatis potestatibus vacua. Locus enim est quo piorum animæ impiorumque ducuntur, futuri judicii præjudicia sentientes.' *Lib. de Trinitate*, c. 1. [sub fin. p. 288. col. 1 A.]

² We have already shewn that many did believe all the damned souls were saved then; and St Augustin had his *adhuc requiro*, when he wrote unto Euodius concerning that opinion. Beside, the doubt of that great divine Gregory Nazianzen is very observable, who in his and Oration *de Paschate* hath these words: 'Αρ εἰς ἔθου κατῆν, συγκατέλθε· γινώθι καὶ τὰ ἐκέῖσε τοῦ Χριστοῦ μυστήρια· τίς ἡ οἰκονομία τῆς διπλῆς καταβάσεως; τίς ὁ λόγος; ἀπλῶς

ὥστε πάντας ἐπιφανεῖς, ἡ καὶ τοὺς πιστεύοντας; Orat. xlii. [xiv. § 24. Tom. 1. p. 864 B.] Where his question is clearly this, Whether *Christ* appearing in hell did save all without exception, or did save there, as he does here, only such as believed? To this it is answered by Suarez two ways, that it is the ordinary and universal law that none of the damned should be saved: 'An vero ex speciali privilegio sua voluntate et arbitrio aliquem damnatum ex Gehenna *Christus* eduxerit, dubitari quoquo modo potest—Et juxta hæc possent intelligi Nazianzenus et Augustinus.' *In tertiam partem D. Thomæ, disp. 43. sect. 3.* [p. 456. col. 2 B.] But this will by no means save their authorities; for neither of them did doubt or question whether some of the damned were released, but whether all were released or some only: which Suarez did very well perceive, and therefore was ready in the same

were very few (if any) for above five hundred years after *Christ*, which did so believe *Christ* delivered the saints out of hell, as to leave all the damned there; and therefore this opinion cannot be grounded upon the prime antiquity, when so many of the ancients believed not that they were removed at all, and so few acknowledged that they were removed alone.

And if the authority of this opinion in respect of its an-²⁴⁶tiquity be not great, the certainty of the truth of it will be less. For, first, if it be not certain that the souls of the patriarchs were in some place called *hell* after their own death, and until the death of *Christ*; if the bosom of Abraham were not some infernal mansion, then can it not be certain that *Christ* descended into hell to deliver them. But there is no certainty that the souls of the just, the patriarchs, and the rest of the people of God, were kept in any place below, which was, or may be called, the hell: the bosom of Abraham might well be in the heavens above, far from any region where the devil and his angels were: the Scriptures nowhere tell us that the spirits of just men went unto or did remain in hell: the place in which the rich man was in torments after death is called *hell*, but that into which the angels carried the poor man's soul is not termed so. There was a vast distance between them two, nor is it likely that the angels which see the face of God should be sent down from heaven to convey the souls of the just into that place, where the face of God cannot be seen. When God translated Enoch, and Elias was carried up in a chariot to heaven, they seem not to be conveyed to a place where there was no vision of God; and yet it is most probable, that Moses was with Elias as well before as upon the mount: nor is there any reason to conceive that Abraham should be in any worse place or condition than Enoch was, having as great a *testimony that he pleased God* as Enoch had.

Heb. xi. 5.

Secondly, It cannot be certain that the soul of *Christ*

sentence with another answer: 'Quamquam Nazianzenus non videatur illa scripsisse verba, quoniam de hac veritate dubitaret, sed solum ut proponeret quid de hoc mysterio inquirere ac scire oporteat.' *Ibid.* [c.] Which is as much as to say, that he was satisfied of the truth, but desired to satisfy no man else: whereas it is clear that it was a

doubt in his age, as we have before shewn, and that he would leave it still a doubt and undetermined. And as for the other: 'Augustinus recte potest intelligi de animabus Purgatorii.' *Ibid.* c. it is certainly false, unless they will enlarge that purgatory as wide as hell; for the question was of emptying that.

delivered the souls of the saints of old from hell, and imparted to them the beatifical vision, except it were certain that the souls are in another place and a better condition now than they were before. But there is no certainty that the patriarchs and the prophets are now in another place and a better condition than they were before our blessed Saviour died; there is no intimation of any such alteration of their state delivered in the Scriptures; there is no such place with any probability pretended to prove any actual accession of happiness and glory already past. *Many shall come from the east and west, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven:* there then did the Gentiles which came in to *Christ* find the patriarchs, even in the kingdom of heaven; and we cannot perceive that they found them anywhere else than Lazarus did. For the description is the same, *There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth, when ye shall see Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the prophets, in the kingdom of God, and you yourselves thrust out.* For as the rich man in hell lift up his eyes being in torments, and seeth Abraham afar off, before the death of *Christ*: so those that were in weeping and gnashing of teeth, saw Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the prophets, when the Gentiles were brought in.

Thirdly, Though it were certain that the souls of the saints had been in a place called *hell*, as they were not: though it were also certain that they were now in a better condition than they were before *Christ's* death, as it is not: yet it would not follow that *Christ* descended into hell to make this alteration; for it might not be performed before his resurrection, it might not be effected till his ascension, it might be attributed to the merit of his passion, it might have
 247 no dependence on his descension. I conclude therefore that there is no certainty of truth in that proposition which the Schoolmen take for a matter of faith, that *Christ* delivered the souls of the saints from that place of hell which they call *limbus of the fathers*, into heaven; and for that purpose after his death descended into hell.

Wherefore, being it is most infallibly certain that the death of *Christ* was as powerful and effectual for the redemption of the saints before him, as for those which follow him; being *they did all eat the same spiritual meat, and* 1 Cor. x. 3, 4.

Rom. iv. 16,
12.
Luke xvi. 22.

*did all drink the same spiritual drink; being Abraham is the father of us all, and we now after Christ's ascension are called but to walk in the steps of the faith of that father; being the bosom of Abraham is clearly propounded in the Scriptures as the place into which the blessed angels before the death of Christ conveyed the souls of those which departed in the favour of God, and is also promised to them which should believe in Christ after his death¹; being we can find no difference or translation of the bosom of Abraham, and yet it is a comfort still to us that we shall go to him², and while we hope so, never fear that we shall go to hell: I cannot admit this as the end of Christ's descent into hell, to convey the souls of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and those which were with them, from thence; nor can I think there was any reference to such an action in those words, *Thou shalt not leave my soul in hell.**

¹ Although the *bosom of Abraham* in express and formal terms be spoken only of Lazarus, whom Christ being yet alive in the flesh supposed dead; yet the same bosom is, virtually and in terms equivalent, promised to those which afterwards should believe. For the joys of the life to come are likened to a feast, in which, according to the custom then in use, they lay down with the head of one toward the breast of the other, who is therefore said to lie in his bosom, as we read of St John, *ἦν ἀνακειμένος ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ Ἰησοῦ.* John xiii. 23. Thus in that heavenly feast in the kingdom of God, Lazarus is, *ἐν τοῖς κόλποις Ἀβραάμ.* Luke xvi. 23. and Matt. viii. 11. Christ saith, that *many shall come from the east and from the west, καὶ ἀνακλιθήσονται μετὰ Ἀβραάμ, discumbent cum Abrahamo, sit down with Abraham*, as we translate it after our custom at the same feast, that is, *ἀνακλιθήσονται ἐν τοῖς κόλποις τοῦ Ἀβραάμ*, &c. as Euthymius: 'Quia Deus Abraham, cœli conditor, Pater Christi est; idcirco in regno cœlorum est et Abraham, cum quo accubituræ sunt nationes quæ crediderunt in Christum Filium Creatoris.' *Ad loc.*

² St Augustine often shews the

comfort which he had in going to the bosom of Abraham: as in the case of his friend Nebridius; 'Nunc ille vivit in sinu Abraham. Quicquid illud est quod illo significatur sinu, ibi Nebridius meus vivit, dulcis amicus meus, tuus autem, Domine, adoptivus ex liberto filius, ibi vivit. Nam quis alius tali animæ locus?' *Confess.* l. ix. c. 3. [Tom. I. p. 116 A.] (p. 159.) And he seats that place (as uncertain as before) where it was before: 'Post vitam iatam parvam nondum eris ubi erunt sancti, quibus dicitur: *Venite, benedicti Patris mei, percipite regnum quod vobis paratum est ab initio mundi.* Nondum ibi eris, quis nescit? Sed jam poteris ibi esse, ubi illum quondam ulcerosum pauperem dives ille superbus et sterilis in mediis suis tormentibus vidit a longe requiescentem.' *Concio* i. § 10. in *Psal.* xxxvi. [Tom. iv. p. 197 B.] (p. 263.) And this he necessarily takes for a sufficient comfort to a dying Christian, who seats that place 'in conspectu Domini.' *De Civit. Dei*, l. i. c. 12. [Tom. vii. p. 11 D], and looked upon them which were in it, as upon those, 'a quibus eum (Christum) secundum beatificam præsentiam suam divinitatis nunquam video recessisse.' *Epist.* 99. al. 164. § 8. [Tom. II. p. 437 E.]

Another opinion hath obtained, especially in our Church, that the end for which our Saviour *descended into hell*, was to triumph over Satan and all the powers below within their own dominions. And this hath been received as grounded on the Scriptures and consent of Fathers. The Scriptures produced for the confirmation of it are these two, *having spoiled* Col. ii. 15. *principalities and powers, he made a show of them openly, triumphing over them:* and, *when he ascended up on high, he led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men.* Now that he ascended, what is it but that he also descended first into the lower parts of the earth? By the conjunction of these two they conceive the triumph of *Christ's* descent clearly described in this manner¹: *Ye were buried with Christ in baptism, with whom ye were also raised; . . . and when ye were dead in sins, he quickened you together with him, forgiving your sins, and cancelling the handwriting of ordinances that was against us, . . . and spoiling powers and principalities, he made an open show of them, triumphing over them in himself.* That is, say they, ye died and were buried with *Christ*, who fastened the handwriting of ordinances to the cross, that he might abolish it from having any right to tie or yoke his members. Ye likewise were quickened, and raised together with *Christ*, who spoiled powers and principalities, and triumphed over them in his own person. So that these words, *spoiling principalities and powers*, are not referred to the cross but to 248 *Christ's* resurrection. This triumph over Satan and all his kingdom, the same apostle to the Ephesians setteth down as a consequent to *Christ's* death, and pertinent to his resurrection, *Ascending on high, he led captivity captive:* and this, Eph. iv. 8, 9. *he ascended, what meaneth it, but that he descended first into the lower parts of the earth?* So that ascending from the lower parts of the earth, he *led captivity captive*, which is all one with *he triumphed over powers and principalities*. With this coherence and conjunction of the apostle's words, together with the interpretation of the ancient Fathers, they conceive it sufficiently demonstrated, that *Christ*, after his death, and before his resurrection, in the lowermost parts of the earth, even in hell, did lead captivity captive, and triumphed over Satan.

But notwithstanding, I cannot yet perceive either how

¹ B. Bilson, p. 294.

this triumph in hell should be delivered as a certain truth in itself, or how it can have any consistency with the denial of those other ends, which they, who of late have embraced this opinion, do ordinarily reject. First, I cannot see how the Scriptures mentioned are sufficient to found any such conclusion of themselves. Secondly, I cannot understand how they can embrace this as the interpretation of the Fathers, who believe not that any of the souls of the damned were taken out of the torments of hell, or that the souls of the saints of old were removed from thence by *Christ's* descent; which were the reasons why the Fathers spake of such a triumphing in hell, and leading captivity captive there.

That the triumphing in the epistle to the Colossians is not referred to the *cross*, but to the *resurrection*, cannot be proved: the coherence cannot enforce so much: no logic can infer such a division, that *the blotting out of the handwriting* belongeth precisely to our *burial with him*; and the *triumphing over principalities and powers*, particularly to our being *quicken'd together with him*; or that the *blotting out* was performed at one time, and the *triumphing* at another. Our present translation attributeth it expressly to the cross, rendering the last words, *triumphing over them in it*, that is, in the cross, mentioned in the former verse; and though anciently it have been read *triumphing over them in himself*, yet still there are these two great advantages on our side¹; first, that if we read, *in it*, it proves the triumph spoken of in this place performed upon the cross; and if we read *in himself*, it proveth not that the triumph was performed in any other place, because he was *himself* upon the cross. Secondly, the ancient Fathers of the Greek Church read it as we do, *in it*², and interpret the triumph of his death; and those others

¹ So the Vulgar Latin, *Palam triumphans illos in semetipso*; as also the Syriac ܡܚܬܝܡܝܢ. So Novatian *de Trin.* c. 16. [*aliter* 21. p. 304. col. 2 D.] 'Triumphatis illis in semetipso.' St Hilary: 'Triumphans eos in semetipso.' *Tract. in Psal.* cxliii. § 4. [p. 553 G.] So St Ambrose, St Augustin, and Pacianus, *ad loc.*

² Œcumenius sheweth their reading: Θριαμβεύσας αὐτοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ and interpretation: Θριαμβος λέγεται ἡ κατὰ τῶν ἡττημένων πόμπη καὶ πανήγυ-

ρις. Ἐθριάμβευσεν οὖν αὐτὸν διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ, τοῦτέστιν ἐνίκησε, καὶ κατ' αὐτοῦ θριαμβὸς νοητὸν ἐπετέλεσε. *Com. in Coloss.* c. 7. [p. 133 O.] 'Ἐν αὐτῷ then is διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ, and this θριαμβὸς νοητὸς on the cross will no way agree with that actual triumph in hell. But Theophylact yet more clearly: Θριαμβεύσας αὐτοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ, τοῦτέστιν, ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ τοὺς δαίμονας ἡττημένους δέξας. Θριαμβος γὰρ λέγεται, ὅταν τις ἀπὸ νίκης πολεμίων ἐπαυελθὼν δημοσίαν πομπὴν τελεῇ, τοὺς ἡττηθέντας δε-

of the Latin Church, which did read it otherwise, did also acknowledge with the Greeks the cross not only to be the place in which the victory over Satan was obtained, but also to be the trophy of that victory, and the triumphal chariot¹.

σμούς πᾶσι δεικνύων. 'Εν τῷ σταυρῷ
ὅν τὸ τρόπαιον στήσας ὁ Κύριος, ὡς περ
ἐν δημοσίῳ θεάτρῳ Ἑλλήνων, Ῥωμαίων,
Ἰουδαίων τοὺς δαίμονας ἐθράμβευσε.

In loc. [p. 653.] And this exposition they received from St Chrysostom, who makes the δειγματισμός on the cross to consist in the death upon it: 'Ἐκεὶ τὴν πληγὴν ἔλαβεν ὁ διάβολος ἐπὶ σώματος νεκροῦ τὴν καιρὸν λαβών. *In Ep. ad Col. Hom.* 6. [§ 3. *Tom.* xi. p. 368 D.] Where it is to be observed that the triumph is not attributed to the soul departed from the body and descended into hell, but rather to the body left by the soul and hanging on the cross: διὰ τοῦ ὀκλείου σώματος πᾶσιν ἡμῶν τὴν κατ' αὐτῶν χάρισμάς ποιεῖ, says Theodoret, *in loc.* [*Tom.* iii. p. 354 C.] And before all these Origen most expressly: 'Visibiliter quidem Filius Dei in carne crucifixus est: invisibiliter vero in ea cruce diabolus cum principatibus suis et potestatibus affixus est cruci. Non tibi hoc videbitur verum, si tibi horum testem produxero Apostolum Paulum? [Audi autem de iis quid ipse pronunciat:] Quod erat, inquit, contrarium nobis tulit illud de medio, affigens cruci suæ, exuens principatus et potestates traduxit, libere triumphans eas in ligno crucis.—Ergo duplex ratio Dominicæ crucis; una illa, qua dicit Apostolus Petrus quod Christus crucifixus nobis reliquit exemplum; et hæc secunda, qua crux illa trophæum de diabolo fuit, in quo et crucifixus est et triumphatus.' *In Josuam. Hom.* viii. [§ 3. *Tom.* ii. p. 416 A. col. 1.] 'Requievit ut Leo, cum in cruce positus principatus et potestates exiit, et triumphavit eos cum ligno crucis.' *Idem. ibid.*

¹ Tertullian, *ad Marcion.* l. ii. 167*.
[p. 800. *Rigalt.*]

'Serpentis spollum, devicto principe mundi,
Affixit ligno refugarum immane trophæum.'

Prudentius *Cathemerin. Hymn.* ix. 163.

'Dic trophæum passionis,
Dic triumphalem crucem.'

St Hilary most expressly: '*Manus ejus edoctæ ad bellum sunt cum seculum vincit. Ego enim, ait, vici, mundum, cum extensus in cruce in invictissimis armis ipsius passionis instruitur. Et posuisti, inquit, ut arcum æreum brachia mea, cum de omnibus virtutibus ac potestatibus in ipso se trophæo gloriæ crucis triumphavit, et principatus et potestates enim traduxit cum fiducia triumphans eos in semetipso.*' *Tract. in Psal.* cxliiii. § 4. [p. 553 F.] Where it is observable that the Father does read it *in semetipso*, and interprets it *in cruce*. 'Nos quoniam trophæum jam videmus, et quod currum suum triumphator ascendit, consideremus quod non arborum, non quadrijugis plaustris manubias de mortali hoste quæsitæ, sed patibulo triumphali captiva de seculo spolia suspendit.' *S. Ambros.* l. x. in c. 23. *S. Lucæ*, § 109. [*Tom.* iii. p. 224 G.] and amongst the rest of the captives he reckons afterwards: 'captivum principem mundi, et spiritualia nequitie quæ sunt in celestibus.' *Ibid.* To this alludes Fulgentius, l. iii. *ad Thrasim.* c. 29. [p. 60 c.] 'Sic oportuit nostrorum peccatorum deleri chirographum, ut dum vetus homo noster simul cruci affigitur, tanquam in trophæo, triumphatoris victoria panderetur.' Whether therefore we read it *ἐν αὐτῷ* with the Greeks, that is, *ἐν σταυρῷ*, or, *ἐν αὐτῷ* with the Latins in *seipso*, it is the same: for he triumphed over the devil by himself upon the cross, as in the same case it is written, Eph. ii. 16: Καὶ ἀποκαταλλάξῃ τοὺς ἀμφοτέρους ἐν ἑνὶ σώματι τῷ Θεῷ διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ ἀποκτείνας τὴν ἐχθρὰν ἐν αὐτῷ.

* These poems are improperly ascribed to Tertullian.

This place then of St Paul to the Colossians cannot prove 249 that *Christ descended into hell*, to triumph over the devil there; and if it be not proper for that purpose of itself, it will not be more effectual by the addition of that other to the Ephesians. For, first, we have already shewn, that the *descending into the lower parts of the earth*, doth not necessarily signify his descent into hell, and, consequently, cannot prove that either those things which are spoken in the same place, or in any other, are to be attributed to that descent. Again, if it were granted, that those words did signify *hell*, and this Article of our CREED were contained in them, yet would it not follow from that Scripture, that *Christ* triumphed over Satan while his soul was in hell; for the consequence would be only this, that the same *Christ*, who *led captivity captive*, *descended first into hell*. In that he *ascended* (and ascending *led captivity captive*,) *what is it but that he descended first?* The descent, then, if it were to hell, did precede the triumphant ascent of the same person; and that is all which the apostle's words will evince. Nay, further yet, the ascent mentioned by St Paul cannot be that which immediately followed the descent into hell, for it evidently signifieth the ascension, which followed forty days after his resurrection. It is not an ascent from the parts below to the surface of the earth, but to the heavens above, an *ascending up on high*, even *far above all heavens*. Now the *leading captivity captive* belongeth clearly to this ascent, and not to any descent which did precede it. It is not said, that he *descended first to lead captivity captive*; and yet it must be so, if Christ descended into hell to triumph there: it is not said, when he had *led captivity captive*, he *ascended up on high*; for then it might be supposed, that the captives had been led before: but it is expressly said, *ascending up on high he led captivity captive*¹; and, consequently, that triumphant act

¹ The original words do manifestly shew, that this triumphant act did not precede this ascent: for had it been, *αἰχμαλωτεύσας αἰχμαλώτιας ἀνέβη εἰς ὕψος*, we might well have expounded it thus; Christ did lead sin and death and Satan captive; and when he had done so, ascended up on high: but being it is written *ἀναβὰς*

εἰς ὕψος, that is, *having ascended up on high*, *ἡγαλώτηεν αἰχμαλώτιας*, he *captivated a captivity*, the ascent must here precede the captivation, though not in time (as it did the giving of gifts) yet in nature: so that it is not proper to say, *By captivating he ascended*; but it is proper to express it thus, *By ascending he led captive a captivity*.

was the immediate effect of his ascension. So that by these two Scriptures no more can be proved than this, that *Christ* triumphed over principalities and powers at his death upon the cross, and led captivity captive at his ascension into heaven. Which is so far from proving that *Christ descended into hell* to triumph there, that it is more proper to persuade the contrary. For why should he go to hell to triumph over them, over whom he had triumphed on the cross? Why should he go to captive that captivity then, which he was to captivate when he ascended into heaven?

As for the testimonies of the Fathers, they will appear of small validity to confirm this triumphant descent as it is distinguished from the two former defects, the removal of the saints to heaven, and the delivering the damned from the torments of hell. In vain shall we pretend, that *Christ descended into hell* to lead captivity captive, if we withal maintain, that when he descended thither, he brought none away which were captive there. This was the very notion which those Fathers had, that the souls of men were conquered by Satan, and after death actually brought into captivity; and that the soul of *Christ*, descending to the place where they were, did actually release them from that bondage, and bring them out of the possession of the devil by force¹. Thus did

¹ So St Jerome on that place of the Ephesians, [Tom. VII. p. 613 E]: 'Inferiora autem terræ infernus accipitur, ad quem Dominus noster Salvatorque descendit, ut Sanctorum animas, quæ ibi tenebantur inclusæ, secum ad cœlos Victor abduceret.' And on *Matt.* xii. 29. [*Ibid.* p. 80 E.] 'Alligatus est fortis, et religatus in Tartarum, et Domini contritus pede; et direptis sedibus Tyranni, captiva ducta est captivitas.' So Arnoldus Carnotensis is to be understood, *De Unctione Chrismatis*: 'Passus est rex illudi, et vita occidi; descendensque ad inferos captivam ab antiquo captivitatem reduxit:' applying it to the custom of the Church: 'Omnino convenit, ut eo tempore quo Christus captivos eduxit ab inferis, reconciliati peccatores ad Ecclesiam reducantur.' *Ibid.* Thus

Athanasius, when he speaks of Christ's triumphing over Satan in hell, he mentions τὸν ἔδην σκυλευθέντα, *hell spoiled*, to wit, of those souls which before it kept in hold. Otherwise in the same oration, in *Passionem et Crucem**, he acknowledgeth the triumph on the cross: "Ἔδει γὰρ τὸν νικητὴν θριαμβεύοντα (not θριαμβεύοντα) κατὰ τοῦ διαβόλου, μὴ ἀλλῃ συγχωρεῖν ἀλλ' ἐαυτῷ βαστάζειν τὸ τρόπαιον. § 20. [Tom. II. p. 96 c.] Thus Leo the emperor: Χριστὸς ἀνέστη τὸν ἔδην αἰχμαλωτίας, καὶ τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις ἐλευθερίαν κηρύξας. *Hom. de Resurr.* [p. 1692 B.] And thus Macarius supposeth Christ victoriously speaking unto hell and death: Κελεύω σοι ἔδην καὶ σκότος, καὶ θάνατε, ἐκβαλε τὰς ἐγκεκλεισμένας ψυχάς. *Homil.* xi. p. 62 c. *Auctor libelli de Paschate*, under the name of St

* [This Homily was probably not written by Athanasius. It is placed Inter Dubia in the Benedictine Edition.]

he conquer Satan, spoil hell, and led captivity captive, according to their apprehension. But if he had taken no souls from thence, he had not spoiled hell, he had not led captivity captive, he had not so triumphed in the Fathers' sense. Wherefore, being the Scriptures teach us not that *Christ* triumphed in hell; being the triumph which the Fathers mention, was either in relation to the damned souls which *Christ* took out of those tormenting flames, as some imagined, or in reference to the spirits of the just which he took out of those infernal habitations, as others did conceive; being we have already thought fit not to admit either of these two as the effect of *Christ's* descent: it followeth that we cannot acknowledge this as the proper end of the article.

Nor can we see how the prophet David could intend so much, as if, when he spake those words in the person of our Saviour, *Thou shalt not leave my soul in hell*, he should have intended this, Thou shalt not leave my soul separated from my body, and conveyed into the regions of the damned spirits, amongst all the principalities and powers of hell; I say, Thou shalt not leave me there, battering all the infernal strength, redeeming the prisoners, leading captivity captive, and victoriously triumphing over death, and hell, and Satan. In sum, those words of the prophet cannot admit any interpretation, involving a glorious, triumphant, and victorious condition, which is not a subject capable of dereliction. For as the hope which he had of his body, that it should not see corruption, supposed that it was to be put in the grave, which could not of itself free the body from corruption; so the hope, that his soul should not be left in hell, supposeth it not to be in such a state, as was of itself contradictory to dereliction.

Ambrose: 'Expers peccati Christus cum ad Tartari ima descenderet, seras inferni januasque confringens, vinctas peccato animas, mortis dominatione destructa, e diaboli faucibus revocavit ad vitam. Atque ita divinus triumphus æternis characteribus est conscriptus, dum dicit, *Ubi est, mors, aculeus tuus? Ubi est, mors, victoria tua?*' cap. 4. And the commentaries under the same name: 'Gratia Dei abundavit in descensu Salvatoris, omnibus dans indulgentiam, cum triumpho sublati eis in

coelum.' *Ad Rom. v. 15.* 'Secundum animam descendit ad inferna et spoliavit principes tenebrarum ab animabus electorum.' *Egbert. Serm. 9. contra Catharos.* Thus still the Fathers which speak of spoiling hell, of leading captivity captive, of triumphing over Satan in his own quarters, are to be understood in respect to those souls which they thought were taken out of the custody, possession, or dominion of Satan, whether just or unjust.

And this leads me to that end which I conceive most conformable to the words of the prophet, and least liable to question or objection. We have already shewn the substance of the Article to consist in this, that the soul of *Christ* really separated from his body by death, did truly pass unto the places below, where the souls of men departed were. And I conceive the end for which he did so, was, that he might undergo the condition of a dead man as well as of a living. He appeared here in the similitude of sinful flesh, and went into the other world in the similitude of a sinner. His body
 25 I was laid in a grave, as ordinarily the bodies of dead men are; his soul was conveyed into such receptacles as the souls of other persons used to be. All, which was necessary for our redemption by way of satisfaction and merit, was already performed on the cross; and all, which was necessary for the actual collation and exhibition of what was merited there, was to be effected upon and after his resurrection: in the interim, therefore there is nothing left, at least known to us, but to satisfy the law of death. This he undertook to do, and did: and though the ancient Fathers by the several additions of other ends have something obscured this, yet it may be sufficiently observed in their writings¹, and is certainly most conformable to that prophetic expression, upon which

¹ Irenæus so calls his descent: 'Iegem mortuorum servare.' *Adv. Hæres.* l. v. c. 26. [31.] p. 451. 6. and St Hilary expresses that which I intend very clearly: 'Morte non interceptus est unigenitus Dei Filius; ad explendam quidem hominis naturam, etiam mortis, id est, discessioni se tanquam animæ corporisque subiecit, et ad infernas sedes, id quod homini debitum videtur esse, penetravit.' *Tract. in Psalm. liii.* § 14. [p. 101 c.] And before him Tertullian: 'Christus Deus, quia et homo mortuus secundum Scripturas, et sepultus secus eandem, huic quoque legi satisfecit, forma humanæ mortis apud inferos functus.' *De Anima*, c. 55. [p. 353 B. *Rigalt.*] 'Ἦλθεν αὐτὸς ὁ τῶν πάντων σωτὴρ, καὶ τὰς ἡμῶν χρεωστούμενας τιμωρίας εἰς τὴν ἐξ ἡμῶν, ἀνθ' ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀναμάρτητον αὐτοῦ ὑπέδεξαντο σάρκα. Καταφερόμεθα μετὰ

τὸν θάνατον εἰς τὸν ᾄδην ἀνεδέξαντο καὶ τοῦτο, καὶ καθήλθεν ἐκουσίως εἰς αὐτὸν. *Gelas. Cypicenis. Act. Conc. Nic.* l. ii. c. [23. *Labbe Concil. Tom. II.* p. 221 D.] This St Augustin calls *proprietary carnem*, *Cont. Felician.* c. 11. [Tom. VIII. Appendix, p. 40 E.]* 'Scio ad inferos Divinitatem Filii Dei descendisse proprietate carnem; scio ad oculum ascendisse carnem merito Deitatis.' And afterwards he calls it *Injuriarum carnem*: 'Erat uno atque eodem tempore ipse totus etiam in inferno, totus in cælo, illic patiens injuriarum carnem, hic non relinquens gloriam Deitatis.' c. 14. [p. 43 c.] '*Impleta est Scriptura quæ dicit, Et cum iniquis reputatus est. Quod et altius intelligi potest, dicente de semetipso Domino, reputatus sum cum descenditibus in lacum: factus sum sicut homo sine adjutorio, inter mortuos liber. Vere enim reputatus*

* [This is among the works falsely ascribed to Augustin. See the *Admonitio*, p. 36.]

Psal. xvi. 10. we have hitherto grounded our explication, *Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, neither wilt thou suffer thy Holy One to see corruption.*

Secondly, By the descent of *Christ* into hell, all those which believe in him are secured from descending thither; he went unto those regions of darkness, that our souls might never come into those torments which are there. By his descent he freed us from our fears, as by his ascension he secured us of our hopes. He passed to those habitations where Satan hath taken up possession and exerciseth his dominion; that having no power over him, we might be assured that he should never exercise any over our souls departed, as belonging unto him. *Through death he destroyed him that had the power of death, that is, the devil:* and by his actual descent into the dominions of him so destroyed, secured all which have an interest in him of the same freedom which he had. Which truth is also still preserved (though among many other strange conceptions) in the writings of the Fathers¹.

Hab. ii. 14.

est inter peccatores et iniquos, ut descenderet ad infernum.' *S. Hieron. in Isaia*, c. liii. 12. [Tom. iv. p. 624 c.] Ruffinus, in his Exposition of the Creed, descanting upon that place in the Psalms; '*Factus sum sicut homo sine adjutorio, inter mortuos liber. Non dixit homo, sed sicut homo. Sicut homo enim erat, quia etiam descenderat in infernum; sed inter mortuos liber erat, quia a morte teneri non poterat. Et ideo in una natura humanæ fragilitatis, in alio divinæ potestatis majestatis ostenditur.*' § 29. [p. 24.] And yet more pertinently Fulgentius: '*Restabat ad plenum nostræ redemptionis effectum, ut illuc usque homo sine peccato a Deo susceptus descenderet: quousque homo separatus a Deo peccati merito cecidisset, id est, ad infernum, ubi solebat peccatoris anima torqueri, et ad sepulcrum, ubi consueverat peccatoris caro corrumpi.*' *Ad Thrasim.* l. iii. c. 30. [p. 60 c.] *Εἰ οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς εἰληρο, κύριος ὢν τοῦ παντός, καὶ θεσπότης, καὶ φῶς τῶν ἐν σκότει, καὶ ζωὴ τῶν ἀπάντων, θανάτου γεύσασθαι, καὶ τὴν εἰς ᾧδου κατὰβασιν ἐπιδέξασθαι, ὥς ἂν*

κατὰ πάντα ἡμῶν ὁμοιωθῇ χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας, &c. Andreas Cret. Serm. in vitam humanam, p. 241. I conclude this with that exposition of St Hilary upon the words of the Psalmist, *If I go down into hell, thou art there also*: '*Humanæ ista lex necessitatis est, ut consepultis corporibus ad inferos animæ descendant: quam descensionem Dominus ad consummationem veri hominis non recusavit.*' *Tract. in Psal. cxxxviii.* § 22. [p. 514 c.]

¹ As we read of the opinion in Tertullian's time, though not of him: '*Sec in hoc, inquit, Christus inferos adiit, ne nos adiremus. Cæterum, quod discrimen Ethnicorum et Christianorum, si carcer mortuis idem?*' *De Anima*, c. 55. [p. 353 B. *Rigalt.*] '*Ergo aut ipsius vox est et hic. Eruiisti animam meam ex inferno inferiore, aut nostra vox per ipsum Christum Dominum nostrum; quia ideo ille pervenit usque ad infernum, ne nos remaneremus in inferno.*' *S. August. in Psal. lxxxv.* § 17. [Tom. iv. p. 686 c.] (p. 912). *Πισχων γὰρ αὐτὸς ἡμᾶς ἀνέκτανσε, καὶ περὶ αὐτὸς ἡμᾶς ἔτρεφε, καὶ εἰς τὸν ᾧδον κατα-*

Having thus examined the several interpretations of this part of the Article, we may now give a brief and safe account thereof, and teach every one how they may express their faith without any danger of mistake, saying: I give a full and undoubting assent unto this as to a certain truth, that when all the sufferings of *Christ* were *finished* on the cross, John xix. 3. and his soul was separated from his body, though his body were dead, yet his soul died not; and though it died not, yet it underwent the condition of the souls of such as die; and
 252 being he died in the similitude of a sinner, his soul went to the place where the souls of men are kept who die for their sins, and so did wholly undergo the law of death: but because there was no sin in him, and he had fully satisfied for the sins of others which he took upon him; therefore as God suffered not his Holy One to see corruption, so he left not his soul in hell, and thereby gave sufficient security to all those who belong to Christ, of never coming under the power of Satan, or suffering in the flames prepared for the devil and his angels. And thus, and for these purposes, may every Christian say, I believe that *Christ* DESCENDED INTO HELL.

HE ROSE AGAIN.

WHATSOEVER variations have appeared in any of the other Articles, this part, of *Christ's* resurrection, hath been constantly delivered without the least alteration, either by way of addition or diminution¹. The whole matter of it is so necessary and essential to the Christian faith, that nothing of it could be omitted; and in these few expressions the whole doctrine is so clearly delivered, that nothing needed to be added. At the first view we are presented with three particulars: First, the action itself, or the resurrection of *Christ*, *he rose again*. Secondly, the verity, reality, and propriety

βαῖων, ἡμᾶς ἀνέπερε. S. Athanas. in *Omnia mihi trad.* &c. § 2. [Tom. I. p. 104 F.]

¹ For though Eusebius Gallicanus [*De Symbolo Hom.* ii. p. 354 G.] and Venantius Fortunatus (*Expositio Symboli*, p. 382 C.) leave out the last words, *a mortuis*, and some copies in Ruffinus have it not; yet is it generally expressed in all the rest, which are more

ancient than Eusebius or Fortunatus: and therefore that omission is to be imputed rather to negligence either of the author or the scribe, than to the usage of the Church in their age. 'Quod die tertio resurrexerit a mortuis Dominus Christus, nullus ambigit Christianus.' S. Aug. in *Vigiliis Paschæ*, iii. *Serm.* 79. al. 221. § 1. [Tom. v. p. 671 E.]

of that resurrection, *he rose from the dead*. Thirdly, the circumstance of time, or distance of his resurrection from his death, he rose from the dead the *third day*.

For the illustration of the first particular, and the justification of our belief in *Christ's* resurrection, it will be necessary, First, To shew the promised *Messias* was to rise from the dead; and, Secondly, That *Jesus*, whom we believe to be the true and only *Messias*, did so rise as it was promised and foretold. As the *Messias* was to be the Son of David, so was he particularly typified by him and promised unto him. Great were the oppositions which David suffered both by his own people and by the nations round about him; which he expressed of himself, and foretold of the *Messias*, in those words, *The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsel together, against the Lord and against his Anointed, that is, his Christ*. From whence it came to pass, *that against the holy child Jesus, whom God had anointed, both Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles and the people of Israel, were gathered together, to do whatsoever the hand and the counsel of God determined before to be done*, which was to crucify and slay the Lord of life. But notwithstanding all this opposition and persecution, it was spoken of David, and foretold of the Son of David, *Yet have I set mine Anointed upon my holy hill of Sion. I will declare the decree, the Lord hath said unto me, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee*. As therefore the persecution in respect of David amounted only to a depression of him, and therefore his exaltation was a settling in the kingdom; so being the conspiracy against the *Messias* amounted to a real crucifixion and death, therefore the exaltation must include a resurrection. And being he which riseth from the dead begins as it were to live another life, and the grave to him is in the manner of a womb to bring him forth; therefore when God said of his Anointed, *Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee*, he did foretell and promise that he would raise the *Messias* from death to life.

But because this prediction was something obscured in the figurative expression, therefore the Spirit of God hath cleared it farther by the same prophet, speaking by the mouth of David, but such words as are agreeable not to the person, but the Son, of David, *My flesh shall rest in hope; for thou wilt*

Psalm ii. 2.

Acts iv. 27, 28.

Psalm ii. 6, 7.

Psalm xvi. 10.

not leave my soul in hell, neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy One to see corruption. As for the patriarch David, he is both dead and buried, and his flesh consumed in his sepulchre; but being a prophet, and knowing that God had sworn with an oath Acts II. 29—31. to him, that of the fruit of his loins according to the flesh he would raise up Christ to sit on his throne; he seeing this before, spake of the resurrection of Christ, that his soul was not left in hell, neither his flesh did see corruption. They were both to be separated by his death, and each to be disposed in that place which was respectively appointed for them: but neither long to continue there, the body not to be detained in the grave, the soul not to be left in hell; but both to meet, and being reunited, to rise again.

Again, lest any might imagine that the *Messias* dying once might rise from death, and living after death, yet die again, there was a further prophecy to assure us of the excellency of that resurrection and the perpetuity of that life, to which the *Messias* was to be raised. For God giving this promise to his people, *I will make an everlasting covenant with you*, (of which the *Messias* was to be the mediator, and to ratify it by his death,) and adding this expression, *even the sure mercies* Isai. lv. 3. *of David*, could signify no less than that *Christ*, who was given first unto us in a frail and mortal condition, in which he was to die, should afterwards be given in an immutable state, and, consequently, that he being dead should rise unto eternal life. And thus by virtue of these three predictions we are assured that the *Messias* was to rise again, as also by those types which did represent and presignify the same. Joseph, who was ordained to save his brethren from death who would have slain him, did represent the Son of God, who was slain by us, and yet dying saved us; and his being in the dungeon typified *Christ's* death¹; his being taken out from thence represented his resurrection; as his ejection to the power of Egypt next to Pharaoh, signified the session of *Christ* at the right hand of his Father. Isaac was sacrificed, and yet lived, to shew that *Christ* should truly die, and truly live again. And Abraham offered him up, *accounting that God was able* Heb. xi. 19.

¹ 'Post duos annos dierum, tertio incipiente, de carcere educitur Joseph. Et noster Joseph, Christus Dominus, die tertio a mortuis resurrexit. Præsentatur Pharaoni; mundo resurrectio declaratur—Data est Joseph a Pha-

raone in tota Ægypto potestas; et noster Joseph, Christus Dominus, post resurrectionem dicit, Data est mihi omnis potestas in celo et in terra.' *Prosper. de Promis. et Prædict.* p. i. c. 29. [p. 24.]

to raise him up even from the dead, from whence also he received him in a figure. In Abraham's intention Isaac died, in his expectation he was to rise from the dead, in his acceptance, being spared, he was received from the dead, and all this acted to presignify¹, that the only Son of God was really and truly to be sacrificed and die, and after death was really to be raised to life. What was the intention of our father Abraham not performed, that was the resolution of our heavenly Father and fulfilled. And thus the resurrection of the *Messias* was represented by types, and foretold by prophecies; and therefore the *Christ* was to rise from the dead.

That *Jesus*, whom we believe to be the true and only *Messias*, did rise from the dead according to the Scriptures, is a certain and infallible truth, delivered unto us and confirmed by testimonies human, angelical, and divine. Those pious women which thought with sweet spices to anoint him dead, found him alive, *held him by the feet, and worshipped him*, and, as the first preachers of his resurrection, with fear and great joy ran to bring his disciples word. The blessed apostles follow them, to whom also *he shewed himself alive after his passion by many infallible proofs*: who with great power gave witness of the resurrection of the Lord *Jesus*; the principal part of whose office consisted in this testimony, as appeareth upon the election of Matthias into the place of Judas, grounded upon this necessity. *Wherefore of these men which have companied with us all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among us, must one be ordained to be a witness with us of his resurrection.* The rest of the disciples testified the same, to whom he also appeared, even to *five hundred brethren at once*. These were the witnesses of his own family, of such as worshipped him, such as believed in him. And because the testimony of an adversary is in such cases thought of greatest validity, we have not only his disciples, but even his enemies, to confirm it. Those soldiers that watched at the sepulchre, and pretended to keep his body from the hands of his apostles; they which felt the earth trembling under them, and saw the countenance of an angel

Matt. xxviii.
9.

Acts i. 8.

Acts iv. 33.

Acts i. 21, 22.

1 Cor. xv. 6.

¹ 'Ideo Isaac immolatus non est, quia resurrectio Filio Dei servata est.' Prosper. de Promiss. et Predict. p. i. c. 17. Οὕτως τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος τὸ μέγα μυστήριον τυπικῶς ἀμφοτέροις ἐπιμερίσματος, τῷ τε ἡγαπημένῳ υἱῷ καὶ

τῷ συμπαραδειχθέντι προβάτῳ, ὥστε δειχθῆναι ἐν μὲν τῷ προβάτῳ τὸ τοῦ θανάτου μυστήριον, ἐν δὲ τῷ Μωυσογενεῖ τὴν ζωὴν, τὴν μὴ διακοπτομένην τῷ θανάτῳ. Greg. Nyss. Oral. i. in Resur. ad inil. [Tom. III. p. 383 B.]

like lightning, and his raiment white as snow: they who upon that sight did shake and became as dead men, while he whom they kept, became alive: even some of these came into the city, and shewed unto the chief priests all the things that were done. Thus was the resurrection of Christ confirmed by the highest human testimonies, both of his friends and enemies, of his followers and revilers.

Matt. xxviii.
8, 4, 11.

But so great, so necessary, so important a mystery, had need of a more firm and higher testimony than that of man: and therefore an angel from heaven, who was ministerial in it, gave a present and infallible witness to it. He descended down, and came and rolled back the stone from the door, and sat upon it. Nay, two angels in white, sitting the one at the head, the other at the feet where the body of Jesus had lain, said unto the women, *Why seek ye the living among the dead? he is not here, but is risen.* These were the witnesses sent from heaven; this the angelical testimony of the resurrection.

Matt. xxviii.
2.
John xx. 12.

Luke xxiv. 5.

And if we receive the witness of men, or angels, the witness of God is greater, who did sufficiently attest this resurrection, not only because there was no other power but that of God which could effect it, but as our Saviour himself said, *The Spirit of truth, which proceedeth from the Father, he shall testify of me; adding these words to his apostles, and ye shall bear witness, because ye have been with me from the beginning.* The Spirit of God sent down upon the apostles did thereby testify that Christ was risen, because he sent that Spirit from the Father; and the apostles witnessed together with that Spirit, because they were enlightened, comforted, confirmed and strengthened in their testimony by the same Spirit. Thus God raised up Jesus, and shewed him openly, not to all the people, but unto witnesses chosen before of God, even to those who did eat and drink with him after he rose from the dead. And thus, as it was foretold of the Messiah, did our Jesus rise; which was the first part of our inquiry.

1 John v. 9.

John xv. 26,
27.

Acts x. 40, 41.

For the second, concerning the reality and propriety of Christ's resurrection, expressed in that term *from the dead*, it will be necessary first to consider what are the essential characters and proprieties of a true resurrection; and, secondly, to shew how those proprieties do belong and are agreeable to the raising of Christ. The proper notion of the

resurrection consists in this, that it is a substantial change, by which that which was before, and was corrupted, is reproduced the same thing again. It is said to be a change, that it may be distinguished from a second or new creation. For if God should annihilate a man or angel, and make the same man or angel out of nothing, though it were a restitution of the same thing, yet were it not properly a resurrection, because it is not a change or proper mutation, but a pure and total production. 255 This change is called a substantial change, to distinguish it from all accidental alterations: he which awaketh from his sleep ariseth from his bed, and there is a greater change from sickness to health; but neither of these is a resurrection. It is called a change of that which was, and hath been corrupted, because things immaterial and incorruptible cannot be said to rise again; resurrection implying a reproduction, and that which after it was, never was not, cannot be reproduced. Again, of those things which are material and corruptible, of some the forms continue and subsist after the corruption of the whole, of others not. The forms of inanimate bodies, and all irrational souls, when they are corrupted, cease to be; and therefore if they should be reproduced out of the same matter, yet were not this a proper resurrection, because thereby there would not be the same individual which was before, but only a restitution of the *species* by another individual. But when a rational soul is separated from its body, which is the corruption of a man, that soul so separated doth exist, and, consequently, is capable of conjunction and reunion with the body; and if these two be again united by an essential and vital union, from which life doth necessarily flow, then doth the same man live which lived before; and, consequently, this reunion is a perfect and proper resurrection from death to life, because the same individual person, consisting of the same soul and body, which was dead, is now alive again.

Having thus delivered the true nature of a proper resurrection, we shall easily demonstrate that *Christ* did truly and properly rise from the dead. For, first, by a true, though miraculous, generation, he was made flesh; and lived in his human nature a true and proper life, producing vital actions as we do. Secondly, he suffered a true and proper dissolution at his death; his soul being really separated, and his body left without the least vitality, as our dead bodies are. Thirdly, the same soul was reunited to the same body, and so

he lived again the same man. For the truth of which, two things are necessary to be shewn upon his appearing after death; the one concerning the verity, the other concerning the identity of his body. All the apostles doubted of the first; for when *Christ* stood in the midst of them, *they were affrighted, and supposed that they had seen a spirit*. But he sufficiently assured them of the verity of his corporeity, saying, *Handle me and see: for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have*¹. He convinced them all of the identity of his body, saying, *Behold my hands and my feet, that it is I myself*; Luke xxiv. 39. especially unbelieving Thomas, *Reach hither thy finger, and behold my hands; and reach hither thy hand, and thrust it into my side, and be not faithless, but believing*. John xx. 27. The body then in which he rose must be the same in which he lived before, because it was the same with which he died.

And that we might be assured of the soul as well as of the body: First, he gave an argument of the vegetative and nutritive faculty, saying unto them, *Have ye here any meat? and they gave him a piece of a broiled fish, and of an honeycomb; and he took it, and did eat before them*. Luke xxiv. 41-43. Secondly, of the sensitive part, conversing with them, shewing himself, seeing and hearing them. Thirdly, he gave evidence of his rational and intellectual soul, by speaking to them, and discoursing out of the Scriptures, concerning those
 256 things which he *spake unto them, while he was yet with them*. Luke xxiv. 44. Thus did he shew, that the body which they saw, was truly and vitally informed with a human soul. And that they might be yet further assured that it was the same soul, by which that body lived before², he gave a full testimony of

¹ Thus Ignatius disputes against the *Δοκῆται*, in his days: 'Ἐγὼ γὰρ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐν σαρκὶ αὐτῶν ὄδω, καὶ πιστεύω ὅτι. Καὶ ὅτε πρὸς τοὺς περὶ Πέτρων ἦλθεν, ἔφη αὐτοῖς, Ἀδελφε, ψηλαφήσατέ με καὶ ὄρετε, ὅτι οὐκ εἰμὶ δαίμωνιον δώματον. Καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτοῦ ἤψαντο, καὶ ἐπίστευσαν, κρατηθέντες τῇ σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ πνεύματι. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀνάστασιν συνέφαγεν αὐτοῖς καὶ συνέπιεν, ὡς σαρκικός, καίπερ πνευματικός ἦν αὐτός. *Epist. ad Smyrn.* § 3. 'Palpandam carnem Dominus præbuit, quam januis clausis introduxit—ut esse post resurrectionem ostenderet corpus suum et ejusdem

naturæ et alterius gloriæ.' *Greg. Magn. Hom. 26. in Evang.* 'Resurrexit Christus, absoluta res est. Corpus erat, caro erat, pendit in cruce, emisit animam, posita est (caro) in sepulcro. Exhibuit illam vivam qui vivebat in illa' *S. Aug. Serm. de Temp.* 147. al. 242. § 1. [Tom. v. p. 703 A.] (p. 1009.)

² 'Ideo et clausis ad discipulos ostiis introibat, et flatu suo dabat Spiritum Sanctum, et dato intelligentiæ lumine, sanctorum Scripturarum occulta pandebat; et rursus idem vulnus lateris, fixuras clavorum, et omnia recentissimæ passionis signa monstrabat, ut agnosceretur in eo proprietates

John iii. 13.

his Divinity, by the miracle which he wrought in the multitude of fishes caught; by breathing on the apostles the Holy Ghost; and by ascending into heaven in the sight of his disciples. For being *no man ascended into heaven but he which came down from heaven, the Son of man which was in heaven*; being the Divinity was never so united to any human soul but only in that person, it appeared to be the same soul with which he lived and wrought all the miracles before. To conclude, being *Christ* appeared after his death with the same body in which he died, and with the same soul united to it, it followeth that *he rose from the dead* by a true and proper resurrection.

Moreover, that the verity and propriety of *Christ's* resurrection may further appear, it will be necessary to consider the cause thereof, by what power and by whom it was effected. And if we look upon the meritorious cause, we shall find it to be *Christ* himself. For he by his voluntary sufferings in his life, and exact obedience at his death, did truly deserve to be raised unto life again¹. Because he drank of the brook in the way, because he humbled himself unto death, even to the death of the cross, therefore was it necessary that he should be exalted, and the first degree of his exaltation was his resurrection. Now being *Christ* humbled himself to the sufferings both of soul and body; being whatsoever suffered, the same by the virtue and merit of his passion was to be exalted; being all other degrees of exaltation supposed that of the resurrection: it followeth from the meritorious cause, that *Christ* did truly rise from the dead with the same soul and the same body, with which he lived united, and died separated.

Acts ii. 32.

The efficient cause of the resurrection of *Christ* is to be considered either as principal or instrumental. The principal cause was God himself; for no other power but that which is omnipotent can raise the dead. It is an act beyond the activity of any creature, and unproportionate to the power of any finite agent. *This Jesus hath God raised up* (saith the apostle), *whereof we all are witnesses*. And generally in the Scriptures as our, so *Christ's* resurrection is attributed unto

divinæ humanæque naturæ individua permanere.' *Leo. Sermon. 1. de Resurrectione*, c. 3. [p. 848 G.]

¹ 'Ut mediator Dei et hominum homo Christus Jesus resurrectione clarificaretur, vel glorificaretur, prius hu-

miliatus est passione: non enim a mortuis resurrexisset, si mortuus non fuisset. Humilitas claritatis est meritum, claritas humilitatis est premium.' *S. August. Tract. 104. in Ioan. § 3.* [Tom. III. part 2. p. 554 A.] (p. 760.)

God; and as we cannot hope after death to rise to life again without the activity of an infinite and irresistible power, no more did *Christ* himself, who was no otherwise raised than by an eminent act of God's omnipotency; which is excellently set forth by the apostle, in so high an exaggeration of expressions, as I think is scarcely to be paralleled in any author, *that we may know what is the exceeding greatness of his power to usward who believe, according to the working of the might of his power which he wrought in Christ, when he raised him up from the dead*¹. Being then omnipotency is a divine attribute, and infinite power belongs to God alone; being no less power than infinite could raise our Saviour from the dead: it followeth, that whatsoever instrumental action might concur, God must be acknowledged the principal agent.

257 And therefore in the Scriptures the raising of *Christ* is attributed to God the Father (according to those words of the apostle, *Paul an apostle, not of men, neither by men, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father who raised him from the dead*;) but is not attributed to the Father alone. For to whomsoever that infinite power doth belong, by which *Christ* was raised, that person must be acknowledged to have raised him. And because we have already proved that the eternal Son of God is of the same essence, and consequently of the same power with the Father, and shall hereafter shew the same true also of the Holy Ghost; therefore we must likewise acknowledge that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost raised *Christ* from the dead². Nor is this only true by

¹ Καὶ τί τὸ ὑπερβαλλὸν μέγεθος τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ εἰς ἡμᾶς τοὺς πιστεύοντας, κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τοῦ κράτους τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ, ἣν ἐνήργησεν ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ. Which words our translation comes far short of, and I doubt our language can scarce reach it. For, first, here are δύναμις and ἰσχύς, two words to express the power of God, and the validity and force of it, but not sufficient; wherefore there is an addition to each of them, μέγεθος τῆς δυνάμεως, and κράτος τῆς ἰσχύος, two words more to express the eminent greatness of this power and force, but not sufficient yet; and therefore there is another addition to each addition, τὸ ὑπερβαλλὸν μέγεθος, and ἡ ἐνέργεια

τοῦ κράτους, to set forth the eminence and activity of that greatness: and all yet as it were but flat and dull, till it be quickened with an active verb, ἣν ἐνήργησεν ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ ἐγείρας αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν. All which he set on work, all which he actuated in Christ, when he raised him from the dead.

² 'Quis nisi solus Filius resurrexit? Quia solus mori potuit, qui carnem habuit: et tamen ab hoc opere, quo solus Filius resurrexit, non erat Pater alienus, de quo scriptum est, Qui suscitavit a mortuis Jesum. An forte se ipse non suscitavit? Et ubi est quod ait, Solvite templum hoc, et triduo suscitabo illud? et quod potestatem se habere dicit ponendi et iterum sumendi ani-

virtue of this ratiocination, but it is also delivered expressly of the Son, and that by himself. It is a weak fallacy used by the Socinians, who maintain, that God the Father only raised *Christ*, and then say, they teach us much as the apostles did, who attribute it always either generally unto God, or particularly to the Father. For if the apostles taught it only so, yet if he which taught the apostles taught us something more, we must make that also part of our belief. They believe the Father raised *Christ*, because St Paul hath taught them so, and we believe the same; they will not believe that *Christ* did raise himself; but we must also believe that, because he hath said so. These were his words unto the Jews, *Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up;* and this is the explication of the apostle, *but he spake of the temple of his body*, which he might very properly call a temple, because *the fulness of the Godhead dwelt in him bodily*. And when he was risen from the dead, his disciples remembered that he had said this unto them, and they believed the Scripture, and the word which Jesus had said. Now if, upon the resurrection of *Christ*, the apostles believed those words of *Christ*, *Destroy this temple, and I will raise it up*, then did they believe that *Christ* raised himself; for in those words there is a person mentioned which raised *Christ*, and no other person mentioned but himself.

John II. 19,
21.

Col. II. 9.

John II. 22.

A strange opposition they make to the evidence of this argument, saying, that God the Father raised *Christ* to life¹, and *Christ* being raised to life, did lift and raise his body out of the grave, as the man sick of the palsy raised himself from the bed, or as we shall raise ourselves out of the graves when the trump shall sound: and this was all which *Christ* did or could do². But if this were true, and nothing else were to be understood in those words of our Saviour, he

nam suam? Quis autem ita desipiat, ut putet Spiritum Sanctum resurrectionem hominis Christi non cooperatum, cum ipsum hominem Christum fuerit operatus.' *S. August. contra Serm. Arian. cap. 15.* [Tom. VIII. p. 450 c.] (p. 635.)

¹ 'Aliter Deus Christum suscitavit, aliter Christus corpus suum. Deus Christo vitam restituendo, Christus vita recuperata corpus suum levando,

et e sepulcro prodeundo, seque post mortem vivum sistendo præbendoque. Sic et paralyticus ille erexerat corpus suum accepta a Christo sanitate: sic et omnes mortui surgent, et ex monumentis prodibunt, recepta ab eodem Christo vita.' *Confessionis Sociniane Vindices.*

² [And this was all that *Christ* could do. 3rd Edition.]

might as well have said, "Destroy this temple, and in three days any one of you may raise it up." For when life was restored unto it by God, any one of them might have lifted it up, and raised it out of the grave, and have shewn it alive.

This answer therefore is a mere shift: for to raise a body which is dead, is, in the language of the Scriptures, to give life unto it, or to quicken a mortal body. *For as the Father* John v. 21. *raiseth up the dead and quickeneth them, even so the Son quickeneth whom he will*¹. He then which quickeneth the

¹ Ἐγείρει τοὺς νεκροὺς and ζωοποιεῖν is the same thing; and therefore one in the Apodosis answereth to both in the Protasis, and sheweth that Christ raiseth and quickeneth whom he will, which demonstrateth his infinite and absolute power. Καὶ τὸ, οὐδὲν δύναται ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ποιεῖν, τῷ, οὗς θέλει, ἐναντίον ἑστίν. Εἰ γὰρ οὗς θέλει, δύναται ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ποιεῖν. Τὸ γὰρ θέλειν ἐξουσίας· εἰ δὲ οὐ δύναται ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, οὐκ ἐστὶν οὗς θέλει. Τὸ μὲν γάρ, ὡς περὶ ὁ Πατὴρ ἐγείρει, τῆς δυνάμεως δείκνυσιν τὴν ἀπαρραλλοξίαν· τὸ δέ, οὗς θέλει, τῆς ἐξουσίας τὴν ἰσότητα. S. Chrysost. Hom. 38. in Ioan. § 4. [Tom. VIII. p. 223 c.] Where it is very observable that though ἐγείρειν τοὺς νεκροὺς and ζωοποιεῖν be the same in the language of the Scriptures, yet ἐγείρειν and ζωογονεῖν are not the same. By which observation the late learned Bishop of Ely hath most evidently detected that Socinian cavil. 'Si quis obstinate vocem excitabo [ἐγερῶ] urgere vult, is animadvertet quid D. Jesus alibi dicat, Eum qui perdidit animam, revivificaturum eam. Ubi si quis insistere vellet ipsis verbis, eum colligere oporteret, Credentes etiam ipsos esse vivificandos, et a mortuis excitandos.' Cat. Racov. Sect. ix. p. 334. (278.) For ἐγερῶ hath manifest relation to the dead, but ζωογονῶ unto the living. And therefore our translation hath very well rendered those words, Luc. xvii. 33. ὅς ἐάν ἀπολέσῃ αὐτὴν, ζωογονήσῃ αὐτήν, Whosoever shall lose his life shall preserve it: so that ζωογονεῖν ψυχῇ is to preserve life, which interpretation is most evident out of the antithesis of the same place: 'Ὅς

ἐάν ζητήσῃ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ σώσει, ἀπολέσει αὐτήν. For σώσει and ἀπολέσει in the former part are the same with ζωογονήσῃ and ζωογονήσῃ in the latter. And beside, this is the language of St Luke, who, Acts vii. 19. says, that the Egyptians ill-treated the Israelites, τοῦ ποιεῖν ἐκθετα τὰ βρέφη αὐτῶν, εἰς τὸ μὴ ζωογονεῖσθαι, So that they cast out their young children, to the end they might not live, that is, remain alive, Syr. חַיִּים לֹא יִהְיוּ, ne servarentur, ne viverent, as the Arabic. In which words there is a manifest reference to that place in Exodus, where thrice this word is used in that sense by the LXX. as i. 17. עֲמַלְכֵי־אֱמֹנִיתִי וְחַיִּים לֹא יִהְיוּ, καὶ ἐξωγόνουν τὰ ἄρσενά, Vulg. Trans. sed conservabant mares, Chald. מִנְּקֵי אֲרָמִיתִי; so verse 18. ἐξωγονεῖτε τὰ ἄρσενά, and 22. καὶ πᾶν θῆλυ ζωογονεῖτε αὐτό. And indeed חַיִּים in Piel is often used for keeping or preserving alive, and is so several times translated, ζωογονῶ as well as ζωγράφω, as Jud. viii. 19. חַיִּים לֹא יִהְיוּ, εἰ ἐξωγοστήκειτε αὐτούς, οὐκ ἂν ἀπέκτενω ὑμᾶς, Vulg. Trans. Si servassetis eos, non vos occiderem, If ye had saved them alive, I would not slay you. i Sam. xxvii. 9. חַיִּים לֹא יִהְיוּ, καὶ οὐκ ἐξωγόνει ἄνδρα, ἢ γυναικα. Vulg. Trans. Nec relinquebat viventem virum et mulierem, And left neither man nor woman alive. And which is yet nearer to our purpose, i Kings xx. 31. אֲרִי־נָפֶשׁ חַיִּים לֹא יִהְיוּ LXX. εἰ πως ζωογονήσῃ τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν, Vulg. Trans. Forsalim salvabit animas nostras, Peradventure he will save thy life. So that ζωογονεῖν in the language of the LXX. is to save alive, and ζωογονεῖν τὴν ψυχὴν, is to preserve one's life. So that St

dead bodies of others when he raiseth them, he also quickened his own body, when he raised that. The temple is supposed here to be *dissolved*, and being so, to be raised again; therefore the suscitation must answer to the dissolution. But the temple of *Christ's* body was dissolved when his soul was separated, nor was it any other way dissolved 258 than by that separation. God suffered not his *Holy One* to see corruption, and therefore the parts of his body, in respect of each to other, suffered no dissolution. Thus as the apostle desired to be *dissolved and to be with Christ*, so the temple of *Christ's* body was dissolved here, by the separation of his soul: for the temple standing was the body living; and therefore the raising of the dissolved temple was the quickening of the body. If the body of *Christ* had been laid down in the sepulchre alive, the temple had not been dissolved; therefore to lift it up out of the sepulchre when it was before quickened, was not to raise a dissolved temple, which our Saviour promised he would do, and the apostles believed he did.

John x. 17,
18.

Again, it is most certainly false that our Saviour had power only to lift up his body when it was revived, but had no power of himself to reunite his soul unto his body, and thereby to revive it. For *Christ* speaketh expressly of himself, *I lay down my life* (or soul) *that I might take it again. No man taketh it from me, but I lay it down of myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again.* The laying down of *Christ's* life was to die, and the taking of it again was to revive; and by this taking of his

John xi. 25.

Rom. i. 3, 4.

life again, he shewed himself to be the *resurrection and the life*. For he which was *made of the seed of David according to the flesh*, was declared to be the *Son of God with power, according to the Spirit of holiness, by the resurrection from the dead*. But if *Christ* had done no more in the resurrection, than lifted up his body when it was revived, he had done that which any other person might have done, and so had not declared himself to be the Son of God with power. It remaineth therefore, that *Christ* by that power which he had within himself, did take his life again which he had laid down; did reunite his soul unto his body, from which he separated it

Luke, in the text cited by the Socinians, could intend no more than that he which was ready to lose his life for

Christ, should thereby preserve it, and consequently he speaks nothing of the raising of the dead.

when he gave up the ghost; and so did quicken and revive himself: and so it is a certain truth, not only that God the Father raised the Son, but also that God the Son raised himself¹.

From this consideration of the efficient cause of *Christ's* resurrection, we are yet farther assured, that *Christ* did truly
 259 and properly rise from the dead in the same soul and the same body. For if we look upon the Father, it is beyond all controversy that he raised his own Son: and as while he was here alive, God spake from heaven, saying, *This is my well-beloved Son*; so after his death it was the same person, of whom he spake by the prophet, *Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee*. If we look upon *Christ* himself, and consider him with power to raise himself, there can be no greater assurance that he did totally and truly rise in soul and body by that Divinity, which was never separated either from the body or from the soul. And thus we have sufficiently proved our second particular, the verity, reality, and propriety, of *Christ's* resurrection, contained in those words, *He rose from the dead*. Psalm. ii. 7.
Acts xiii. 33.

The third particular concerns the time of *Christ's* resurrection, which is expressed by *the third day*: and those words afford a double consideration; one in respect of the distance of time, as it was after three days; the other in respect of the day, which was the third day from his passion, and the precise day upon which he arose. For the first of these, we shall shew that the *Messias*, who was foretold both to die and to rise again, was not to rise before, and was to rise upon, the third day after his death; and that in correspondence to these predictions, our *Jesus*, whom we believe to be the true *Messias*, did not rise from the dead until, and did rise from the dead upon, the third day.

The typical predictions of this truth were two, answering

¹ Καὶ ἀληθῶς ἔπαθεν, ὡς καὶ ἀληθῶς ἀνέστησεν ἑαυτὸν. *S. Ignat. ad Smyrn.* § 2. 'Si peccati confessor revixit a morte, quis eum suscitavit? Nullus mortuus est sui ipsius suscitator. Ille se potuit suscitare, qui mortua carne non mortuus est. Etenim hoc suscitavit quod mortuum fuerat. Ille se suscitavit, qui vivebat in se, in

carne autem sua suscitanda mortuus erat. Non enim Pater solus Filium suscitavit, de quo dictum est ab Apostolo, *Propter quod et Deus eum exaltavit*, sed etiam Dominus seipsum, id est, corpus suum: unde dicit, *Solvite templum hoc, et in triduo suscitabo illud.* *S. August. de Verb. Domin. Serm. 8. al. 67. § 2.* [Tom. v. p. 262 A.] (p. 374.)

Jonah i. 17.
ii. 10. iii. 2.

Matt. xii. 40.

to our two considerations, one in reference to the distance, the other in respect of the day itself. The first is that of the prophet Jonas, who *was in the belly of the great fish three days and three nights*, and then by the special command of God he was rendered safe *upon the dry land*, and sent a preacher of repentance to the great city of Nineveh. This was an express type of the *Messias* then to come, who was to preach repentance and remission of sins to all nations; that as *Jonas was three days and three nights in the whale's belly, so should the Son of Man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth*: and as he was restored alive unto the dry land again, so should the *Messias* after three days be taken out of the jaws of death, and restored unto the land of the living.

Lev. xxiii.
10—12.

Rom. xi. 16.

The type in respect of the day was the waved sheaf in the feast of the first-fruits, concerning which this was the law of God by Moses, *When ye be come into the land which I give unto you, and shall reap the harvest thereof, then ye shall bring a sheaf of the first-fruits of your harvest unto the priest: and he shall wave the sheaf before the Lord to be accepted for you: on the morrow after the sabbath the priest shall wave it. And ye shall offer that day, when ye wave the sheaf, an he-lamb without blemish of the first year for a burnt-offering unto the Lord.* For under the Levitical Law, all the fruits of the earth in the land of Canaan were profane; none might eat of them till they were consecrated, and that they were in the feast of the first-fruits. One sheaf was taken out of the field and brought to the priest, who lifted it up, as it were in the name of all the rest, waving it before the Lord, and it was accepted for them, so that all the sheaves in the field were holy by the acceptation of that: *For if the first-fruits be holy, the lump also is holy.* And this was always done the day after the sabbath, that is, the paschal solemnity, after which the fulness of the harvest followed: by which thus much was foretold and represented, that as the sheaf was lifted up and waved, and the lamb was offered on that day by the priest to God, so the promised *Messias*, that immaculate Lamb which was to die, that priest which dying was to offer up himself to God, was upon this day to be lifted up and raised from the dead, or rather to shake and lift up and present himself to God, and so to be accepted for us all,

that so our dust might be sanctified, our corruption hallowed,
260 our mortality consecrated to eternity. Thus was the resurrection of the *Messias* after death typically represented both in the distance and the day.

And now, in reference to both resemblances, we shall clearly shew, that our *Jesus*, whom we believe, and have already proved, to be the true *Messias*, was so long and no longer dead, as to rise *the third day*; and did so order the time of his death, that the third day, on which he rose, might be that very day on which the sheaf was waved, the day after that sabbath mentioned in the Law.

As for the distance between the resurrection and the death of *Christ*, it is to be considered, First, generally in itself, as it is some space of time: Secondly, as it is that certain and determined space of three days. *Christ* did not, would not, suddenly arise, lest any should doubt that he ever died. It was as necessary for us that he should die, as that he should live; and we, which are to believe them both, were to be assured as well of the one as of the other. That therefore we may be ascertained of his death, he did some time continue it. He might have descended from the cross before he died; but he would not, because he had undertaken to die for us¹. He might have revived himself upon the cross after he had given up the ghost², and before Joseph came to take him down; but he would not, lest as Pilate questioned whether he were already dead, so we might doubt whether he ever died. The reward of his resurrection was immediately due upon his passion, but he deferred the receiving of it, lest either of them being questioned, they both might lose their efficacy and intended operation. It was therefore necessary that some space should intercede between them.

¹ 'De cruce descendere poterat: sed differebat ut de sepulchro resurgeret.' *S. August. in Joan. Tract. 12. § 6. [Tom. III. par. 2. p. 281 o.] (p. 386.)*

² 'Ἐδύνατο μὲν καὶ παρ' αὐτὰ τοῦ θανάτου τὸ σῶμα διεγείρειν καὶ πάλιν δεῖξαι ζῶν· ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο καλῶς προὐδὼν ὁ Σωτὴρ οὐ πεποίηκε· Εἶπε γὰρ ὅς τις μὴδ' ὀλιγὸς αὐτὸ τεθνηκέναι, ἢ μὴδὲ τέλειον αὐτοῦ τὸν θάνατον ἐφανκέναι, εἰ παρ' αὐτὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἦν ἐπιδείξας. Τάχα δὲ καὶ ἐν ἰσφ. τοῦ διαστήματος

ὄντος τοῦ τε θανάτου καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως, ἄδηλον ἐγένετο τὸ περὶ τῆς ἀφθαρσίας κλέος. Ὅθεν Ἰω. δεῖχθῇ νεκρὸν τὸ σῶμα, καὶ μίαν ὑπέμεινε μέσην ὁ Λόγος, καὶ τριταῖον τοῦτο πᾶσι ἐδειξεν ἀφθαρτον. *S. Athanas. de Incarn. Verb. § 26. [Tom. I. p. 69 D.]* Καὶ τρεῖς δὲ ἡμέρας διὰ τοῦτο συνεχώρησεν, ἵνα πιστευθῇ ὅτι ἀπέθανεν, ὃ γὰρ τῷ σταυρῷ αὐτῷ μόνον βεβαιούται, καὶ τῇ πάντων ὕψει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ τῶν ἡμερῶν. *S. Chrysost. Homil. 43. in Matt. [§ 2. Tom. VII. p. 459 D.]*

Again, because *Christ's* exaltation was due unto his humiliation, and the first step of that was his resurrection; because the apostles after his death were to preach repentance and remission of sins through his blood, who were no way qualified to preach any such doctrine till he rose again; because the Spirit could not be sent till he ascended, and he could not ascend into heaven till he rose from the grave: therefore the space between his resurrection and passion could not be long; nor can there be any reason assigned why it should any longer be deferred, when the verity of his death was once sufficiently proved. Lest therefore his disciples should be long held in suspense, or any person after many days should doubt whether he rose with the same body with which he died, or no; that he might shew himself alive while the soldiers were watching at the grave, and while his crucifixion was yet in the mouths of the people, he would not stay many days before he rose¹. Some distance then of time there was, but not great, between his crucifixion and his resurrection.

The particular length of this space is determined in the *third day*: but that expression being capable of some diversity of interpretation, it is not so easily concluded, how long our Saviour was dead or buried before he revived or rose again. It is written expressly in St Matthew, that *as Jonas was three days and three nights in the whale's belly, so should the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth*. From whence it seemeth to follow, that *Christ's* body was for the space of three whole days and three whole nights in the grave, and after that space of time rose from thence. And hence some have conceived, that being our Saviour rose on the morning of the first day of the week, therefore it must necessarily follow, that he died and was buried on the fifth day of the week before, that is, on Thursday; otherwise it cannot be true, that he was in the grave three nights.

Matt. xii. 40.

¹ Ἔνεκα μὲν οὖν τοῦ δεῖχθῆναι τὸν θάνατον ἐν τῷ σώματι τριταίον ἀέστησε τοῦτο· ὥς δὲ μὴ ἐπὶ πολλὴ διαμείναν καὶ φθαρὲν τέλειον ὑστερον ἀναστήσας ἀπιστηθῆ, ὡς οὐκ αὐτό, ἀλλ' ἕτερον σῶμα φέρων (ἐμελλε γὰρ ἂν τις καὶ διὰ τὸν χρόνον ἀπιστεῖν τῷ φαινομένῳ καὶ ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι τῶν γενομένων) διὰ τοῦτο οὐ πλείω τῶν τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἡρέσχετο, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ πολλὸ τοὺς ἀκούσαντας αὐτοῦ περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως

παρεῖλκυσε· ἀλλ' ἐτι τῶν ἀκοῶν αὐτῶν ἐναυλον ἐχόντων τὸν λόγον, καὶ ἐτι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν ἐκδεχομένων, καὶ τῆς διανοίας αὐτῶν ἡρτημένης, καὶ ζῶντων ἐπὶ γῆς ἐτι, καὶ ἐπὶ τόπων ὄντων τῶν θανατωσάντων, καὶ μαρτυροῦντων περὶ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ Κυριακοῦ σώματος, αὐτὸς ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ υἱὸς ἐν τριταίῳ διαστήματι τὸ γεγόμενον νεκρὸν σῶμα ἐδεξεν ἀθάνατον καὶ ἀφθαρτον. S. Athanas. de Incarn. Verb. § 26. [p. 69 E.]

But this place, as express as it seems to be, must be considered with the rest in which the same truth is delivered: as when our Saviour said, *After three days I will rise again*; and again, *Destroy this temple, and in three days I will build it up*; or, *within three days I will build another made without hands*. But that which is most used, both in our Saviour's prediction before his death, and in the apostles' language after the resurrection, is, that he *rose from the dead the third day*¹. Now, according to the language of the Scriptures, if *Christ* were slain and rose *the third day*, the day in which he died is one, and the day on which he rose is another, and consequently there could be but one day and two nights between the day of his death and of his resurrection. As in the case of circumcision, the male child eight days old was to be circumcised, in which the day on which the child was born was one, and the day on which he was circumcised was another, and so there were but six complete days between the day of his birth and the day of his circumcision. The day of Pentecost was the fiftieth day from the day of the wave-offering; but in the number of the fifty days was both the day of the wave-offering and of Pentecost included; as now among the Christians still it is. Whitsunday is now the day of Pentecost, and Easter-day the day of the resurrection answering to that of the wave-offering; but both these must be reckoned to make the number of fifty days. *Christ* then, who rose upon the first day of the week (as is confessed by all), died upon the sixth day of the week before: or if he had died upon the fifth, he had risen not upon the third, but the fourth day, as *Lazarus* did². Being then it is most certain that our Saviour rose on *the third day*³, being, according to

Matt. xxvii. 63.
Mark viii. 31.
John ii. 19.
Mark xiv. 58.
Matt. xvi. 21.
xvii. 23. xx. 19.
Mark ix. 31.
x. 34.
Luke ix. 22.
xviii. 28.
xxiv. 7, 46.
Acts x. 40.
1 Cor. xv. 4.

¹ These several phrases are used; first, that *Christ* was in the heart of the earth *τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ τρεῖς νύκτας*; secondly, that he was to rise *μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας*; thirdly, that he would rebuild this temple *ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις*, and *διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν*; and lastly, that he rose *τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ*, which is the most general and constant form of speech.

² *Lazarus* is said to be *τετραπλάσιος*, *four days dead*, that is, counting the day on which he died, and the day on

which his sister spake so to our Saviour at his sepulchre. And being he was raised then, he rose *τῇ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρᾳ*, *the fourth day*. Our Saviour rose *τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ*, and therefore he was *τριταῖος* when he rose; and so the Fathers call him, as you may observe in the words last cited out of *Athanasius*, p. 160.

³ As we read in *Plutarch*: 'Ὁ Σολεὺς Θεσπείσιος—ἐξέθανε, καὶ τριταῖος ἦδη περὶ τὰς ταφὰς αὐτὰς ἀνέσχεκε. *De his qui sero puniuntur*, [c. 22. Tom.

the constant language of the Greeks and Hebrews, he cannot be said to rise to life on the third day, who died upon any other day, between which and the day of his resurrection there intervened any more than one day: therefore those other forms of speech which are far less frequent, must be so interpreted as to be reduced to this expression of *the third day* so often reiterated.

When therefore we read that *after three days* he would²⁶² raise the temple of his body, we must not imagine that he would continue the space of three whole days dead, and then revive himself; but upon the third day he would rise again:

III. p. 563 B, D.] And of that spirit in a boy possessed, who hated all women: 'Ἐπεὶ ἡ γυνὴ περὶ τὴν εὐνήν ὕβρισε, τριταίου κειμένου γαμηθεῖσα ἐτέρω. Philostrat. de Vit. Apoll. Tyan. l. iii. c. [38. p. 128.] What this τριταῖος is, the Greek grammarians will teach us. Πρὸς μὲν τὸ πόσα ἀπαντᾷ τὸ τρία τυχὼν ἢ τέσσαρα, πρὸς δὲ τὸ πόσῳ τὸ τρίτον ἢ τέταρτον ἐπὶ τάξεως, πρὸς δὲ τὸ ποσάων τὸ τριταῖον ἢ τεταρταῖον· οἷον πρὸς τὸ, ποσάως ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ πάρει; ἀπαντήσῃ τὸ τριταῖος τυχὼν ἢ τεταρταῖος, ἥγουν τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἔχω ἀπ' οὐ πάρεμι ἢ τετάρτῃ. Schol. Eurip. Hecuba, ver. 32. Τριταῖος then, in respect to his coming to or from any place, is that person which is now the third day in or from that place; which cannot be better interpreted, as to the Greek language, than in the expression of a Tertian fever, called so because the second accession is upon the third day from the first, and the third from the second, &c. In which case there is but one day between, in which the patient is wholly free from his disease: from whence παρὰ μίαν and τριταῖως is the same in the language of the physicians. This is excellently expressed by Alexander Aphrodisæus in that problematical question: Διὰ τί ὁ μὲν τριταῖος ἐκ θερμοῦ χυμοῦ γιγνόμενος, καὶ ἔχων μαστίδουσαν καὶ κατελαίνουσαν χολήν, παρὰ μίαν κινεῖται· ὁ δὲ ἀμφημερινός, ἔχων πεδήσαν τὸ φλέγμα τῇ βαρύτητι καὶ ψυχρότητι καθ' ἡμέραν· ὁ δὲ τεταρ-

ταῖος διὰ δύο ἡμερῶν μέσων, Probl. 10. l. ii. The Quotidian ague hath its accessions καθ' ἡμέραν· the Tertian παρὰ μίαν (sub. ἡμέραν) after one day of perfect intermission; the Quartan διὰ δύο ἡμερῶν μέσων. In the same manner he mentions the πεμπταῖος, the ἑβδομαῖος, and ἑνναταῖος: in all which this is constantly observable, that the days of perfect intermission are fewer by two, than the number in the name of the fever: for if fever be a τριταῖος, the day of intermission is but one, if τεταρταῖος two, if πεμπταῖος three, if ἑβδομαῖος five, if ἑνναταῖος seven. Thus if our Saviour were one whole day in the grave, and died the day before, and rose the day after, he did rise τριταῖος: if he were two whole days in the grave, he rose τεταρταῖος. So Aristotle: Διὰ τί ὁ νυκτερινὸς βορέας τριταῖος λήγει; πότερον ὅτι ἀπὸ μικρὰς καὶ ἀσθενοῦς ἀρχῆς; ἢ τρίτῃ δὲ πλείους. Problem. 14. Sect. xxvi. Τῇ τρίτῃ therefore and τριταῖος is the same. For from τρίτῃ comes τριταῖος, and from τετάρτῃ τεταρταῖος, in which ἡμέρα is always understood. Τεταρταῖος, τετραήμερος. Suidas. Τριταῖος then is τριήμερος· πρῶτος τριταῖος, διὰ τρίτῃ and τεταρταῖος, διὰ τετάρτῃ. Thus being Christ did certainly rise τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, he did rise according to the Greeks τριταῖος· and according to the same then he must also rise παρὰ μίαν, that is, one day only interceding between the day of his death and the day of his resurrection.

as Joseph and his mother, *after three days found him in the temple*, that is, the third day after he tarried behind in Jerusalem. And when we read that he was three days and three nights in the heart of the earth, we must not look upon those nights as distinct from the days¹, but as Moses spake, *the evening and the morning*, that is, the night and the day, *were the first day*: and as the saint spake unto Daniel, *unto two thousand and three hundred evenings and mornings*, intending thereby so many days: nor must we imagine that

¹ A night and a day in the Hebrew language, not used to compositions, is the same with the Greek *νυχθήμερον* or *ήμερονύκτιον*, ירד ערב וירד בקר יום אחד 'The evening and the morning were the first day.' For though God called the light day, and the darkness he called night, yet at the same time that day and that night was called day. Gen. i. 5. So that the same word יום in the same verse signifieth both the natural and artificial day. And the evening and the morning are sometimes put instead of the day; as Dan. viii. 14. *Unto two thousand and three hundred days*: and verse 26, *מראות חשב וחזק* which we translate, *the vision of the evening and the morning*, but might be rather translated, *the vision of the days*, viz. the 2300 days before spoken of. Now though a day be thus diversely taken, yet in the measuring of any time, which containeth in it both days and nights, a day is always taken in that sense in which it comprehendeth both day and night. Thus Galen, who is very punctual and exact in all his language, and full of expositions of the words he uses, to prevent mistakes, being to speak of the critical days, gives notice that by a day he understands not that space of time which is opposed to the night, but that which comprehendeth both the night and the day: 'Ἡμέραν δηλωθεῖ παρ' ὧν τὸν λόγον εἰρησόμενοι, οὐκ ἐκ τῆς ἡμέρας αὐτῆς μόνῃς συνεστώσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς χρόνον καθάπερ οὗν, καὶ τὸν μήνα τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν εἶναι λέγομεν, οὐ μόνον τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, ὃν ὑπὲρ τῆς γῆς ὁ ἥλιος

φαίνεται, προσαγορεύοντες ἡμέραν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν τῆς νυκτὸς αὐτῆς προστιθέμεντες. Οὕτως δὲ πως καὶ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τέττε καὶ ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριακασίαν ἡμερῶν εἶναι φάμεν. De Crisibus, l. ii. c. 2. [Tom. viii. p. 408 c.] This is observed by St Basil to be also the custom of the Scriptures, upon these words in Genesis: 'Ἐγένετο οὖν ἑσπέρα, καὶ ἐγένετο πρωΐ, τὸ ἡμερονύκτιον λέγει. Καὶ οὐκ ἔτι προσηγόρευσεν, ἡμέρα καὶ νύξ, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἐπικρατοῦντι τῇ πᾶσαν προσηγορίαν ἀπένευμε. Ταύτην ἂν καὶ ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γραφῇ τὴν συνήθειαν εὖροις, ἐν τῇ τοῦ χρόνου μετρήσει, ἡμέρας ἀριθμουμένας, οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ νύκτας μετὰ τῶν ἡμερῶν. In Hexaem. Hom. 2. (§ 8. Tom. i. p. 20 c.) Now being generally in all computations of time, as St Basil observeth, ἐν τῇ τοῦ χρόνου μετρήσει, a day was taken for the whole space of day and night; and as the evening and morning signifieth the same, that is a day: and 2300 evenings and mornings no more than so many days; and so three days and three nights in the computation of time signifieth no more than three days, (For God called the light day, and the darkness he called night; and the evening and the morning were the first day, and the evening and the morning were the second day, &c.) being three days, in the language of the Scripture, are said to be fulfilled when the third day is come, though it be not wholly passed over; it followeth, that to be three days dead, or to be three days and three nights dead, in the Hebrew language, cannot necessarily infer any more, than that the person spoken of did continue dead till the third day.

Luke ii. 21.

those three days were completed after our Saviour's death, and before he rose: but that upon the first of those three days he died, and upon the last of those three days he rose. As we find that *eight days were accomplished for the circumcising of the child*; and yet Christ was born upon the first, and circumcised upon the last of those eight days¹: nor were there any more than six whole days between the day of his birth and the day of his circumcision; the one upon the five and twentieth of December, the other upon the first of January. And as the Jews were wont to speak, the priests in their courses by the appointment of David were to minister before the Lord eight days, whereas every week a new course succeeded, and there were but seven days' service for each course (the sabbath on which they began, and the sabbath on which they went off, being both reckoned in the eight days); so the day on which the Son of God was crucified, dead, and buried, and the day on which he revived and rose again, were included in the number of three days. And thus did our Saviour rise from the dead upon the third day properly, and was three days and three nights in the heart of the earth synecdochically².

¹ As we read of the circumcision of our Saviour, *ἐπλήσθησαν ἡμέραι ὀκτώ* Luke ii. 21. so of Zachary, *ὡς ἐπλήσθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι τῆς λειτουργίας αὐτοῦ* Luke i. 23. and though the number ὀκτώ were not expressed, yet it is to be understood according to the language of the Scripture in other cases, and of Josephus particularly in this: *Διέταξε δὲ μίαν πατριὴν διακοπεῖσθαι τῷ Θεῷ ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ὀκτώ, ἀπὸ σαββάτου ἐπὶ σάββατον. Antiq. Jud. l. vii. c. 11. [c. 14. § 7. p. 327. 30.]*

² So St Jerome on Jonas ii. 1. (Tom. vi. p. 405 c.) '*Et erat Jonas in ventre piscis tribus diebus et tribus noctibus*. Hujus loci mysterium in Evangelio Dominus exponit; et superfluum est, vel idipsum, vel aliud dicere quam exposuit ipse qui passus est. Hoc solum querimus, Quomodo tres dies et tres noctes fuerit in corde terre? Quidam *παρὰσκειν*, quando sole fugiente ab hora sexta usque ad horam nonam, nox successit diei, in duos dies et noctes dividunt, et apponentes Sabba-

tum, tres dies et tres noctes aestimant supputandas: nos vero *συνεκδοχικῶς* totum intelligamus a parte; ut ex eo quod *ἐν παρὰσκειν* mortuus est, unam diem supputemus et noctem, et Sabbati alteram; tertiam vero noctem, quæ diei Dominicæ mancipatur, referamus ad exordium diei alterius: nam et in Genesi nox non præcedentis diei est, sed sequentis, id est, principium futuri, non finis præteriti.' To the same purpose St Augustin: '*Ipsum autem triduum non totum et plenum fuisse Scriptura testis est: sed primus dies a parte extrema totus annumeratus est; dies vero tertius a parte prima et ipse totus; medius autem inter eos, id est, secundus dies absolute totus viginti quatuor horis suis, duodecim nocturnis, et duodecim diurnis. Crucifixus est enim primo Judæorum vocibus hora tertia; cum esset dies sexta Sabbati. Deinde, in ipsa cruce suspensus est hora sexta, et spiritum tradidit hora nona. Sepultus est autem cum jam sero factum esset: sic sese*

263 This is sufficient for the clearing the precise distance of *Christ's* resurrection from his crucifixion, expressed in the determinate number of three days: the next consideration is, what day of the week that *third day* was, on which *Christ* did actually rise, and what belongeth to that day in relation to his resurrection. Two characters there are which will evidently prove the particularity of this third day; the first is the description of that day in respect of which this is called the *third*, after the manner already delivered and confirmed; the second is the evangelist's expression of the time on which *Christ* rose.

The character of the day in which our Saviour died is undeniable, for it is often expressly called the *preparation*¹;

habent verba evangelii, quod intelligitur in fine diei. Unde libet ergo incipias, etiam alia ratio reddi potest, quomodo non sit contra evangelium Johannis, ut hora tertia ligno suspensus intelligatur; totum diem primum non comprehendis. Ergo a parte extrema totus computabitur, sicut tertius a parte prima. Nox enim usque ad diluculum, quo Domini resurrectio declarata est, ad tertium diem pertinet.' *De Trinit.* l. iv. c. 6. [§ 10. Tom. VIII. p. 578 F.] (p. 816.) And after him Leo the Great: 'Ne turbatos Discipulorum animos longa mœstitudo cruciaret, denunciatam tridui moram tam mira celeritate brevavit, ut dum ad integrum secundum diem pars primi novissima et pars tertii prima concurrit, et aliquantum temporis spatio decideret, et nihil dierum numero deperiret.' *De Resur. Domini, Serm.* l. c. 2. [p. 848 F.] vid. *Isidor. Pelus. l. i. Epist.* 114. [p. 35.]

¹ Παράσκευη, '*Parascœue* interpretatur *præparatio*,' saith St Augustin; *de Consen. Evang.* l. iii. § 50. [Tom. III. par. 2. p. 90 F.] and in the Greek language it signifieth generally any preparation of what nature soever: but in this case it signifieth rather the time in which preparation was made, as Luke xxiii. 54. Καὶ ἡμέρα ἦν παρασκευῆ· and that preparation among the Jews for the sabbath, as St Mark xv. 42. Ἐπεὶ ἦν παρασκευῆ, ὃ ἐστὶν προεῖς ἡμέρας and in the edict of Au-

gustus Cæsar: Ἐγγύς τε μὴ ὁμολογεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐν σάββασιν ἢ τῇ πρὸ ταύτης παρασκευῇ ἀπὸ ὧρας ἐννάτης. *Joseph. Jud. Ant.* l. xvi. c. 10. [c. 6. § 2. p. 722. 42.] which is well expressed by Synesius, *Ep.* 4. [p. 163 c.] 'Ἡμέρα μὲν οὖν ἦν, ἥτινα ἀγούσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι παρασκευῇ, τὴν δὲ νύκτα τῇ μετ' αὐτὴν ἡμέρα λογίζονται· καθ' ἣν οὐδενὶ θέμις ἐστὶν ἐνεργὸν ἔχειν τὴν χεῖρα, ἀλλὰ τιμῶντες διαφερόντως αὐτὴν ἀγούσιν ἀπραξίαν. This παρασκευῇ of the Hebrews was answerable to the *cœna pura* of the Gentiles, as the old glossary, *Cœna pura, προσάββατον*: and in *Gloss. Latino-Arabico*, '*Parascœue cœna pura*, id est, *præparatio* quæ fit *pro sabbato*.' From whence some of the Fathers so interpret the eves of the Jewish sabbaths, as Tertullian: '*Dies observatis, et menses, et tempora, et annos; et sabbata, ut opinor, et cœnas puras, et jejunia, et dies magnos.*' *Adv. Marcion.* l. v. c. 4. [p. 581 D. Rigalt.] '*Acceleratam vult intelligi sepulturam, ne advesperasceret; quando jam propter parascœuen, quam cœnam puram Judei Latine usitatius apud nos vocant, facere tale aliquid non licebat.*' *S. August. Tract.* 120. in *Ioan.* § 5. [Tom. III. par. 2. p. 587 A.] (p. 805.) And the ancient translators of the Greek Fathers did use the Latin *cœna pura* for the Greek παρασκευῆ. As the interpreter of St Chrysostom, *Serm. in Natalem Ioan.*

- John xix. 42. as we read, they therefore laid Jesus in the garden, *because of the Jews' preparation-day, for the sepulchre was nigh at hand.* And the next day that followed the [day of the] *preparation*, the chief priests and Pharisees asked a guard. Now this day of preparation was the day immediately before the sabbath, or some other great feast of the Jews called by them the eve of the sabbath or the feast; and therefore called the preparation, because on that day they did prepare whatsoever was necessary for the celebration of the following festival, according to that command in the case of manna, *It shall come to pass that on the sixth day they shall prepare that which they bring in, and it shall be twice as much as they gather daily.* This preparation being used both before the sabbath and other festivals, at this time it had both relations: for, first, it was the preparation to a sabbath, as appeareth by those words of St Mark, *Now when the even was come, because it was the preparation, that is, the day before the sabbath;* and those of St Luke, *That day was the preparation, and the sabbath drew on.* Secondly, it was also the eve
- Matt. xxvii. 62.
- Exod. xvi. 5.
- Mark xv. 42.
- Luke xxiii. 54.

Bapt. 'Qua enim die conceptus est Dominus, eadem die et passus est: eadem ipsa die cœna pura fuit, in qua et luna quarta decima occurrit.' So likewise the old interpreter of Irenæus: 'Parasceue, quæ dicitur cœna pura, id est, sexta feria, quam et Dominus ostendit passus in ea.' *Iren. adv. Hæres.* l. v. c. 23. [p. 436. 7.] 'Mosen in sexta die dixisse, [hominem factum; et dispositionem autem in sexta die] quæ est in cœna pura.' l. i. c. 14. § 6. [10. § 4. p. 68. 5.] As therefore the *cœna pura* among the Gentiles was that time in which they prepared and sanctified themselves for their sacred solemnities, so the Jews did make use of that word to signify their sanctification, and of the Greek *παρασκευή* to testify the preparation of all things used on their holy days, upon the eve thereof, or day before. 'Parasceue Latine preparatio est; sed isto verbo Græco libentius utuntur Judæi in hujusmodi observationibus, etiam qui magis Latine quam Græce loquuntur,' saith St Augustin, *Tract.* 117. in *Joan.* § 2. (p. 797). So that the same Father

testifieth that the Jews, speaking Latin in his time, did sometimes use *parascœue*, sometimes *cœna pura*, for their eve of preparation. Otherwise in their own language they called it ערב or ערבית; by which generally they understood the sixth day of the week, the day before the sabbath. For so they reckoned the days of the week in Bereshith Rabba, דוד בשבת the *first of the week*, דני the *second*, דלרא the *third*, דארבעת the *fourth*, דחמשה the *fifth*, ערבית the *eve*, שבת the *sabbath*. Thus in Hebrew ערבית, in Greek *παρασκευή*, in Latin *cœna pura*, were used by the Jews for the same day, the Friday or the sixth of the week; but not for that alone, but for the eve of any great festival which answered to a sabbath; so that they had their ערב השבת, and ערב יום טוב, as *παρασκευή τοῦ σαββάτου*, and *παρασκευή τοῦ ἡδύχα*. And when a great festival fell upon the Sabbath, then as the festivities were both one day, so the eve to both was the same Friday. And such was the day of preparation on which our Saviour was crucified.

of a festival, even of the great day of the paschal solemnity, as appeareth by St John, who saith, when Pilate sat down in the judgment-seat, *it was the preparation of the passover.* John xix. 14. And that the great paschal festivity did then fall upon the sabbath, so that the same day was then the preparation or eve of both, appeareth yet farther by the same evangelist, saying, *The Jews therefore, because it was the preparation,* John xix. 31. *that the bodies should not remain upon the cross on the sabbath-day (for that sabbath-day was an high day);* that is, not only an ordinary or weekly sabbath, but also a great festival, even a paschal sabbath. Now being the sabbath of the Jews was constant and fixed to the seventh day of the week, it followeth that the preparation or eve thereof must necessarily be the sixth day of the week; which, from the day and the infinite benefit accruing to us by the passion upon that day, we call Good Friday. And from that day being the sixth of one, the third must consequently be the eighth, or the first of the next week¹.

- 264 The next character of this *third day* is the expression of the time of the resurrection in the evangelists. *When the sabbath was past*, saith St Mark, which was the day after the preparation on which he was buried, *Very early in the* Mark xvi. 1.

¹ 'Ορᾶτε, πῶς λέγει, οὐ τὰ νῦν σάββατα ἐμοὶ δεκά, ἀλλὰ ἃ πεποίηκα, ἐν ᾗ καταπαύσας, τὰ πάντα, ἀρχὴν ἡμέρας ὀγδόης ποιήσω, ὃ ἐστὶν ἄλλου κόσμου ἀρχή· διὸ καὶ ἄγομεν τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ὀγδόην εἰς εὐφροσύνην, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν, καὶ φανερωθεὶς ἀνέβη εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς. Βαρναβᾶ Επιστ. α. 15. [p. 47.] 'Ἡ μὲν οὖν τῶν πνευματικῶν ἀνάπαυσις ἐν κυριακῇ, ἐν ὀγδοῶδει ἡ κυριακὴ ὀνομάζεται. Theodorus, Επιστ. ι. 'Ἡ δὲ ἐντολὴ τῆς περιτομῆς κελεύουσα τῇ ὀγδῷ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκ παντὸς περιτέμνειν τὰ γεννώμενα, τύπος ἦν τῆς ἀληθινῆς περιτομῆς, ἣν περιεμήθημεν ἀπὸ τῆς πλάνης καὶ πορνείας, διὰ τοῦ ἀπὸ νεκρῶν ἀναστάντος ἐν μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων ἡμέρᾳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν. Μία γὰρ τῶν σαββάτων πρώτη μένουσα τῶν πασῶν ἡμερῶν κατὰ τὸν ἀριθμὸν πάλιν τῶν πασῶν ἡμερῶν τῆς κυκλοφορίας, ὀγδὴ καλεῖται, καὶ πρώτη οὕσα μένει. Justin. Mart. Dial. cum Tryphone, p. 260. [220. 37. Thirlby.]

'Cum in septimo die Sabbati sit et nomen et observantia constituta; tamen nos in octava die, quæ et ipsa prima est, perfecti Sabbati festivitate lætamur.' S. Hilar. Com. in. Psal. Prol. § 12. [p. 8 A.] 'Hæc octava sententia, quæ ad caput redit, perfectumque hominem declarat, significatur fortasse et circumcissione octavo die in veteri Testamento, et Domini resurrectione post Sabbatum, qui est utique octavus idemque primus dies.' S. August. de Serm. Dom. in Monte, l. i. [c. 4.] § 12. [Tom. III. par. 2. p. 122 A.] Καὶ τὸ ἔθος καὶ τὸ πρέπον ἡμᾶς ἀπαιτεῖ πᾶσαν Κυριακὴν τιμᾶν καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ πανηγυρίζειν, ἐπειδὴ περ ἐν ταύτῃ ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν ἡμῶν ἐπρυτάνευσε· διὸ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς γραφαῖς καὶ πρώτη κέκληται, ὡς ἀρχὴ ζωῆς ἡμῶν ὑπάρχουσα· καὶ ὀγδὴ, ὅτε ὑπερβεβηκῖα τὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων σαββατισμῶν. Theophilus Alex. Edict. [Labbé, Concilia, Tom. II. p. 1797 B.]

Matt. xxviii. 1. morning the first day of the week. In the end of the sabbath, as it began to dawn towards the first day of the week, saith St Matthew. Upon the first day of the week very early in the morning, saith St Luke. The first day of the week early, when it was yet dark, saith St John. By all which indications it appeareth that the body of *Christ*, being laid in the sepulchre on the day of the preparation, which was the eve of the sabbath, and continuing there the whole sabbath following, which was the conclusion of that week, and farther resting there still and remaining dead the night which followed that sabbath but belonged to the first day of the next week, about the end of that night early in the morning was revived by the accession and union of his soul, and rose again out of the sepulchre.

Whereby it came to pass, that the obligation of the day, which was then the sabbath, died and was buried with him, but in a manner by a diurnal transmutation revived again at his resurrection. Well might that day, which carried with it a remembrance of that great deliverance from the Egyptian servitude, resign all the sanctity or solemnity due unto it, when that morning once appeared, upon which a far greater redemption was confirmed. One day of seven was set apart by God in imitation of his rest upon the Creation of the world; and that seventh day, which was sanctified to the Jews, was reckoned in relation to their deliverance from Egypt. At the second delivery of the Law we find this particular cause assigned, *Remember that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt, and that the Lord thy God brought thee out thence, through a mighty hand and by a stretched-out arm; therefore the Lord thy God commanded thee to keep the sabbath-day.* 265 Now this could not be any special reason why the Jews should observe a seventh day; first, Because in reference to their redemption, the number of seven had no more relation than any other number; secondly, Because the reason of a seventh day was before rendered in the body of the commandment itself. There was therefore a double reason rendered by God why the Jews should keep that sabbath which they did; one special, as to a seventh day, to shew they worshipped that God, who was the Creator of the world; the other individual, as to that seventh day, to signify their deliverance from the Egyptian bondage, from which that seventh day was dated.

Being then upon the resurrection of our Saviour a greater deliverance and far more plenteous redemption was wrought than that of Egypt, and therefore a greater observance was due unto it than to that, the individual determination of the day did pass upon a stronger reason to another day, always to be repeated by a seventhly return upon the reference to the Creation. As there was a change in the year at the coming out of Egypt, by the command of God; *This month, Exod. xii. 2.* the month of Abib, shall be *unto you the beginning of months, it shall be the first month of the year to you;* so at this time of a more eminent deliverance a change was wrought in the hebdomadal or weekly account, and the first day is made the seventh, or the seventh after that first is sanctified. The first day, because on that Christ rose from the dead; and the seventh day from that first for ever, because He who rose upon that day, was the same God who created the world and rested on the seventh day: *for by him were all things Col. i. 16.* *created that are in heaven and that are in the earth, all things were created by him and for him.*

This day did the apostles from the beginning most religiously observe, by their meeting together for holy purposes, and to perform religious duties. The first observation was performed providentially, rather by the design of God than any such inclination or intention of their own: for *the same day*, saith the evangelist, that is, the day on which Christ rose from the dead, *at evening, being the first day of the week, the disciples were assembled for fear of the Jews.* John xx. 19. The second observation was performed voluntarily, *for after eight days again his disciples were within, and Thomas with them.* John xx. 20. The first day of the week when Christ rose, by the providence of God the disciples were together, but Thomas was absent; upon the first day of the next week, they were all met together again in expectation of our Saviour, and Thomas with them. Again, *when the day of Pentecost was fully come, which was also the first day of the week, they were all with one accord in one place;* and having received the promise of the Holy Ghost they spake with tongues, preached the Gospel, and *the same day were added unto them about three thousand souls.* Acts ii. 1. The same practice of convening we find continued in the following years: For *upon the first day of the week, when the disciples came Acts xx. 7.*

together to break bread, Paul preached unto them: and the same apostle gave express command concerning the collection for the saints both to the churches of Galatia and of Corinth;

1 Cor. xvi. 2. *Upon the first day of the week let every one of you lay by him in store, as God hath prospered him.*

From this resurrection of our Saviour, and the constant practice of the apostles, this first day of the week came to have the name of the *Lord's-day*, and is so called by St John, who says of himself in the Revelation, *I was in the spirit on the Lord's-day*. And thus the observation of that day, which the Jews did sanctify, ceased, and was buried with our Saviour; and in the stead of it, the religious observation of that day on which the Son of God rose from the dead¹, by

Rev. i. 10.

¹ Τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένη ἡμέρᾳ πάντων κατὰ πόλεις ἢ ἀγροὺς μερόντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις γίνεται. *Justin. Mart. Apol. i. § 67. [p. 97. 20. Thirlby.]* et paulo post: Τὴν δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου ἡμέραν κοινῇ πάντες τὴν συνέλευσιν ποιοῦμεθα· ἐπειδὴ πρώτη ἐστὶν ἡμέρα, ἐν ᾗ ὁ Θεὸς τὸ σκότος καὶ τὴν ὕλην τρέψας, κόσμον ἐποίησε, καὶ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ ἡμέτερος Σωτὴρ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνέστη. Τῇ γὰρ πρὸ τῆς Κρονικῆς ἐσταύρωσαν αὐτόν, καὶ τῇ μετὰ τὴν Κρονικῆν, ἥτις ἐστὶν Ἡλίου ἡμέρα, φανεῖς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις αὐτοῦ καὶ μαθηταῖς, ἐδίδαξε ταῦτα, διὰ τοῦ ἐπισκεψῆν καὶ ὁμῶν ἀνεθώκαμεν. [p. 98. 21. Thirlby.] This I take to be, without question, that *status dies* which is mentioned by Pliny in his epistle to Trajan: 'Affirmabant hanc fuisse summam vel culpæ suæ vel erroris, quod essent soliti statò die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo quasi Deo dicere.' l. x. Ep. 97. 'Nobis, quibus Sabbata extranea sunt et neomeniæ et feriæ a Deo aliquando dilectæ,—munera comment! strenæ consonant! lusus, convivia constrepunt! O melior fides nationum in suam sectam, quæ nullam solennitatem Christianorum sibi vindicat! non Domini Diem, non Pentecostem! etiam si nosset, nobiscum communicassent.' *Tertull. de Idol. c. 14.* 'Nam quod in Judaica circumcissione carnali octavus dies observabatur, sacramentum est in

umbra atque imagine ante præmissum, sed veniente Christo veritate completum. Nam quia octavus dies, id est, post Sabbatum primus dies futurus erat, quo Dominus resurgeret et nos vivificaret, et circumcissionem nobis spiritalem daret, hic dies octavus, id est, post sabbatum primus et Domini præcessit in imagine.' *S. Oyprian. l. ii. Ep. 8. al. Ep. 59. [64. p. 161.]* Eusebius reports how Constantine taught his soldiers to observe the Lord's day: Ναλ μὴν καὶ ἡμέραν εὐχῶν ἡγεῖσθαι κατὰλληλῶν τὴν κυρίαν ἀληθῶς καὶ πρώτην, ὅπως κυριακὴν τε καὶ σωτήριον, τὴν δὴ καὶ φωτὸς καὶ ζωῆς ἀθανάσιος τε καὶ ἀγαθοῦ παντὸς ἐκώνυσμον. *Orat. de Laudib. Constant. c. 9. [p. 518 D.] [Euseb. de Vita Constantin. iv. § 18. p. 441 O, § 23. p. 443 B.]* 'Quid est secunda sabbati, nisi Dominica dies quæ Sabbatum sequebatur? Dies autem Sabbati erat dierum ordine posterior, sanctificatione legis anterior. Sed ubi finis legis advenit,—et resurrectione sua octavum sanctificavit, coepit eadem prima esse quæ octava est, et octava quæ prima, habens ex numeri ordine prærogativam, et ex resurrectione Domini sanctitatem.' *S. Ambros. Enar. in Psal. xlvii. § 1. [Tom. ii. p. 815 D.]* 'Dicit aliquis, Si dies observare non licet, et menses, et tempora, et annos, nos quoque simile crimen incurrimus, quartam Sabbati observantes, et Pa-

the constant practice of the blessed apostles, was transmitted to the Church of God, and so continued in all ages.

266 This day, thus consecrated by the resurrection of Christ, was left as the perpetual badge and cognizance of his Church. As God spake by Moses to the Israelites, *Verily my sabbaths* Exod. xxxi. 12. *ye shall keep, for it is a sign between me and you throughout your generations, that ye may know that I am the Lord that doth sanctify you;* thereby leaving a mark of distinction upon the Jews, who were by this means known to worship that God whose name was *Jehovah*, who made the world, and delivered them from the hands of Pharaoh: so we must conceive that he hath given us this day as a sign between Him and us for ever, whereby we may be known to worship the same God *Jehovah*, who did not only create heaven and earth in the beginning, but also raised his eternal Son from the dead for our redemption. As therefore the Jews do still retain the celebration of the seventh day of the week, because they will

rasceuen, et diem Dominicam.' *S. Hier. in Epist. ad Gal. c. 4. ver. 10.* (Tom. VII. p. 456 c.) And St Augustin in answer to that objection: 'Nam nos quoque et Dominicum diem et Pascha solenniter celebramus et quaslibet alias Christianas dierum festivitates.' *Cont. Adimant. c. 16. § 3.* (Tom. VIII. p. 98 B.) 'Dies Dominicus non Judæis sed Christianis resurrectione Domini declaratus est, et ex illo habere cepit festivitatem suam.' *S. August. Epist. 119. al. 55. § 23.* [Tom. II. p. 103 c.] (p. 136.) 'Hæc tamen septima erit Sabbatum nostrum, cujus finis non erit vespera, sed Dominicus dies velut octavus æternus, qui Christi resurrectione sacratum est, æternam non solum spiritus, verum etiam corporis, requiem præfigurans.' *Idem. de Civit. Dei, l. xxii. c. 30. § 5.* [Tom. VII. p. 530 c.] (p. 702.) 'Dominicum diem Apostoli et Apostolici viri ideo religiosa solennitate habendum sanxerunt, quia in eodem Redemptor noster a mortuis resurrexit. Quique ideo Dominicus appellatur, ut in eo a terrenis operibus vel mundi illecebris abstinenter, tantum divinis cultibus serviamus, dantes scilicet diei huic honorem et reverentiam propter spem resurrectio-

nis nostræ quam habemus in illa. Nam sicut ipse Dominus Jesus Christus et Salvator resurrexit a mortuis, ita et nos resurrecturos in novissimo die speramus.' *Auctor Serm. de Tempore, Serm. 251. al. 280. § 2.* [Inter Op. Augustini, Tom. v. Appendix, p. 330 E.] 'Sancti doctores Ecclesiæ decreverunt omnem gloriam Judaici Sabbatismi in illam transferre; ut quod ipsi in figura, nos celebraremus in veritate.' *Ibid.* [p. 330 E.] 'Dominica nobis ideo venerabilis est atque solennis, quia in ea Salvator velut sol oriens, discussis infernorum tenebris, luce resurrectionis emicuit, ac propterea ipsa dies ab hominibus sæculi Dies solis vocatur, quod ortus eam sol justitiæ Christus illuminet.' *Max. Taurin. de Pentecost. Hom. 3.* [p. 27 H.] *Περίχει οὖν ἡ μὲν παρασκευὴ τὸ πάθος, τὸ σάββατον τὴν ταφὴν, ἡ Κυριακὴ τὴν ἀνάστασιν.* *Auctor Clem. Constitut. l. v. c. 13.* 'Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ Χριστιανούς Ἰουδαΐζειν καὶ ἐν τῷ σαββάτῳ σχολάζειν, ἀλλὰ ἐργάζεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ τὴν δὲ Κυριακὴν προτιμώντας, εἴγε δύναντο, σχολάζειν, ὡς Χριστιανοί· εἰ δὲ εὐρηθεῖεν Ἰουδαϊσσοῦντες, ἔστωσαν ἀδόκιμα παρὰ Χριστοῦ.' *Council. Laodic. Can. 29.* [Labbé, Tom. I. p. 1501 c.]

not believe any greater deliverance wrought than that of Egypt; as the Mahometans religiously observe the sixth day of the week, in memory of Mahomet's flight from Mecca, whom they esteem a greater prophet than our Saviour; as these are known and distinguished in the world by these several celebrations of distinct days in the worship of God: so all which profess the Christian religion are known publicly to belong unto the Church of *Christ*, by observing the first day of the week upon which *Christ* did rise from the dead, and by this mark of distinction are openly separated from all other professions¹.

That *Christ* did thus rise from the dead, is a most necessary Article of the Christian faith, which all are obliged to believe and profess: to the meditation whereof the apostle
 2 Tim. ii. 8. hath given a particular injunction: *Remember that Jesus 267*
Christ of the seed of David was raised from the dead. First, Because without it our faith is vain, and by virtue of it strong. By this we are assured that he which died was the
 2 Cor. xiii. 4. Lord of life; and though he were *crucified through weakness, yet he liveth by the power of God.* By this resurrection
 Rom. i. 4. from the dead, he was declared to be the Son of God; and upon the morning of the third day did those words of the
 Acts xiii. 33. Father manifest a most important truth, *Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee.* In his death he assured us of his humanity, by his resurrection he demonstrated his Divinity.

Secondly, By his resurrection we are assured of the justification of our persons; and *if we believe on him that raised up Jesus our Lord from the dead, it will be imputed to us for righteousness; for he was delivered for our offences, and was raised again for our justification*². By his death we

Rom. iv. 24,
25, 25.

¹ 'Quid hac die felicius, in qua Dominus Judæis mortuus est, nobis resurrexit! in qua Synagoga cultus occubuit, et est ortus Ecclesiæ; in qua nos homines fecit secum surgere et vivere et sedere in caelestibus, et impletum est illud quod ipse dixit in Evangelio, *Cum autem exaltatus fuero a terra, omnia traham ad me.* Hæc est dies quam fecit Dominus, exultemus et lætemur in ea. Omnes dies quidem fecit Dominus, sed cæteri dies possunt esse Judæorum, possunt esse Hæreticorum, possunt esse Gentilium; dies Dominica, dies Resurrec-

tionis, dies Christianorum, dies nostra est.' *Explan. in Psal. cxvii. sub nomine Hieron.*

² St Chrysostom excellently upon that place: 'Ὁρα πῶς τὴν αἰτίαν εἰπὼν τοῦ θανάτου, τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ ἀπέδειξε τῆς ἀναστάσεως ποιηταί. Διὰ τί γὰρ ἐσταυρώθη, φησὶν; οὐ δὲ ὁλκείαν ἀμαρτίαν καὶ δῆλον ἐκ τῆς ἀναστάσεως· εἰ γὰρ ἦν ἀμαρτωλὸς, πῶς ἀνέστη; εἰ δὲ ἀνέστη, εὐδὴλον ὅτι ἀμαρτωλὸς οὐκ ἦν· εἰ δὲ ἀμαρτωλὸς οὐκ ἦν, πῶς ἐσταυρώθη; δι' ἑτέρους. εἰ δὲ δι' ἑτέρους, πάντως ἀνέστη. Hom. 9. in Epist. ad Rom. [§ 1. Tom. ix. p. 511 D.]

know that he suffered for sin, by his resurrection we are assured, that the sins for which he suffered were not his own. Had no man been a sinner he had not died; had he been a sinner, he had not risen again; but dying for those sins which we committed, he rose from the dead to shew that he had made full satisfaction for them, that we believing in him might obtain remission of our sins, and justification of our persons. *God, sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin, condemned sin in the flesh,* and raising up our surety from the prison of the grave, did actually absolve, and apparently acquit, him from the whole obligation to which he had bound himself, and in discharging him acknowledged full satisfaction made for us. *Who then shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifieth. Who is he that condemneth? It is Christ that died, yea rather, that is risen again.* Rom. viii. 3. 34. Rom. viii. 33.

Thirdly, It was necessary to pronounce the resurrection of *Christ*, as an Article of our faith, that thereby we might ground, confirm, strengthen, and declare our hope. *For the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, according to his abundant mercy, hath begotten us again unto a lively hope by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead, to an inheritance incorruptible and undefiled.* By the resurrection of *Christ* his Father hath been said to have begotten him: and therefore by the same he hath begotten us, who are called brethren and co-heirs with *Christ*. *For if, when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son, much more being reconciled we shall be saved by his life.* He laid down his life, but it was for us; and being to take up his own, he took up ours. We are the members of that body, of which *Christ* is the Head; if the Head be risen, the members cannot be far behind. He is the *first-born from the dead*, and we *the sons of the resurrection*. The Spirit of *Christ* abiding in us maketh us the members of *Christ*, and by the same Spirit we have a full right and title to rise with our Head. *For if the Spirit of him, that raised up Jesus from the dead, dwell in us; he that raised up Christ from the dead, shall also quicken our mortal bodies by his Spirit that dwelleth in us.* Thus the resurrection of *Christ* is the cause of our resurrection by a double causality, as an efficient, and as an exemplary cause. As an efficient cause, in regard our Saviour by 1 Pet. i. 3, 4. Rom. v. 10. Col. i. 18. Luke xx. 36. Rom. viii. 11.

and upon his resurrection hath obtained power and right to
 1 Cor. xv. 22. raise all the dead; *For as in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive.* As an exemplary cause, in regard that all the saints of God shall rise after the similitude and in
 Rom. vi. 5. conformity to the resurrection of Christ; *For if we have been planted together in the likeness of his death, we shall be also*
 Phil. iii. 21. *in the likeness of his resurrection.* He shall change our vile
 1 Cor. xv. 49. *bodies, that they may be like unto his glorious body: that as we have borne the image of the earthly, we may also bear the* 268
image of the heavenly. This is the great hope of a Christian, That *Christ* rising from the dead hath obtained the power, and is become the pattern, of his resurrection. *The breaker is come up before them; they have broken up and have passed through the gate, and are gone out by it; and their King shall pass before them, and the Lord on the head of them.*

Fourthly, It is necessary to profess our faith in *Christ* risen from the dead, that his resurrection may effectually work its proper operation in our lives. For as it is efficient and
 Eph. ii. 5. exemplary to our bodies, so it is also to our souls. *When we were dead in sins, God quickened us together with Christ.*
 Rom. vi. 4. *And, as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we should walk in newness of life.* To continue among the graves of sin, while *Christ* is risen,
 Luke xxiv. 5. is to incur that reprehension of the angel, *Why seek ye the living among the dead?* To walk in any habitual sin, is either to deny that sin is death, or *Christ* is risen from the
 Matt. viii. 22. dead. *Let then the dead bury the dead,* but let not any Christian bury Him who rose from death, that he might
 Eph. v. 14. live. *Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light.* There must be a spiritual resurrection of the soul, before there can be a comfortable resurrection of the body. *Blessed and holy is he that hath part in this first resurrection; on such the second death hath no power.*

Having thus explained the manner of *Christ's* resurrection, and the necessity of our faith in him risen from the dead, we may easily give such a brief account, as any Christian may understand what it is he should intend, when he makes profession of this part of the CREED; for he is conceived to acknowledge thus much:

I freely and fully assent unto this as a truth of infinite

certainty and absolute necessity, that, the Eternal Son of God, who was crucified and died for our sins, did not long continue in the state of death ; but by his infinite power did revive and raise himself, by reuniting the same soul which was separated to the same body which was buried, and so rose the same man : and this he did the third day from his death ; so that dying on Friday the sixth day of the week, the day of the preparation of the sabbath, and resting in the grave the sabbath-day, on the morning of the first day of the week he returned unto life again, and thereby consecrated the weekly revolution of that first day to a religious observation until his coming again. And thus I believe THE THIRD DAY HE ROSE AGAIN FROM THE DEAD.

HE ASCENDED INTO HEAVEN, AND SITTETH ON THE
RIGHT HAND OF GOD THE FATHER ALMIGHTY.

THIS Article hath received no variation, but only in the addition of the name of *God*, and the attribute *Almighty*; the ancients using it briefly thus¹ *He ascended into heaven, sitteth at the right hand of the Father*. It containeth two distinct parts; one transient, the other permanent; one as the way, the other as the end: the first is *Christ's* ascension, the second is his session.

In the ascension of *Christ* these words of the CREED propound to us three considerations, and no more: the first of the person, *He*; the second of the action, *ascended*; the third of the termination, *into heaven*. Now the person being perfectly the same which we have considered in the precedent Articles, he will afford no different speculation but only in conjunction with this particular action. Wherefore I conceive these three things necessary and sufficient for the illustration of *Christ's* ascension: First, To shew that the promised *Messias* was to *ascend* into heaven; Secondly, To prove that our *Jesus*, whom we believe to be the true *Messias*, did really and truly *ascend* thither; Thirdly, To declare what that *heaven* is, into which he did *ascend*.

That the promised *Messias* should ascend into heaven, hath been represented typically, and declared prophetically. The high-priest under the Law was an express type of the *Messias* and his priestly office; the atonement which he made, was the representation of the propitiation in *Christ* for the sins of the world: for the making this atonement, the high-priest was ap-

¹ 'Ascendit in celos, sedet ad dextram Patris.' *Ruffin. in Symb.* § 30. [p. 25.] *S. August. in Enchirid.* § 14. *Maximus Taurinens. Hom. de Expos. Symb. Chrysologus Serm. in Symbol.* 56—62. *Auctor Expos. Symb. ad Catechumenos*, § 6. [*Ascendit in celum: credite: Sedet ad dexteram Patris: credite. Augustin. De Symbolo ad Catechum.* c. iv. § 11. *Tom. VIII. p. 403 B.*] *Venantius Fortunatus, [Expositio Symboli, p. 382 c.] The Latin and Greek MSS. set forth by the Archbishop of Armagh. St Augustin, De Fide et*

Symb. § 14. [*Tom. VI. p. 115 F.*] hath it: 'Sedet ad dextram Patris:' to which was afterwards added *omnipotentis*. 'Sedet ad dextram Dei Patris omnipotentis.' *Euseb. Gallican. De Symbolo*, *Hom. i. and ii. ap. Biblioth. Patr. Lat. T. v. par. i. p. 553 G. 555 A. seqq.* 'Sedet ad dextram Dei Patris omnipotentis.' *Etherius Uzam. and Auctor Sermonum de Tempore*, *Serm. 131. al. 242. § 2. [Augustin. Op. Tom. v. Appendix, p. 280 F.] The Greek and Latin MSS. in Bene's College Library.*

pointed once every year to enter into the Holy of Holies, and no oftener. For *the Lord said unto Moses, Speak unto Aaron thy brother, that he come not at all times into the holy place within the veil before the mercy-seat, which is upon the ark, that he die not.* None entered into that holy place but the high-priest alone; and he himself could enter thither but once in the year; and thereby shewed that the *high-priest of good things to come, by a greater and more perfect tabernacle not made with hands, was to enter into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption for us.* The Jews did all believe that the Tabernacle did signify this world¹, and the Holy of Holies the highest heavens; wherefore as the high-priest did slay the sacrifice, and with the blood thereof did pass through the rest of the Tabernacle, and with that blood enter into the Holy of Holies; so was the *Messias* here to offer up himself, and, being slain, to pass through all the courts of this world below, and with his blood to enter into the highest heavens, the most glorious seat of the majesty of God. Thus *Christ's* ascension was represented typically.

270 The same ascension was also declared prophetically, as we read in the prophet David, *Thou hast ascended up on high, thou hast led captivity captive, thou hast received gifts for men*²:

¹ Εἰ τις τῆς σκηνῆς κατανόησε τὴν πῆξιν, καὶ τοῦ ιερῆως ἴδοι τὴν στολήν, τὰ τε σκεύη οὖς περὶ τὴν ἱερουργίαν χρώμεθα· τὸν τε νομοθέτην εὐρήσει θεῖον ἄνδρα, καὶ ματαίως ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων τὰς βλασφημίας ἀκούοντας· ἕκαστα γὰρ τούτων εἰς ἀπομίμησιν καὶ διατύπωσιν τῶν ὄλων, εἰ τις ἀφθόνως ἐθέλοι καὶ μετὰ συνέσεως σκοπεῖν, εὐρήσει γεγονότα. τὴν τε γὰρ σκηνὴν τριάκοντα πηχῶν οὐσαν νεύμας εἰς τρία, καὶ δύο μέρη πᾶσιν ἀνέλις τοῖς ιεροῦσιν, ὥσπερ βέβηλῶν [βατῶν] τινα καὶ κοινὸν τόπον, τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀποσημαίνει· καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα πᾶσιν ἔστιν ἐπιβάτα· τὴν δὲ τρίτην μοῖραν μόνῃ περιέγραψε τῷ Θεῷ, δὴ τὸ καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνεπίβαστον εἶναι ἀνθρώποις. Joseph. Antiq. Jud. l. iii. c. 8. [c. 7. § 7. p. 115. 28.] Where it is to be observed, that the place which St Paul calls the first tabernacle, Josephus terms βέβηλῶν τινα καὶ κοινὸν τόπον, a common and profane place, as representing this world in which we

live, and our life and conversation here: as the apostle seems to speak, Heb. ix. 1, *Ἐίχε μὲν οὖν καὶ ἡ πρώτη σκηνὴ δικαιώματα λατρείας τὸ τε ἄγιον κοσμηκόν.* For ἄγιον κοσμηκόν, *sanctum seculare*, or as the Syriac דְּבֵיר דְּמִיכְל, *domus sancta mundana*, may well be that part of the tabernacle which represented this world, and therefore termed common and profane, in respect of that more holy part which represented heaven.

² This place must necessarily be understood of the *Messias*, by reason of that *high place* to which no other conqueror ascended. For that לְמִרוֹם in the language of the prophet, is attributed to God, as Psal. vii. 8, לְמִרוֹם שׁוּבָה *return on high*, that is, in the language of the Chaldee paraphrase, לְבֵי שְׁמִיךְ רַב, *return to the house of thy majesty*; and Psal. xciii. 4, אֲדִיר יְיָ בְּמִרוֹם, *the Lord on high is mighty*, Chald. בְּשֵׁמִי כְרִמָּא *in the upper heavens*.

Mic. II. 12.

which phrase *on high*, in the language of David, signifying heaven, could be applied properly to no other conqueror but the *Messias*: not to Moses, not to David, not to Joshua, not to any but the *Christ*; who was to conquer sin, and death, and hell, and, triumphing over them, to ascend unto the highest heaven, and thence to send the precious and glorious gifts of the Spirit unto the sons of men. The prophecy of Micah did foretell as much, even in the opinion and confession of the Jews themselves, by those words¹, *The breaker is come up before them: they have broken up and have passed through the gate, and are gone out by it; and their King shall pass before them, and the Lord at [on] the head of them.* And thus *Christ's* ascension was declared prophetically as well as typically; which was our first consideration.

Secondly, Whatsoever was thus represented and foretold of the promised *Messias*, was truly and really performed by our *Jesus*. That only-begotten and eternal Son of God, who by his Divinity was present in the heavens while he was on earth, did, by a local translation of his human nature, really and truly ascend from this earth below on which he lived, into the heavens above, or rather above all the heavens, in the same body and the soul with which he lived and died and rose again.

The ascent of *Christ* into heaven was not metaphorical or figurative, as if there were no more to be understood by it,

Psal. lxi. 19, *Thy righteousness, O Lord, is עד מרום, usque ad excelsum*; the Chaldee again, עד שמי מרומא. In the same manner in this place, עליה thou hast ascended on high, the Chaldee paraphrase translateth סלקא thou hast ascended the firmament: and it addeth immediately כשה נביא O thou prophet Moses: yet there is a plain contradiction in that interpretation; for if it were meant of Moses, it cannot be the firmament; if it were the firmament, it cannot be understood of Moses, for he never ascended thither.

¹ This *Breaker-up* is by the confession of the Jews the title of the *Messias*. So the author of *Sepher Abchath Ruchal*, in his description of the coming of the *Messias*, maketh use of this place. And the same appeared farther

by that saying of Moses Haddershan in *Bereshith Rabba*, וזה מלמדה מה משה ש"ן עלה אברהם נשעה מלמעלה זה משה ש"ן עלה The plantation from below is Abraham, the plantation from above is *Messias*, as it is written, *The breaker is come up before them, &c.* So he on Gen. xl. 9. Again the same *Bereshith Rabba*, Gen. xlv. 18, אימתי אנן שמחים כשיעמדו רגלי השכינה על הר החרים When shall we rejoice? when the feet of the *Shekinah* shall stand upon the Mount of Olives; and again, אימתי כשעלו תגליית מציהם והשכינה בראשם ש"ן יעברו מלכם לנצחם וירדה בראשם: When! when the captives shall ascend from hell, and *Shekinah* in the head, as it is written (Mic. ii. 13), *Their King shall pass before them, and the Lord in the head of them.*

but only that he obtained a more heavenly and glorious state or condition after his resurrection. For whatsoever alteration was made in the body of *Christ* when he rose, whatsoever glorious qualities it was invested with thereby, that was not his ascension, as appeareth by those words which he spake to Mary, *Touch me not, for I am not yet ascended to my Father.* Although he had said before to Nicodemus, *No man [hath] ascended up to heaven, but he that came down from heaven, even the Son of man which is in heaven;* which words imply that he had then ascended; yet even those concern not this ascension. For that was therefore only true, because the Son of man, not yet conceived in the Virgin's womb, was not in heaven, and after his conception by virtue of the hypostatical union was in heaven: from whence, speaking after the manner of men, he might well say, that he had ascended into heaven; because whatsoever was first on earth and then in heaven, we say ascended into heaven. Wherefore, beside that grounded upon the hypostatical union, beside that glorious condition upon his resurrection, there was yet another, and that more proper ascension: for after he had both those ways ascended, it was still true that he had not yet ascended to his Father.

John xx. 17.

John iii. 13.

John xx. 17.

Luke xxiv.

60, 61.

Acts i. 9, 10.

Now this kind of ascension, by which *Christ* had not yet ascended when he spake to Mary after his resurrection, was not long after to be performed; for at the same time he said unto Mary, *Go to my brethren, and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father and your Father.* And when this ascension was performed, it appeared manifestly to be a true local translation of the Son of Man, as man, from these parts of the world below into the heavens above; by which that body, which was before locally present here on earth, and was not so then present in heaven, became substantially present in heaven, and no longer locally present in earth. For when he had spoken unto the disciples, *and blessed them*, laying his hands upon them, and so was corporally present with them, even while he blessed them, he was parted from them, and while they beheld, he was taken up, and a cloud received him out of their sight, and so he was carried up into heaven, while they looked stedfastly towards heaven, as he went up. This was a visible departure, as it is described; a real removing of that body of *Christ*, which was before present with the

apostles; and that body living after the resurrection, by virtue of that soul which was united to it: and therefore the Son of God according to his humanity was really and truly translated from these parts below unto the heavens above, which is a proper local ascension.

Thus was *Christ's* ascension visibly performed in the presence and sight of the apostles, for the confirmation of the reality and the certainty thereof. They did not see him when he rose¹, but they saw him when he ascended; because an eye-witness was not necessary unto the act of his resurrection, but it was necessary unto the act of his ascension. It was sufficient that *Christ shewed himself* to the apostles *alive after his passion*; for being they knew him before to be dead, and now saw him alive, they were thereby assured that he rose again: for whatsoever was a proof of his life after death, was a demonstration of his resurrection. But being the apostles were not to see our Saviour in heaven; being the session was not to be visible to them on earth; therefore it was necessary they should be eye-witnesses of the act, who were not with the same eyes to behold the effect.

Beside the eye-witness of the apostles, there was added the testimony of the angels; those blessed spirits which ministered before, and saw the face of, God in heaven, and came down from thence, did know that *Christ* ascended up from hence unto that place from whence they came: and because the eyes of the apostles could not follow him so far, the inhabitants of that place did come to testify of his reception²:
 Acts I. 10, 11. *for behold two men stood by them in white apparel, which also said, Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up into heaven? This same Jesus which is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner, as ye have seen him go into heaven.* We must therefore acknowledge and confess

¹ Βλεπόντων μὲν οὐκ ἀνέστη, βλέπόντων δὲ ἐπὶ ἥρῳ· ἐπειδὴ οὐδὲ ἐνταῦθα ἡ ὄψις τὸ πᾶν ἴσχυσε· καὶ γὰρ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τὸ μὲν τέλος εἶδον, τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἐτί· καὶ τῆς ἀναλήψεως τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν εἶδον, τὸ δὲ τέλος οὐκ ἐτί· παρέλκε γὰρ ἐκεῖνο τὸ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἰδεῖν, αὐτοῦ τοῦ ταῦτα φθεγγομένου παρόντος, καὶ τοῦ μυστήματος δηλοῦντος ὅτι οὐκ ἔστω ἐκεῖ· ἄλλα τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο λόγῳ ἔδει μαθεῖν. *S. Chrysost. Hom. 2. in Act.*

Apost. [§ 2. Tom. IX. p. 17 c.]

² Ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἀρκούντων οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ δεῖξαι τὸ ὄψος, οὐδὲ παιδεύσαι πότερον εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνῆλθεν, ἢ ὡς εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, ὅρα τί γίνεται· ὅτι μὲν αὐτὸς ἔστω Ἰησοῦς, ᾗδεσαν, ἐξ ὧν διελέγετο πρὸς αὐτοὺς (πρόβρων γὰρ οὐκ ἐστὶν ἰδόντας γινώσκειν) ὅτι δὲ εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναλαμβάνεται, αὐτοὶ λοιπὸν ἐδίδασκον οἱ ἄγγελοι. *S. Chrysost. Hom. 2. in Acta Apost. [§ 2. p. 17 d.]*

against all the wild heresies of old¹, that the eternal Son of God, who died and rose again, did, with the same body and soul with which he died and rose, ascend up to heaven; which was the second particular considerable in this Article.

- 272 Thirdly, Being the name of *heaven*, admitteth divers acceptions in the sacred Scriptures, it will be necessary to inquire, What is the true notion of it in this Article, and what was the proper termination of *Christ's* ascension? In some sense it might be truly said, *Christ* was in heaven before the cloud took him out of the apostles' sight; for the clouds themselves are called *the clouds of heaven*; but that heaven is the first; and our Saviour certainly ascended at least as far as St Paul was caught up, that is, into the third heaven; for *we have a great high-priest, that is passed through the heavens*². And needs must he pass through the heavens, because he was *made higher than the heavens*; for *he that descended is the same also that ascended up far above all heavens*. When therefore *Christ* is said to have ascended into heaven, we must take that word as signifying as much as the heaven of heavens; and so *Christ* is ascended through and above the

Dan. vii. 12.

Heb. iv. 14.

Heb. vii. 26.
Eph. iv. 10.

¹ The various heresies in the primitive times concerning the humanity of Christ ascended into heaven, are briefly touched by Tertullian: 'Ut et illi erubescant, qui affirmant carnem in coelis vacuum sensu, ut vaginam, exempto Christo sedere; aut qui carnem et animam tantundem, aut tantummodo animam, carnem vero non jam.' *De Carne Christi*, c. 24. [p. 378 B.] Of which Gregory Nazianzen: Εἰ τις ἀποστεινῆσθαι νῦν τὴν ἁγίαν σάρκα λέγει, καὶ γυνῆν εἶναι τὴν θεότητα τοῦ σώματος, ἀλλὰ μὴ μετὰ τοῦ προσλήμματος καὶ εἶναι καὶ ἤξειν, μὴ ἴδωι τὴν δόξαν τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ. *Epist. i. ad Cledonium*, [Ep. ci. Tom. ii. p. 86 c.] The Apellitæ taught, that Christ left his body dissolved in the air, and so ascended into heaven without it: 'Hunc Apellem dicunt quidem etiam de Christo tam falsa sensisse, ut diceret eum non quidem carnem deposuisse de coelo, sed ex elementis mundi accipisse, quæ mundo reddidit, cum sine carne resurgens ascendit in coelum.' *S. August. Hæres.* 23. (p. 9). [Tom. viii. p. 7 D.] This

opinion of Apelles is thus delivered by Epiphanius in his own words: 'Ἐν τῷ ἐρχεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπουρανίων ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν γῆν καὶ συνήγαγεν ἑαυτῷ ἀπὸ τῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων σῶμα—'Ἐδωκεν ὁ Χριστὸς ἑαυτὸν παθεῖν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ σώματι, καὶ ἐσταυρώθη ἐν ἀληθείᾳ, καὶ ἔδειξεν αὐτὴν τὴν σάρκα τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μαθηταῖς· καὶ ἀναλύσας αὐτὴν τὴν ἐνωθρώπων ἑαυτοῦ, ἀπεμέρισε πάλιν ἐκαστῷ τῶν στοιχείων τὸ ἴδιον ἀποδοῦναι, τὸ θερμὸν τῷ θερμῷ, τὸ ψυχρὸν τῷ ψυχρῷ, τὸ ξηρὸν τῷ ξηρῷ, τὸ ὑγρὸν τῷ ὑγρῷ· καὶ οὕτως διαλύσας ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πάλιν τὸ ἑνσαρκον σῶμα ἀνέπηγχε εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, ὅθεν καὶ ἦκε. *Hæres. xlv. § 2.* [Tom. i. p. 381 D, 382 B.] Of whom Gregory Nazianzen is to be understood in that Epistle before cited: 'Ἡ εἰς τὸν ἀέρα ἐχέθη καὶ διελύθη, ὡς φωτὴς φύσις, καὶ ὁμίης φύσις, καὶ ἀστραπῆς ὁρμός· οὐχ ἱσταμένης. [Tom. ii. p. 87 A.]

² We read it indeed *into the heavens*, but the original imports as much as *through*: διελθὺν τοὺς οὐρανοὺς· Vulg. Trans. qui penetravit celos.

Hob. vi. 19. heavens, and yet is still in heaven; for he is *entered into that within the veil*, there is his passage through the heavens; Heb. ix. 12, *into the holy place, even into heaven itself, to appear in the* 24. *presence of God*; this is the heaven of heavens. For thus Isai. lxi. 1. *said the Lord, The heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool*; and as *Christ* descended unto the footstool of his Father in his humiliation, so he ascended unto the throne of his Father in his exaltation. This was the place, of which our John vi. 62. Saviour spake to his disciples, *What and if ye shall see the Son of man ascend up where he was before*? Had he been there before in body, it had been no such wonder that he should have ascended thither again: but that his body should ascend unto that place where the majesty of God was most resplendent; that the flesh of our flesh, and bone of our bone, should be seated far above all angels and archangels, all principalities and powers, even at the right hand of God: this was that which *Christ* propounded as worthy of their greatest admiration. Whatsoever heaven then is higher than all the rest which are called heavens; whatsoever sanctuary is holier than all which are called holies; whatsoever place is of greatest dignity in all those courts above; into that place did he ascend, where in the splendour of his Deity he was before he took upon him our humanity.

As therefore when we say *Christ* ascended, we understand a literal and local ascent, not of his Divinity (which possesseth all places, and therefore being everywhere is not subject to the imperfection of removing any whither), but of his humanity, which was so in one place that it was not in another: so when we say the place into which he ascended was heaven, and from the expositions of the apostles must understand thereby the heaven of heavens, or the highest heaven, it followeth that we believe the body with the soul of *Christ* to have passed far above all those celestial bodies which we see, and to look upon that opinion as a low conceit, which left his body in the sun¹.

¹ The Seleuciani and Hermiani taught that the body of Christ ascended no farther than the sun, in which it was deposited, of whom Philastrius, [*Lib. de Hæresibus*, 8. *Bibliotheca Patr. Latin.* Tom. iv. p. 602 B. 'Salvatorum autem in carne negant sedere ad dexteram Patris, sed expoliassæ carnem et posuisse in solem æstimant.']

and out of him St Augustin, thus: 'Negant Salvatorem in carne sedere ad dexteram Patris, sed ea se exuisse perhibent, eamque in sole posuisse, accipientes occasionem de Psalmo, ubi legitur, *In sole posuit Tabernaculum suum.*' *Hæres.* 59. [Tom. viii. p. 15 E.] The same opinion Gregory Nazianzen attributeth to the Manicheans: *Ποῦ*

273 It was necessary to profess this Article of *Christ's* ascension: First, For the confirmation and augmentation of our faith. Our faith is thereby confirmed, in that we believe in him who is received unto the Father, and therefore certainly came from the Father: his Father sent him, and we have received the message from him, and are assured that it is the same message which he was sent to deliver, because he is so highly rewarded by him that sent him for delivering it. Our faith is thereby exalted and augmented, as being the *evidence* Heb. xi. 1. *of things not seen.* The farther the object is removed from us, the more of faith hath that act which embraceth it¹. *Christ* said unto Thomas, *Because thou hast seen me thou hast believed;* John xx. 29. *blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed;* and that blessedness by his ascension he hath left to the whole Church. Thus *Christ* ascended is the ground and glory of our faith; and by virtue of his being in heaven, our belief is both encouraged and commended; for his ascent is the cause, and his absence the crown, of our faith: because he ascended, we the more believe; and because we believe in him who hath ascended, our faith is the more accepted.

Secondly, It is necessary to believe the ascension of *Christ*

γὰρ τὸ σῶμα νῦν, εἰ μὴ μετὰ τοῦ προσ-
λαβόντος; οὐ γὰρ δὴ κατὰ τοὺς Μανι-
χαίων λήρουσι τῷ ἡλίῳ ἐναποθέσθαι, ἵνα
τυμηθῇ διὰ τῆς ἀτιμίας. *Epist. 1. ad*
Cledonium, [Ep. ci. Tom. II. p. 86 c.]
And St Augustin says they taught the
sun to be Christ: 'Manichæi solem
istum oculis carnis visibilem, exposi-
tum, et publicum, non tantum homi-
nibus, sed etiam pecoribus ad viden-
dum, Christum Dominum, esse puta-
verunt.' *Tract. 34. in Ioan. § 2.* [Tom.
III. par. 2. p. 387 F.] (p. 534.) This
opinion is more clearly set down, but
without a name, in the *Catena Patrum*
on the 18th Psalm: Οὐ γὰρ προσεκτέον
τοῖς τῶν Αἰρετικῶν φληγάροις, οἱ φασιν
δτι μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ὁ Σωτὴρ ἐν τῇ
ἡλιακῇ σφαίρᾳ ἀπέθετο τὸ ἐφόρησε σῶμα,
φυλάττεσθαι μέχρι τῆς δευτέρας παρου-
σίας. This was the old heresy of Her-
mogenes, as is related by Theodoret:
Οὗτος (ὁ Ἑρμογενῆς) τοῦ Κυρίου τὸ
σῶμα ἐν τῷ ἡλίῳ εἶπεν ἀποθεῖσθαι, τὸν
δὲ διὰβολον καὶ τοὺς δαίμονας εἰς τὴν
ὕλην ἀναχεῖρσεν. *Hæret. Fab. l. i.*

c. 19. [Tom. IV. p. 207 D.]

¹ 'Magnarum hic vigor est men-
tium, et valde fidelium lumen est ani-
marum, incunctanter credere quæ cor-
pore non videntur intuitu, et ibi figere
desiderium, quo nequeas inferre con-
spectum. Hæc autem pietas unde in
nostris cordibus nasceretur, aut quo-
modo quisquam justificaretur perfidem,
si in iis tantum salus nostra consisteret,
quæ obtutibus subjacerent?' *Leo in*
Ascen. Serm. 2. c. 1. 'Fides autem,
quæ eorum qui Deum visuri sunt,
quamdiu peregrinantur, corda mun-
dantur, quod non videt credit; nam
si vides, non est fides: credenti colli-
gitur meritum, videnti redditur præ-
mium. Eat ergo Dominus et paret
locum; eat ne videatur, lateat ut cre-
datur: tunc enim locus paratur, si ex
fide vivatur: creditus desideretur ut
desideratus habeatur, desiderium di-
lectionis præparatio est mansionis.' *S.*
August. Tract. 68. in Ioan. § 3. [Tom.
III. par. 2. p. 495 A.] (p. 680.)

for the corroboration of our hope. We could never expect our dust and ashes should ascend the heavens; but being our nature hath gone before in him, we can now hope to follow after him. He is our Head¹; and where that is, the members may expect admission; for in so great and intimate an union there is no fear of separation or exclusion: there are many mansions in his Father's house. And when he spake of ascending thither, he said expressly to his disciples, *I go to prepare a place for you; I will come again and receive you unto myself, that where I am, there ye may be also*. The first-fruits of our nature are ascended², and the rest is sanctified. This is the new and living way, which he consecrated for us through the veil, that is to say, his flesh. And hence we have our hope as an anchor of the soul both sure and steadfast, which entereth into that within the veil, whither the forerunner is for us entered. For if Christ in his ascension be the forerunner, then are there some to follow after³; and not only so, but they which follow

Eph. i. 22.

John xiv. 2.

John xiv. 3.

Heb. x. 20.

Heb. vi. 19, 20.

¹ 'Christi ascensio nostra provectio est, et quo præcessit gloria capitis, eo spes vocatur et corporis.' *Leo de Ascen. Serm. i. c. 4.* [p. 851 B.]

² Διὰ τοῦτο ἐορτάζειν ὀφειλομεν, ἐπειδὴν σήμερον τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τοῦ ἡμετέρου φυράματος, τοῦτέστι τὴν σάρκα, ἐν οὐρανοῖς Χριστὸς ἀνήγαγε. *S. Chrysost. Orat. i. de Ascens.* Διὸ λοιπὸν χρηστὰς ἔχομεν τὰς ἐλπίδας, πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀπαρχὴν ἀφορῶντες. *Id. Orat. 2. de Ascens.*

³ There is a double notion of πρόδρομος, to this purpose: one of a man sent before to make preparations for others which follow; in which it is well observed by S. Chrysostom: 'Ὁ δὲ πρόδρομος τῶν ἐστὶ πρόδρομος, ὥσπερ Ἰωάννης τοῦ Χριστοῦ' καὶ οὐκ εἶπεν ἀπλῶς εἰσῆλθεν, ἀλλ', ὅπου πρόδρομος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν εἰσῆλθεν' ὡς καὶ ἡμῶν ὀφειλάντων καταλαβεῖν. Οὐ πολὺ γὰρ τοῦ προδρόμου καὶ τῶν ἐπομένων ὀφείλει εἶναι τὸ μέσον' ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ἂν εἴη πρόδρομος' τὸν γὰρ πρόδρομον καὶ τοὺς ἐπομένους ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ χρήσει εἶναι ὁδὸν καὶ τὸν μὲν ὁδεύειν, τοὺς δὲ ἐπικαταλαμβάνειν. *Homil. 11. in Epist. ad Hebræos.* [§ 2. Tom. XII. p. 114 c.] Another notion there is among the Greeks of the fruit, which is ripe and come to perfection

before the rest, as Isaiah xxviii. 4. Καὶ ἔσται τὸ ἄνθος τὸ ἐκπέσον τῆς ἐλπίδος τῆς δόξης, ἐπ' ἄκρου τοῦ θρύου τοῦ ὑψηλοῦ ὡς πρόδρομος σίκου, ἡρωββ, tanquam primitiæ, or fructus primogeniti, sicut præcox. Hesychius: Πρόδροσμα, τὰ ἐν τῷ ἄκρῳ ξύλῳ, ἃ τὰ προακμάζοντα σῦκα (lege Πρόδρομοι) [Salmasius reads πρόδρομα]; for they indeed are properly τὰ προακμάζοντα σῦκα, præcoques ficus. For so Theophrastus, speaking particularly περὶ συκῆς, hath these words: 'Ἵπολειπομένης γὰρ πλεονος τῆς τοιαύτης ὑγρότητος, ὅταν ἤδη ἐπιγένηται μαλακὸς καὶ ὑγρὸς καὶ θερμὸς, ἐξεκατέσται τὴν βλάστησιν. ὅτε δὲ τοῦτο συμβαίνει φανερόν, ὅτι ἐκ τοῦτου τοῦ μέρους ὁ καρπὸς ἀνέλειαι, ὅθεν καὶ οἱ πρόδρομοι. *De Causis Plant.* l. v. c. 1. and paulo post: Πάλιν δὲ τοὺς προδρόμους αἱ μὲν φέρουσιν, οἷον, ἢ τε Λακωνικὴ καὶ Λευκομαφάδιος καὶ ἑτέροι πλεονος, αἱ δ' οὐ φέρουσιν. The first-fruits of the early figs were called πρόδρομοι, and the tree which bare them προτερικὴ. Now as this early fruit doth forerun the latter fruit of the same tree, and comes to ripeness and perfection in its kind before the rest; so our Saviour goes before those men of the same nature with him, and they

are to go in the same way, and to attain unto the same place : and if this *forerunner* be *entered for us*, then we are they which are to follow and to overtake him there ; as being of the same nature, members of the same body, branches of the same vine ; and therefore he went thither before us as the first-fruits before those that follow, and we hope to follow him as coming late to the same perfection.

274 As therefore God *hath quickened us together with Christ*, Ephes. ii. 5, 6. and *hath raised us up together*, by virtue of his resurrection ; so hath he also *made us sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus*, by virtue of his ascension. We are already seated there in him¹, and hereafter shall be seated by him ; in him already as in our Head, which is the ground of our hope ; by him hereafter, as by the cause conferring, when hope shall be swallowed up into fruition.

Thirdly, The profession of faith in *Christ* ascended, is necessary for the exaltation of our affections. *For where our treasure is, there will our hearts be also. If I be lifted up* Matt. vi. 21. John xii. 32. *from the earth, I will draw all men unto me*, saith our Saviour ; and if those words were true of his crucifixion, how powerful ought they to be in reference to his ascension ! *When the Lord would take up Elijah into heaven, Elisha* 2 Kings ii. 1, 2. *said unto him, As the Lord liveth, and as thy soul liveth, I will not leave thee :* when *Christ* is ascended up on high, we must follow him with the wings of our meditations, and with the chariots of our affections. *If we be risen with* Col. iii. 1, 2. *Christ*, we must seek those things which are above, where *Christ* sitteth on the right hand of God. If we be dead, and our life hid with *Christ* in God, we must set our affection on things above, not on things on the earth. *Christ* is ascended into heaven to teach us, that we are strangers and pilgrims here, as all our fathers were, and that another country belongs unto us : from whence we, as *strangers and pilgrims*, 1 Pet. ii. 11. should learn to *abstain from fleshly lusts ;* and not mind earthly things ; as knowing that we are citizens of heaven, from whence we look for our Saviour, the Lord Jesus, yea, Phil. iii. 19, 20. *fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God.* Eph. ii. 19. We should trample upon our sins, and subdue the lusts of

follow in their time to the maturity of the same perfection.

¹ Τῆς κεφαλῆς καθεζομένης καὶ τὸ

σῶμα συγκάθηται· διὰ τοῦτο ἐπήγαγεν, ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. S. Chrysost. in Epist. ad. Ephes. Hom. 4. [§ 2. Tom. XI. p. 27 B.]

the flesh, that our conversation may be correspondent to our Saviour's condition; that where the eyes of the apostles were forced to leave him, thither our thoughts may follow him.

Fourthly, The ascension of *Christ* is a necessary Article of the CREED, in respect of those great effects which immediately were to follow it, and did absolutely depend upon it. The blessed apostles had never preached the Gospel, had they not been endued with power from above; but none of that power had they received, if the Holy Ghost in a miraculous manner had not descended: and the Holy Ghost had not come down, except our Saviour had ascended first. For he himself, when he was to depart from his disciples, grounded the necessity of his departure upon the certainty of this truth, saying, *If I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart, I will send him unto you.* Now if all the infallibility of those truths, which we as Christians believe, depend upon the certain information which the apostles had, and those apostles appear to be no way infallible till the cloven tongues had sit upon them, it was first absolutely necessary that the Holy Ghost should so descend. Again, being it was impossible that the Spirit of God in that manner should come down until the Son of God had ascended into heaven; being it was not fit that the second Advocate should officiate on earth, till the first Advocate had entered upon his office in heaven; therefore in respect of this great work the Son of God must necessarily ascend, and in reference to that necessity we may well be obliged to confess that ascension.

Upon these considerations we may easily conclude what every Christian is obliged to confess in those words of our CREED, *he ascended into heaven*; for thereby he is understood to express thus much: I am fully persuaded, that the only-begotten and eternal Son of God, after he rose from the dead, did with the same soul and body with which he rose, by a true and local translation convey himself from the earth on which he lived, through all the regions of the air, through all the celestial orbs, until he came unto the heaven of heavens, the most glorious presence of the majesty of God. And thus I believe in *Jesus Christ*, who ASCENDED INTO HEAVEN.

John xvi. 7.

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AND SITTETH ON THE RIGHT HAND OF GOD THE
FATHER ALMIGHTY.

THE second part of the Article containeth two particulars; the session of the Son, and the description of the Father: the first sheweth, that *Christ* upon his ascension is set down *at the right hand of God*; the second assureth us that the God, at whose right hand *Christ* is set down, is the *Father Almighty*.

For the explication of *Christ's* session, three things will be necessary: First, To prove that the promised *Messias* was to sit at the right hand of God; Secondly, To shew that our *Jesus*, whom we believe to be the true *Messias*, is set down at the right hand of God; Thirdly, To find what is the importance of that phrase, and in what propriety of expression it belongs to *Christ*.

That the promised *Messias* was to sit at the right hand of God, was both pretypified and foretold. Joseph, who was betrayed and sold by his brethren, was an express type of *Christ*; and though in many things he represented the *Messias*, yet in none more than in this, that being taken out of the prison he was exalted to the supreme power of Egypt. For thus Pharaoh spake to Joseph, *Thou shalt be over my house, and according unto thy word shall all my people be ruled: only in the throne will I be greater than thou. And Pharaoh took off his ring from his hand, and put it upon Joseph's hand, and arrayed him in vestures of fine linen, and put a gold chain about his neck: and he made him to ride in the second chariot which he had, and they cried before him, Bow the knee; and he made him ruler over all the land of Egypt.* Thus Joseph had the execution of all the regal power committed unto him, all edicts and commands were given out by him, the managing of all affairs was through his hands, only the authority by which he moved remained in Pharaoh still. This was a clear representation of the Son of man, who, by his sitting on the right hand of God, obtained power to rule and govern all things both in heaven and earth (especially as the *ruler of his house*, that is, the Church), with express command that all things both in heaven and earth, and under the earth, should bow down before him: but all this in the name of the Father: to

whom the throne is still reserved, in whom the original authority still remains. And thus the session of the *Messias* was pretypified.

The same was also expressly foretold, not only in the sense, but in the phrase. *The Lord said unto my Lord* (saith the prophet David), *Sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool*. The Jews have endeavoured to avoid this prophecy, but with no success: some make the person to whom 276 God speaks to be Ezechias¹, some Abraham², some Zorobabel, others David³, others the people of Israel⁴: and because the prophecy cannot belong to him who made the Psalm, therefore they which attribute the prediction to Abraham, tell us the Psalm was penned by his steward Eliezer⁵: they which expound it of David, say that one of his musicians was author of it.

But first, it is most certain that David was the penman of this Psalm; the title speaks as much, which is, 'A Psalm of David⁶;' from whence it followeth that the prediction did

¹ This Justin Martyr testifies of the Jews in his age: *Kal toutōn tōn ψαλμῶν ὅτι εἰς τὸν Ἐζεχίαν τὸν Βασιλέα εἰρησθαι ἐξηγείσθαι τοιμῶτε, οὐκ ἄγνοω, ἐπέειπον. Dialog. cum Tryphone, p. 250. [202.23. Thirlby.]* And out of him Tertullian citing this Psalm: 'Sed necesse est, ad meam sententiam pertinere defendam eas Scripturas, quas et Judæi nobis avocare conantur. Dicunt denique hunc Psalmum in Ezechiam cecinisse, quia is sedit ad dextram templi, et hostes ejus averterit Deus, et absumperit.' *Adv. Marcion. l. v. c. 9. [p. 592 D. Rigalt.]*

² So St Chrysostom, speaking of the Jews: *Τίνα οὖν φασὶ τὸν λέγοντα; τὸν Θεοῦ τὸν δὲ ἀκούοντα; τὸν Ἀβραάμ; ἕτεροι δὲ τὸν Ζοροβάβελ, καὶ ἄλλοι ἕτερον. In Psal. cix. [§ 1. Tom. v. p. 249 D.]* So *Catena Græca*, [Tom. III. p. 238]: *Οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι, τὸ γελοιότερον, εἰς τὸν Ἀβραάμ [εἰρησθαι λέγουσι] καθίσθαι ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ. And this exposition is now followed by Solomon Jarchi and Lipmannus; Jarchi acknowledging it to be ancient, רבנונו דרשן באברהם אבני ואני אפרשנו כדבריהם נאם :לאברהם:*

³ This is the exposition of the later Rabbins, as of Aben Ezra and David

Kimchi, who attribute the subject of the Psalm to David. And not only they, but the ancient Rabbins since our Saviour's time, as appeareth by those words of St Chrysostom: *Kal τὰ ἐπίοντα δὲ δηλοῖ, ὅτι οὐδὲν περὶ τοῦ Ζοροβάβελ ἐνταῦθα εἰρηται, οὐδὲ περὶ τοῦ Δαβὶδ; οὐδεὶς γὰρ αὐτῶν ἱερωσῶν τετίμηται. In Psal. cix. [§ 1. Tom. v. p. 249 E.]*

⁴ *Kal γὰρ καὶ ἑτερά τινα λέγουσι τούτων ἐωλότερα, περὶ τοῦ λαοῦ λέγοντες ταῦτα εἰρησθαι. Ibid. et paulo post: Πῶς δ' ἂν ἡ τῷ Δαβὶδ, ἡ τῷ Ζοροβάβελ, ἡ τῷ λαῷ ταῦτα ἀρμύσειεν; Ibid. [§ 1. p. 250 A, B.]*

⁵ To which purpose saith St Chrysostom, concerning the Jews of his time: *Τί γὰρ φασιν ἄλλοι πάλιν; ὅτι ὁ παῖς τοῦ Ἀβραάμ ταῦτα λέγει περὶ τοῦ Κυρίου τοῦ αὐτοῦ. Ibid. [p. 250 A.]*

⁶ As for that objection which is made by Aben Ezra, that it is not the Psalm of David, but penned for and in the honour of David, because the title is *לדוד* as if it were a Psalm for David, not of David: it is by no means to be admitted, because it may not only very well signify a Psalm made by David, but if it do not, there is no title which shews any Psalm to

not belong to him, because it was spoken to his Lord Nor could it indeed belong to any of the rest which the Jews imagine, because neither Abraham, nor Ezechias, nor Zorobabel¹, could be the Lord of David, much less the people of Israel (to whom some of the Jews referred it), who were not the lords but the subjects of that David. Besides, he which is said to *sit at the right hand of God*, is also said to be a *Psal. cx. 4. priest for ever after the order of Melchisedech*: but neither *Heb. v. 6.* Abraham, nor Ezechias, nor any which the Jews have mentioned, was ever any priest of God². Again, our Saviour urged this Scripture against the Pharisees, *saying, What think ye of Christ? whose son is he? They say unto him, The Son of David. He saith unto them, How then doth David in spirit call him Lord, saying, The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand till I make thine enemies thy footstool? If David then call him Lord, how is he his son? and no man was able to answer him a word.* *Matt. xxii. 42-46.* From whence it is evident that the Jews of old, even the Pharisees, the most accurate and skilful amongst them, did interpret the Psalm of the *Messias*; for if they had conceived the prophecy belonged either to Abraham, or David, or any of the rest since mentioned by the Jews, they might very well, and questionless would, have answered our Saviour, that this belonged not to the Son of David. It was therefore the general opinion of the Church of the Jews before our Saviour, and of divers Rabbins since his death³, that this prediction did concern

be his, and some of them we are sure are his: Luke xx. 42.

¹ Τί οὖν, εἰπέ μοι, Ζοροβὰβελ Κύριος τοῦ Δαβὶδ; καὶ πῶς ἂν ἔχῃ λόγον, ὅς καὶ αὐτὸς ἀντὶ μεγάλης τιμῆς Δαβὶδ κέκληται. *S. Chrysost. in Psal. cix. [p. 249 E.]*

² This is the argument which the Fathers used against the Jews; as Justin Martyr, in opposition to their pretence of Ezechias: 'Ἰεπεὶ δὲ οὐκ οὖτε γέγονεν' Εἰς ἐχίας οὖτε ἐστὶν αἰώνιος 'Ἰεπεὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὐδὲ βρεῖς ἀντειπεῖν τολμήσῃ. *Dial. cum Tryphone, p. 250. [203. 1. Thirlby.]* and from him Tertullian: 'Quod et in ipso hic accedit, Tu es Sacerdos in ævum. Nec sacerdos autem Ezechias, nec in ævum, etsi fuisset, secundum ordinem, inquit,

Melchisedech. Quid Ezechias ad Melchisedech Altissimi sacerdotem, et quidem non circumcisiis? Adu. Marcion. l. v. c. 9. [p. 593 B.] and so St Chrysostom in the words beforementioned.

³ As in the Midrash Tillim, *Psal. xviii. 36. "חמא לעתיד לבוא" אר"י דין בשר" חמא לעתיד לבוא* הקבה" משיח מלך המשיח לימיו שנ' נאם: לארני שב לימיו: *R. Joden in the name of Rabbi Chama said, that in the time to come God shall place Messiah the King at his right hand, as it is written, (Psal. cx. 1.) The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand.* So Moses Haddarsan on Gen. xviii. *Hereafter God holy and blessed shall set the King Messiah on his right hand, as it is written, (Psal. cx.) The Lord said, &c.*

the kingdom of *Christ*. And thus the session of the *Messias* at the right hand of God was not only represented typically, but foretold prophetically: which is our first consideration.

Secondly, We affirm that our *Jesus*, whom we worship as the true *Messias*, according unto that particular prediction, when he ascended up on high, did sit down at the right hand of God. His ascension was the way to his session, and his session the end of his ascension; as the evangelist expresseth it, *He was received up into heaven, and sat on the right hand of God*; or as the apostle, *God raised Christ from the dead, and set him at his own right hand in the heavenly places*. There could be no such session without an ascension; and *David is not ascended into the heavens; but he saith himself, The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, until I make thy foes thy footstool. Therefore let all the house of Israel know assuredly, let all the blind and wilful Jews be convinced of this truth, that God hath not set at his own right hand, neither Abraham nor David, neither Ezechias nor Zorobabel, but hath made that same Jesus whom they have crucified both Lord and Christ.*

Mark xvi. 19.
Eph. i. 20.
Acts ii. 34-36.
Acts ii. 36.

This was an honour never given, never promised, to any man but the *Messias*: the glorious spirits stand about the throne of God, but never any of them sat down at the right hand of God. *For to which of his angels said he at any time, Sit on my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool?* But *Christ* was so assured of this honour, that before the council of the chief priests and the elders of the people, when he foresaw his death contrived, and his cross prepared, even then he expressed the confidence of his expectation, saying, *Hereafter shall the Son of man sit on the right hand of the power of God*. And thus our *Jesus*, whom we worship as the true promised *Messias*, *is gone into heaven, and is on the right hand of God*. Which was our second consideration.

Heb. i. 13.
Luke xxii. 69.
1 Pet. iii. 22.

Our next inquiry is, what may be the utmost importance of that phrase, and how it is applicable unto *Christ*. The phrase consists of two parts, and both to be taken metaphorically: First therefore, we must consider what is the *right hand of God*, in the language of the Scriptures; secondly, what it is to *sit* down at that right hand. God being a spirit can have no material or corporeal parts; and conse-

quently as he hath no body, so in a proper sense can he have no hands at all¹: but because God is pleased to descend to our capacity, and not only to speak by the mouths of men; but also, after the manner of men, he expresseth that which is in him, by some analogy with that which belongs to us. The hands of man are those organical parts which are most active², and executive of our power; by those the strength of our body is expressed, and most of our natural and artificial actions are performed by them. From whence the power of God, and the exertion or execution of that power, is signified by the hand of God. Moreover being, by a general custom of the world, the right hand is more used than the left, and by that general use acquireth a greater firmitude and strength, therefore the *right hand* of God signifieth the exceeding great and infinite power of God.

Again, because the most honourable place amongst men is the right hand, (as when Bathsheba went unto King Solomon, he *sat down on his throne, and caused a seat to be set for the king's mother, and she sat on his right hand*.) therefore the *right hand* of God signifies the glorious majesty of God. 1 Kings ii. 19.

Thirdly, because the gifts of men are given and received by the hands of men, and every perfect gift comes from the Father of lights, therefore the *right hand* of God is the place of celestial happiness and perfect felicity; according to that of the Psalmist, *In thy presence is fulness of joy, at thy right hand pleasures for evermore*. Psalm. xvi. 11.

Now as to the first acception of the *right hand* of God, *Christ* is said to sit down at the *right hand* of the Father, in regard of that absolute power and dominion which he hath obtained in heaven; from whence it is expressly said, *Here-*

Matt. xxvi. 64.
Mark xiv. 62.
Luke xxii. 69.

¹ 'Credimus etiam quod sedet ad dextram Patris. Nec ideo tamen quasi humana forma circumscriptum esse Deum Patrem arbitrandum est, ut de illo cogitantibus dextrum aut sinistram latus animo occurrat.' *S. August de Fide et Symb.* § 14. [Tom. VI. p. 115 F.] (p. 157.)

² 'Succedunt brachia et validi laceratorum tori, validæ ad operandum manus, et proceribus digitis habiles ad tenendum. Hinc aptior usus operandi, hinc scribendi elegantia, et ille calamus scribæ velociter scribentis, quo divinæ vocis exprimuntur oracula.

Manus est quæ cibum ori ministrat: manus est quæ præclaris enitet factis, quæ conciliatrix divinæ gratiæ sacris inferitur altaribus, per quam offerimus et sumimus sacramenta cœlestia: manus est quæ operatur pariter atque dispensat divina mysteria, cujus vocabulo non dedignatus est se Dei Filium declarari, dicente David, *Dextera Domini [fecit virtutem, dextera Domini] exaltavit me*: manus est quæ fecit omnia, sicut dixit Deus omnipotens, *Nonne manus mea fecit hæc omnia?* *S. Ambros.* *Hexæm.* l. vi. c. 9.

after ye shall see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of power.

As to the second acception, *Christ* is said to sit on the *right hand* of God in regard of that honour, glory, and majesty, which he hath obtained there¹; whereof it is said,
 Heb. i. 3. *When he had by himself purged our sins, he sat down on*
 Heb. viii. 1. *the right hand of the Majesty on high: and again, We have an high-priest, who is set on the right hand of the throne of the Majesty in the heavens.*

In reference to the third acception, *Christ* is said to sit on the *right hand* of God, because now after all the labours and sorrows of this world, after his stripes and buffetings, after a painful and shameful death, he resteth above in unspeakable joy and everlasting felicity².

As for the other part of the phrase, that is, his *session*, we must not look upon it as determining any posture of his body in the heavens, correspondent to the inclination and curvation of our limbs: for we read in the Scriptures a more general term, which signifies only his being in heaven, without any expression of the particular manner of his presence.
 Rom. viii. 34. *So St Paul, who is even at the right hand of God: and St*
 1 Pet. iii. 22. *Peter, who is gone into heaven, and is at the right hand of God.* Beside, we find him expressed in another position than that of session: for Stephen looking *stedfastly into heaven, saw the glory of God, and Jesus standing on the right hand of God: and said, Behold, I see the heavens opened, and the Son of man standing on the right hand of God.* He appeared *standing* unto Stephen, whom we express *sitting* in our CREED; but

¹ 'Secundum consuetudinem nostram illi consessus offertur, qui, aliquo opere perfecto victor adveniens, honoris gratia promeretur ut sedeat. Ita ergo et homo Jesus Christus passione sua diabolum superans, resurrectione sua inferna reserans, tanquam perfecto opere ad celos victor adveniens, audit a Deo Patre, *Sede ad dextram meam.*' *Maxim. Taurin. Hom. i. de Pentecost.* [p. 27 A.]

² 'Ad dextram intelligendum est sic dictum esse, in summa beatitudine, ubi justitia et pax et gaudium est.' *S. August. de Fide et Symb. c. 7. § 14.* [Tom. vi. p. 116 A.] (p. 157.) 'Quid est Patris dextra, nisi æterna illa ineffabilisque felicitas, quo pervenit Filius

hominis, etiam carnis immortalitate percepta?' *Idem, contra Sermonem Arian. c. 12.* [Tom. viii. p. 448 C.] (p. 631.) 'Beatus est, et a beatitudine, quæ dextra Patris vocatur, ipsius beatitudinis nomen est, dextra Patris.' *De Symb. ad Catech. l. i. [c. 4. § 11. Tom. vi. p. 403 F.]* (p. 553.) 'Salus temporalis et carnalis in sinistra est, salus æterna cum angelis in dextra est. Ideo jam in ipsa immortalitate positus Christus dicitur sedere ad dextram Dei. Non enim Deus habet in seipso dextram aut sinistram; sed dextra Dei dicitur felicitas illa, quæ quoniam ostendi oculis non potest, tale nomen accepit.' *S. August. in Psal. cxxxvii. § 14.* [Tom. iv. p. 1149 F.] (p. 1532.)

this is rather a difference of the occasion, than a diversity of position. He appeared *standing* to Stephen¹, as ready to assist him, as ready to plead for him, as ready to receive him: and he is oftener expressed *sitting*, nor for any positional variation, but for the variety of his effect and operation.

279 This phrase then to *sit*, prescinding from the corporal posture of session, may signify no more than habitation, possession, permansion, and continuance; as the same word in the Hebrew and Greek languages often signifies². And thus our Saviour

¹ Ἐπεὶ τὸ ἐλεῖν καθῆσθαι φορτικὸν αὐτοῖς ἦν, τῶς τὸν περὶ τῆς ἀναστρέψεως κωεῖ λόγον, καὶ φησὶν αὐτὸν ἰστασθαι. *S. Chrysost. Hom. 18. in Act. Apost. [§ 1. Tom. ix. p. 143 E.]* 'Si major gratia et manifestior intelligentia in Novo est quam in Vetere Testamento, quare Esaias Propheta sedentem in throno Majestatis vidit Deum Sabaoth!—in novo autem Stephanus primus Martyr stantem se vidiisse ait Jesum a dextris Dei? Quid est istud, ut hic subjectus videatur post triumphos, et illic quasi Dominus antequam vinceret? Prout causa fecit, ita et Dominus se ostendit. Prophetæ enim visus est quasi rex corripiens plebem; et hoc se ostendit quod erat, hoc est, sedentem: in pace enim erat causa Divinitatis ejus. Stephano autem ut stans appareret, fecit calumnia Judæorum. In Stephano autem Salvatoris causa vim patiebatur. Ideo sedente Judice Deo stans apparuit, quasi cui causam diceret: et quia bona causa ejus est, ad dextram Judicis erat; Omnis qui causam dicit, stet necesse est.' *S. August. Quest. in Novo Test. 88.* [This Treatise is improperly ascribed to Augustin. Tom. III. Part 2. Appendix, p. 66 E.] (p. 80.) 'Sedere judicantis est, stare vero pugnantis vel adjuvantis.—Hunc post assumptionem Marcus sedere describit, quia post ascensionis sue gloriam Judex in fine videbitur. Stephanus vero hunc in labore certaminis positus, stantem vidit, quem adjutorem habuit.' *Greg. Magn. Hom. 29. in Evang. [Tom. II. p. 94 B.]* Maximus Taurin. *de Pentec. Hom. 1.* [p. 27 B.] moves the question: 'Quæ sit ratio, quod idem Dominus a David sedens

prophetatur, stans vero a Stephano prædicatur?' and then renders this reason: 'Ut modo ejus omnipotentia modo misericordia describatur. Nam utique pro potestate Regis sedere dicitur, pro bonitate Intercessoris stare suggeritur. Ait enim beatus Apostolus, quia *Advocatum habemus apud Patrem, Jesum Christum*. Judex ergo est Christus, cum residet: Advocatus cum assurgit. Judex plane Judeis, Advocatus Christianis. Hic enim stans apud Patrem, Christianorum licet peccantium causas exorat; ibi residet cum Patre Phariseorum consequentium peccata condemnans. Illis indignans vehementer ulciscitur; his interveniens leniter miseretur. Hic stat ut suscipiat Stephani Martyris spiritum; ibi residet ut condemnet Judæ proditoris admissum. *Ibid. [p. 27 D.]*

² ישׁ which properly signifies to sit, is familiarly used for *permanens*, and *habitavit*; as Judges v. 17, ישׁ אשׁר ימים LXX. Ἀσὴρ ἐκάθισεν παραλίας θαλασσῶν, *Asher continued on the sea-shore*; Leviticus viii. 35. וַיָּשֶׁב יוֹסֵף וְיִלְכָּה שְׁבַע יָמִים Kal ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ μαρτυρίου καθήσασθε ἐπὶ τὰς ἡμέρας, ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτα. *Therefore shall ye abide at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, day and night, seven days.* Upon which place St Augustin: 'Quid est quod dicit Moyses ad Aaron et filios ejus, cum sanctificentur ad ineundum sacerdotium, *Ad ostium tabernaculi testimonii sedebitis septem dies, die et nocte, ne moriamini!* Numquid nam credibile est, situ corporis uno loco sedere preceptos per dies septem die et nocte, unde se omnino non commoverent?

is set down at the right hand of God in heaven; because he which dwelt with us before on earth, is now ascended up into heaven, and hath taken his mansion or habitation there; and so hath he seated himself, and dwelleth in the highest heavens¹.

Again, the notion of *sitting* implieth rest, quietness, and indisturbance; according to that promise in the prophet, *They shall sit every man under his fig-tree, and none shall make them afraid*. So *Christ* is ascended into heaven, where, resting from all pains and sorrows, he is seated free from all disturbance and opposition; God having placed him at his right hand, until he hath made his enemies his footstool.

Thirdly, This *sitting* implieth yet more than quietness or continuance, even dominion², sovereignty, and majesty; as when Solomon sat in the throne of his father, he reigned over Israel after the death of his father. And thus *Christ* is set down at the right hand of the throne of God. And St Paul did well interpret those words of the prophet, *Sit thou on my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool*, saying, *He must reign till he hath put all enemies under his feet*.

Fourthly, This *sitting* doth yet more properly and particularly imply the right of judicature, and so especially expresseth a king, that sitteth in the throne of judgment; as it is written, *In mercy shall the throne be established, and he shall sit upon it in truth, in the tabernacle of David, judging and seeking judgment, and hasting righteousness*. And so *Christ* sitting at the right hand of God is manifested and

Nec tamen hic tanquam allegorice aliquid significatum, quod non fieret, sed intelligeretur, cogendi sumus accipere, sed potius agnoscere locutionem Scripturarum, ubi Sessionem pro habitatione et commoratione ponit. Non enim quia dictum est de Semei, quod *sederet in Hierusalem annos tres*, ideo putandum est, per totum illud tempus in sella sedisse et non surrexisse. Hinc et sedes dicuntur, ubi habent commorationem quorum sedes sunt; habitatio quippe hoc nomen accepit. *Quæst. super Levit. 24.* [Tom. III. p. 374 c.] (p. 500.) And this is as familiar with the Latins as the Hebrews. 'Qui (venti) ei essent nos Corycæ non sederemus.' *Cic. Epist. ad Fam. l. xvi. Ep. 7.* 'Id (præsidium) horreum fuit Pœnis seden-

tibus ad Trehiam.' *Liv. l. xxi. c. 48.*

¹ 'Sedet ad dextram Patris, credite. Sedere, intelligite habitare; quomodo dicimus de quocunque homine, in illa patria sedit per tres annos. Dicit illud et Scriptura, sedisse quandam in civitate tantum tempus. Numquid sedit, et nunquam surrexit? Ideo hominum habitationes sedes dicuntur. Ubi habitantur sedes, numquid semper sedetur, non surgitur, non ambulatur, non jacetur? Et tamen sedes vocantur. Sic ergo credite habitare Christum in dextra Dei Patris: ibi est.' *S. August. de Symb. ad Catech. l. i. [c. 4. § 11. Tom. VI. p. 403 E.]* (p. 553.)

² 'Ipsam verbum *sedere* regni significat potestatem.' *S. Hier. Com. ad Eph. i. 20. col. 335.* (Tom. VII. 565 D.)

declared to be the great Judge of the quick and the dead¹. Thus to *sit* doth not signify any peculiar inclination or flexion, any determinate location or position of the body, but to be in heaven with permanence of habitation, happiness of condition, regal and judiciary power; as in other authors such significations are usual².

280 The importance of the language being thus far improved, at last we find the substance of the doctrine, which is, that sitting at the right hand of God was our Mediator's solemn entry upon his regal office, as to the execution of that full dominion which was due unto him. For *worthy is the Lamb* Rev. v. 12. *that was slain, to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honour, and glory, and blessing.* Wherefore *Christ* after his death and resurrection saith, *All power* Matt. xxviii. 18. Phil. ii. 9-10. *is given unto me in heaven and in earth.* For because *he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross, therefore God also hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name: that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth.* And this obedience and submission was and is due unto him, because God *raised him from the dead, and set him at his own right hand* Eph. i. 20-21. *in the heavenly places, far above all principality and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not*

¹ 'Sedere quod dicitur Deus, non membrorum positionem, sed judicariam significat potestatem, qua illa Majestas nunquam caret, semper digna dignis tribuendo; quamvis in extremo judicio multo manifestius inter homines Unigeniti Dei Filii Judicis vivorum et mortuorum clarius indubitata futura sit.' *S. August. de Fide et Symb.* cap. 7. 'Hoc quod Filius dicitur sedere ad dextram Patris, demonstratur quod ipse homo, quem suscepit Christus, potestatem acceperit judicantis.' *Auctor.* l. iii. *de Symb. ad Catech.* § 7. [Tom. vi. p. 422 B.] (p. 573.)

² Most anciently *sedere* did signify no more than *esse*, to be in any place; as *Servius* noteth on that place of *Virgil, Æneid.* ix. 3.

Luco tum forte parentis
Pitumni Turnus sacra talle sedebat.

Sedebat, ut *Asper* dicit, *erat*. Quæ clausula antiqua est, et de usu remota: and then he goes on to shew, that *sedere* is taken for that, which men were wont to do sitting: Secundum *Plautum* autem *sedere* est *consilium capere*, qui inducit in *Mostellaria* [Act. v. i. 45. 54.] servum dicentem, *Sine juxta aram sedeam et dabo meliora consilia.* Sed secundum augures *sedere* est augurium captare: Namque post designatas celi partes a sedentibus captabantur auguria. Quod et ipse supra ostendit latenter, inducens *Picem* solum sedentem, ut, *Æn.* vii. 187.

Parvaque sedebat

Succinctus trabes——

Quod est augurum, cum alios stantes induxerit. Ergo *sedebat*, aut *erat*, aut *consilia capiebat*, aut *augurabatur*.

only in this world, but also in that which is to come, and hath put all things under his feet: and gave him to be the head over all things to the church.

There was an express promise made by God to David,
2 Sam. vii. 16. *Thine house and thy kingdom shall be established for ever before thee, thy throne shall be established for ever.* This promise strictly and literally taken was but conditional; and
Psalm. cxxxii. 12. *the condition of the promise is elsewhere expressed, Of the fruit of thy body will I set upon thy throne. If thy children will keep my covenant and my testimony that I shall teach them, their children shall also sit upon thy throne for evermore.* Notwithstanding this promise, the kingdom of David was intercepted, nor was his family continued in the throne: part of the kingdom was first rent from his posterity, next the regality itself; and when it was restored, translated to another family: and yet we cannot say the promise was not made good, but only ceased in the obligation of a promise, because the condition was not performed. The posterity of David did not keep the covenant and testimony of their God, and therefore the throne of David was not by an uninterrupted lineal succession established to perpetuity.

But yet in a larger and better sense, after these inter-cisions, the throne of David was continued. When they had sinned, and lost their right unto the crown, the kingdom was to be given unto him who never sinned, and consequently could never lose it; and he being of the seed of David, in him the throne of David was without interception or succession continued. Of him did the angel Gabriel speak at his
Luke i. 32, 33. *conception, The Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David, and he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever, and of his kingdom there shall be no end.* Thus the throne of Christ is called the throne of David, because it was promised unto David, and because the kingdom of David was a type, resemblance, and representation of it; insomuch that Christ himself, in respect of this kingdom, is often called David, as particularly in that promise, *I will set up one shepherd over them, and he shall feed them, even my servant David; he shall feed them, and he shall be their shepherd. And I the Lord will be their God, and my servant David a prince among them.*
Jer. xxx. 9. Ezek. xxxvii. 24, 25. Hos. iii. 5. Ezek. xxxiv. 23, 24.
1 Sam. xvi. 12. Now as David was not only first designed, but also anointed king over Israel, and yet had no possession of the

crown; seven years he continued anointed by Samuel, and had no share in the dominion; seven years after he continued anointed in Hebron only king over the tribe of Judah; at ^{2 Sam. II. 4} last he was received by all the tribes, and so obtained full and absolute regal power over all Israel, and seated himself in the royal city of Jerusalem: so *Christ* was born King of the Jews, and the conjunction of his human nature with his divine, in the union of his person, was a sufficient unction
 281 to his regal office, yet as the Son of man he exercised no such dominion, professing that his *kingdom was not of this world*; ^{John xviii. 36.} but after he rose from the dead, then, as it were in Hebron with his own tribe, he tells the apostles, *all power is given unto him*; and by virtue thereof gives them injunctions; and ^{Matt. xxviii. 18.} at his ascension he enters into the Jerusalem above, and there sits down at the right hand of the throne of God, and so makes a solemn entry upon the full and entire dominion over all things; then could St Peter say, *Let all the house of Israel know assuredly, that God hath made that same Jesus, whom ye have crucified, both Lord and Christ.* ^{Acts II. 36.}

The immediate effect of this regal power, the proper execution of this office, is the subduing of all his enemies; for he is *set down on the right hand of God, from henceforth expecting till his enemies be made his footstool.* ^{Heb. x. 12. 13.} This was the ancient custom of the Oriental conquerors, to tread upon the necks of their subdued enemies; as when Joshua had the five kings as his prisoners, he *said unto the men of war which went with him, Come near, put your feet upon the necks of them.* ^{Josh. x. 24.} Thus, to signify the absolute and total conquest of *Christ*, and the dreadful majesty of his throne, all his enemies are supposed to lie down before him, and he [to] set his feet upon them.

The enemies of *Christ* are of two kinds, either temporal or spiritual; the temporal enemies I call such as visibly and actually oppose him and his apostles, and all those which profess to believe in his name. Such especially and principally were the Jews, who rejected, persecuted, and crucified him; who, after his resurrection, scourged, stoned, and despitefully used his disciples; who tried all ways and means imaginable to hinder the propagation, and dishonour the profession, of Christianity. A part of his regal office was to subdue these enemies, and he sat down on the right hand of

God, that they might be made his footstool: which they suddenly were, according to his prediction, *There be some standing here, which shall not taste of death, till they see the Son of man coming in his kingdom.* For within few years the temple, the city, and the whole polity of the Jews, were destroyed for ever in a revenging manner by the hands of the Romans, which they made use of to crucify the Lord of life. The Romans themselves were the next enemies, who first complied with the Jews in *Christ's* crucifixion, and after, in defence of their heathen deities, endeavoured the extirpation of Christianity by successive persecutions. These were next to be made the footstool of the King of kings; and so they were, when Rome the regnant city, the head of that vast empire, was taken and sacked; when the Christians were preserved, and the heathens perished; when the worship of all their idols ceased, and the whole Roman empire marched under the banner of Christianity. In the same manner all those persons and nations whatsoever, which openly oppose and persecute the name of *Christ*, are enemies unto this King, to be in due time subdued under him, and when he calleth, to be slain.

The spiritual enemies of this King are of another nature; such as by an invisible way made opposition to *Christ's* dominion, as sin, Satan, death. Every one of these hath a kingdom of its own, set up and opposed to the kingdom of *Christ*. The apostle hath taught us, that *sin hath reigned unto death*; and hath commanded us not to *let it reign in our mortal bodies, that we should obey it in the lusts thereof*. There is therefore a dominion and kingdom of sin set up against the throne of the immaculate Lamb. Satan would have been like the Most High, and, being cast down from heaven, hath erected his throne below; he is *the prince of this world: the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience is the prince of the power of the air*; and thus *the rulers of the darkness of this world oppose themselves to the true Light of the world*. Death also hath its dominion, and, as the apostle speaks, *reigned from Adam to Moses; even by one offence death reigned by one*, and so set up a ruling and a regal power against the *Prince of life*.

For the destruction of these powers was *Christ* exalted to the right hand of God, and by his regal office doth he subdue and destroy them all. And yet this destruction is

not so universal, but that sin, Satan, and death, shall still continue. It is true he shall *put down all rule, and authority, and power*, but this amounts not so much to a total destruction, as to an absolute subjection: for as he is *able*, so will he *subdue all things unto himself*. The principal end of the regal office of the Mediator, is the effectual redemption and actual salvation of all those whom God hath given him; and whosoever or whatsoever opposeth the salvation of these, is by that opposition constituted and become an enemy of *Christ*. And because this enmity is grounded upon that opposition, therefore so far as any thing opposeth the salvation of the sons of God, so far it is an enemy, and no farther: and consequently *Christ*, by sitting at the right hand of God, hath obtained full and absolute power utterly to destroy those three spiritual enemies, so far as they make this opposition; and farther than they do oppose, they are not destroyed by him, but subdued to him: whatsoever hindereth and obstructeth the bringing of his own into his kingdom, for the demonstration of God's mercy, is abolished; but whatsoever may be yet subservient to the demonstration of his justice is continued.

Christ then as king destroyeth the power of sin in all those which belong unto his kingdom, annihilating the guilt thereof by the virtue of his death, destroying the dominion thereof by his actual grace, and taking away the spot thereof by grace habitual. But in the reprobate and damned souls the spot of sin remaineth in its perfect dye, the dominion of sin continueth in its absolute power, the guilt of sin abideth in a perpetual obligation to eternal pains: but all this in subjection to his throne, the glory of which consisteth as well in punishing rebellion as rewarding loyalty.

Again, *Christ* sitting on the right hand of God destroyeth all the strength of Satan and the powers of hell: by virtue of his death perpetually represented to his Father, *he destroyeth him that had the power of death, that is, the devil*. But the actual destruction of these powers of darkness hath reference only to the elect of God. In them he preventeth *the wiles*, those he taketh out of the snare; in them he destroyeth *the works*, those he preserveth from the condemnation of the devil. He freeth them here from the prevailing power of Satan by his grace; he freeth them hereafter from all possibility of any infernal opposition by his glory.

1 Cor. xv. 24.

Phil. iii. 21.

Heb. ii. 14.

 Eph. vi. 11.
 2 Tim. ii. 26.
 1 John iii. 8.
 1 Tim. iii. 6.

But still the reprobate and damned souls are continued slaves unto the powers of hell; and he which sitteth upon the throne delivereth them to the devil and his angels, to be tormented with and by them for ever: and this power of Satan still is left as subservient to the demonstration of the divine justice.

Thirdly, *Christ* sitting on the throne of God at last
 1 Cor. xv. 26. destroyeth death itself: for *the last enemy which shall be destroyed is death*. But this destruction reacheth no farther than removing of all power to hinder the bringing of all such persons as are redeemed actually by *Christ* into the full possession of his heavenly kingdom. He will ransom them from the power of the grave, he will redeem them from death. O death, he will be thy plague; O grave, he will be thy destruction. The trump shall sound, the graves shall open, the dead shall live, the bodies shall be framed again out of the dust, and the souls which left them shall be reunited to them, and all the sons of men shall return to life, and death shall
 283
 1 Cor. xv. 54. be swallowed up in victory. The sons of God shall then be made completely happy both in soul and body, never again to be separated, but to inherit eternal life. Thus he who
 2 Tim. i. 10. sitteth at the right hand of God, *hath abolished death, and brought life and immortality to light*. But to the reprobate and damned persons, death is not destroyed but improved. They rise again indeed to life, and so the first death is evacuated; but that life to which they rise is a second, and a far worse death. And thus *Christ* is set down at the right hand of God, that he might subdue all things to himself.

The regal power of *Christ*, as a branch of the Mediatorship, is to continue till all those enemies be subdued. For
 1 Cor. xv. 25. *he must reign till he hath put all enemies under his feet*.
 Heb. ii. 8. *But now we see not yet all things put under him*. Therefore he must still continue there: and this necessity is grounded upon the promise of the Father, and the expectation of the Son. *Sit thou on my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool*, saith the Father; upon which words we may ground as well the continuation as the session. Upon
 Psal. cx. 1. this promise of the Father, the Son *sat down at the right hand of God, from henceforth expecting till his enemies be made his footstool*. Being then the promise of God cannot be evacuated, being the expectation of *Christ* cannot be frustrated; it

followeth, that our Mediator shall exercise the regal power at the right hand of God, till all opposition shall be subdued.

When all the enemies of *Christ* shall be subdued, when all the chosen of God shall be actually brought into his kingdom, when those which refuse him to rule over them, shall be slain, that is, when the whole office of the Mediator shall be completed and fulfilled, then every branch of the execution shall cease. As therefore there shall no longer continue any act of the prophetic part to instruct us, nor any act of the priestly part to intercede for us, so there shall be no farther act of this regal power of the Mediator necessary to defend and preserve us. The beatifical vision shall succeed our information and instruction, a present fruition will prevent oblation and intercession, and perfect security will need no actual defence and protection. As therefore the general notion of a Mediator ceaseth when all are made one, because *a mediator is not a mediator of one*; so every part or branch of that mediatorship, as such, must also cease, because that unity is in all parts complete. *Then cometh the end, when he shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father, when he shall have put down all rule and all authority and power. For when all things shall be subdued unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subject unto him that hath put all things under him, that God may be all in all.* Gal. iii. 20. 1 Cor. xv. 24, 28.

Now though the mediatorship of *Christ* be then resigned, because the end thereof will then be performed; though the regal office as part of that mediatorship be also resigned with the whole; yet we must not think that *Christ* shall cease to be a king, or lose any of the power and honour which before he had¹. The dominion which he hath, was given him as a reward for what he suffered: and certainly the reward shall not cease when the work is done. He hath promised to make us kings and priests, which honour we expect in heaven, believing we shall *reign with him* for ever, and therefore for ever must believe him King. *The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of the Lord, and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever*; not only to the modiflicated eternity of his mediatorship, so long as there shall be

¹ 'Videamus an traditio regni defectio sit intelligenda regnandi; ut quod tradit Filius Patri, tradendo non teneat.' *S. Hilari. de Trin.* i. xi. § 29. [p. 1099 c.]

need of regal power to subdue the enemies of God's elect; but also to the complete eternity of the duration of his humanity, which for the future is coeternal to his Divinity.

Lest we should imagine that *Christ* should ever cease to 284 be King, or so interpret this Article, as if he were after the day of judgment to be removed from the right hand of God, the ancient Fathers added those words to the Nicene Creed, *whose kingdom shall have no end*¹, against the heresy which then arose, denying the eternity of the kingdom of *Christ*.

¹ Οὐ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος. We find not these words in the Nicene Creed, as it was in itself before the additions at Constantinople. But not long after, St Cyril expounds them in his Catechism, and Epiphanius in *Anacorato*, repeating two several Creeds, a shorter and a longer, § 120 and 121. [Tom. II. p. 122 D, 124 B.] hath these words in both. After this, they were added expressly in the Constantinopolitan Creed. And the reason of their insertion, without question, was that which St Cyril insinuateth in his Exposition, that is, the heresy which was then newly begun: *Κἄν ποτέ τις ἀκούσῃς λέγοντος, ὅτι τέλος ἔχει ἡ Χριστου βασιλεία, μίσῃσιν τὴν αἰρεσιν. τοῦ δράκοντός ἐστιν· ἄλλη κεφαλὴ προσφάτως περὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν ἀναφύεισα. ἐτόλμησέ τις λέγειν, ὅτι μετὰ τὸ τέλος τοῦ κόσμου ὁ Χριστὸς οὐ βασιλεύσει· καὶ ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι ὁ Λόγος ἐκ Πατρὸς ἐξεληθὼν, οὗτος εἰς Πατέρα πάλιν ἀναλυθεὶς οὐκέτι ἐστί. Catech. 15. [p. 390.] This was the particular heresy of Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra, followed by Photinus, born in the same place, and therefore termed by St Cyril, *περὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν ἀναφύεισα*. It consisted of two parts; first, that the kingdom of Christ did wholly cease at the end of this world: secondly, that the Word was resolved again into the Father, and consequently did not only cease to reign, but also cease to exist. Which is yet more plainly expressed by Eusebius in his second Book against Marcellus: Καὶ πάλιν, τοῦτον ἄνθρωπος παυσθήσεσθαι μετὰ τὸν τῆς κρίσεως καιρὸν, τοῦ μὲν Λόγου ἐνωμένου τῷ Θεῷ,*

ὡς μὴδὲν ἕτερον εἶναι πλὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ· τῆς δὲ σαρκὸς, ἧς ἀνείληφεν, ἐρήμῳ καταλειφθῆσομένης ὑπὸ τοῦ Λόγου, ὡς μήτε τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ ποτὲ ὑφίστασθαι, μήτε τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου δι' ἀνείληψε. c. 1. [p. 32 c.] This heresy of Marcellus, St Basil properly calls an impiety, *εἰς τὴν ὑπόστασιν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Epist. 78. (125. § 1. Tom. III. p. 215 B.)* And again *Epist. 52. (59. Tom. III. p. 162 B.)* *εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν ὑπαρξιν τῆς τοῦ μονογενοῦς θεότητος*: which he there more fully expresseth: "Ὁς (Μάρκελλος) Λόγον μὲν εἰρησθαι τὸν Μονογενῆ δίδωσι, κατὰ χρεῖαν καὶ ἐπὶ καιροῦ προελθόντα, πάλιν δὲ εἰς τὸν ὅθεν ἐξῆλθεν ἐπαναστρέψαντα, οὕτε πρὸ τῆς ἐξόδου εἶναι, οὕτε μετὰ τὴν ἐπάνοδον ὑφίστασθαι. This existence of the Word and the kingdom of the Son, that heresy made coeval; beginning when the Word came from the Father, that is, at the incarnation; and ending when the Word returned into the Father, that is, at the day of judgment. Which is manifestly delivered by the eastern bishops in that profession of faith, which they sent to those in Italy: 'Ἀλλ' ἐκ τότε Χριστὸν αὐτὸν γεγονέναι καὶ υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐξ οὗ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐκ τῆς παρθένου σάρκα ἀνείληψε, πρὸ τετρακοσίων ὧν ἐτώ. Ἐκ τότε γὰρ τὸν Χριστὸν ἀρχὴν βασιλείας ἐσχηκέναι θέλοναι, καὶ τέλος ἔχειν αὐτὴν μετὰ τὴν συντέλειαν καὶ κρίσιν. Τοιοῦτοι δὲ εἰσιν οἱ ἀπὸ Μαρκελλῶν καὶ Φωτεινοῦ τῶν Ἀγκυρογαλατῶν, οἱ τὴν προαίτιον ὑπαρξιν τε καὶ θεότητα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τὴν ἀτελεύτητον αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν ὁμοίως Ἰουδαίαις ἀθετοῦσιν, ἐπὶ προφάσει τοῦ σωσίστασθαι δοκεῖν

The profession of faith in *Christ*, as sitting on the right hand of God, is necessary; First, to mind us of our duty, which must needs consist in subjection and obedience. The majesty of a king claimeth the loyalty of a subject; and if we acknowledge his authority, we must submit unto his power. Nor can there be a greater incitation to obedience, than the consideration of the nature of his government. Subject we must be, whether we will or no: but if willingly, then is our service perfect freedom; if unwillingly, then is our averseness everlasting misery. Enemies we all have been¹; under his feet we shall be, either adopted or subdued. A double kingdom there is of *Christ*²; one of power, in which all are under him; another of propriety, in those which belong unto him: none of us can be excepted from the first; and happy are we, if by our obedience we shew ourselves to have an interest in the second, for then that kingdom is not only *Christ's* but ours.

Secondly, It is necessary to believe in *Christ* sitting on the right hand of God, that we might be assured of an auspicious protection under his gracious dominion. For God by his exaltation hath given our Saviour *to be the head over all things to the church*; and therefore from him we may expect

τὴν μοναρχίαν. *Socrat. Hist. Eccles.* l. ii. c. 19. [p. 82 c.] But although Marcellus did thus teach the kingdom of Christ not to be eternal, yet his heresy did not so much consist in the denial of this eternity, as of the subsistence and person of our Saviour: for otherwise he did truly teach that Christ was an eternal King; as appeareth out of his own words in his book against Asterius the Arian, cited by Eusebius: Οὐκοῦν ὅρον τινα δοκεῖ ἔχειν ἡ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον αὐτοῦ οἰκονομία τε καὶ βασιλεία; οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔτερον βούλεται ἡ τοῦτο τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀποστόλου ῥηθέν, ἕως ἂν θῇ τοὺς ἐχθρούς αὐτοῦ ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ; οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σχῇ ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν, οὐκ ἔτι χρήζει τῆς ἐν μέρει ταύτης βασιλείας, πάντων καθόλου βασιλεὺς ὑπάρχων. *Oppid. Marcell.* l. ii. c. 4. [p. 51 D.] And therefore he made the same confession with the Catholics, when he delivered an account of his faith to Julius, bishop of Rome: Π-

στεῦ δὲ ἐπόμενος ταῖς θέλαις γραφαῖς, ὅτι εἰς Θεός, καὶ ὁ τοῦτου μονογενὴς Υἱὸς Λόγος ὁ δὲ συνπαρῶν τῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ μηδεπώποτε ἀρχὴν τοῦ εἶναι ἐσχχικώς, ἀληθῶς ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων, οὐ κτισθείς, οὐ ποιηθείς, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ ὢν, αἰεὶ συμβασιλεύων τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρὶ, οὐ τῆς βασιλείας, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἀποστόλου μαρτυρίαν, οὐκ ἔσται τέλος. *S. Epiphani. Hæres.* lxxii. § 2. [Tom. I. p. 835 D.]

¹ 'Inimicus eras; eris sub pedibus ejus, aut adoptatus aut victus.' *S. August. in Psal.* cix. § 9. [Tom. IV. p. 925 E.] (p. 1234.)

² Βασιλείας τοῦ Θεοῦ δύο αἰδεν ἡ γραφή, τὴν μὲν κατ' οἰκείωσιν, τὴν δὲ κατὰ δημιουργίαν; βασιλεύει μὲν γὰρ ἀπάντων καὶ Ἑλλήνων καὶ Ἰουδαίων καὶ δαιμόνων καὶ τῶν ἀντιτεταγμένων, κατὰ τὸν τῆς δημιουργίας λόγον; βασιλεύει δὲ τῶν πιστῶν καὶ ἐκόντων καὶ υποταγμένων, κατὰ τὸν τῆς οικειώσεως. *S. Chrysost. Hom.* 39. in 1. ad Corinth. [§ 6. Tom. X. p. 371 E.]

direction and preservation. There can be no illegality, where *Christ* is the lawgiver; there can be no danger from hostility, where the Son of God is the defender. The very name of *head* hath the signification not only of dominion but of union¹; and therefore while we look upon him at the right hand of God, we see ourselves in heaven. This is the special promise which he hath made us, since he sat down there; *To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me in my throne, even as I also overcame, and am set down with my Father in his throne.* How should we rejoice, yea rather how should we fear and tremble, at so great an honour²!

Rev. iii. 21.

Heb. vii. 1, 2.

Heb. x. 11, 12.

Heb. ix. 24.

1 John ii. 1.

Heb. vii. 25.

Rom. viii. 33, 34.

Thirdly, the belief of *Christ's* glorious session is most necessary in respect of the immediate consequence, which is his most gracious intercession. Our Saviour is ascended as the true Melchisedech, not only as the *King of Salem*, the *King of peace*, but also as the *priest of the most high God*; and whereas *every priest*, according to the Law of Moses, *stood daily ministering and offering oftentimes the same sacrifices, which could never take away sins*; this man, after he had offered one sacrifice for sins, for ever sat down on the right hand of God. And now *Christ* being set down in that power and majesty, though the sacrifice be but once offered, yet the virtue of it is perpetually advanced by his session, which was founded on his passion: for he is entered into heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God for us. Thus, *If any man sin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous.* And he is able also to save them to the uttermost that come unto God by him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them. What then remaineth to all true believers but that triumphant exclamation of the apostle, *Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? It is God that*

¹ This is the exclamation of St Chrysostom, upon those words of St Paul: Βαβαί, πού πάλιν καὶ τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν ἀνῆγαγεν; ὥστερ διὰ τῆς ἑλκων μηχανῆς, εἰς ὕψος αὐτὴν ἀνῆγαγε μέγα, καὶ αὐτὴν ἐκάθισεν εἰς ἐκείνων τὸν θρόνον· ἔθθα γὰρ ἡ κεφαλὴ, ἐκεῖ καὶ τὸ σῶμα. οὐδενὶ γὰρ μέσῳ διέργεται ἡ κεφαλὴ καὶ τὸ σῶμα· εἰ γὰρ διέργεται, οὐκ ἂν εἴη σῶμα, οὐκ ἂν εἴη κεφαλὴ. Hom. 3. in Epist. ad Ephes. [§ 2. Tom. xi. p. 19 D.]

² Ἐννοεὶ τὸν θρόνον τὸν βασιλικόν, ἐννοεὶ τῆς τιμῆς τὴν ὑπερβολικὴν τοῦτο καὶ γέννησι, εἶπε βουλομένη, μᾶλλον ἡμᾶς φοβῆσαι δυσήσεται. Εἰ γὰρ μὴ γέννησι ἦν, τὸ τιμηθέντας τοσαύτην τιμὴν ἀναξίους εὐρεθῆναι καὶ κακοῦς, τίνα οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι κόλασιν; τίνα τιμωρίας; ἐπότησαν τίνας ἐγγυὲς ἡ κεφαλὴ σου κάθεται (τοῦτο μόνον καὶ ἀπὸχρη πρὸς πᾶν ὁτιοῦν), τίνας ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔθεται. Idem, ibidem. [§ 3. p. 20 F.]

justifieth. Who is he that condemneth? It is Christ that died, yea rather, that is risen again, who is even at the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us. For he which was accepted in his oblation, and therefore sat down on God's right hand, to improve this acceptation continues his intercession; and having obtained all power by virtue of his humiliation, representeth them both in a most sweet commixtion; by an humble omnipotency, or omnipotent humility, appearing in the presence, and presenting his postulations at the throne of God¹.

Having thus explicated the session of our Saviour, we are next to consider the description of him at whose right hand he is set down; which seems to be delivered in the same terms with which the CREED did first begin, *I believe in God the Father Almighty*: and indeed, as to the expression of his essence, it is the same name of *God*; as to the setting forth his relation, it is the same name of *Father*: but as to the adjoining attribute, though it be the same word, it is not the same notion of *Almighty*. What therefore we have
286 spoken of the nature of *God*, and the person of the *Father*, is not here to be repeated, but supposed; for *Christ* is set down at the right hand of that *God* and of that *Father*, which we understand when we say, *I believe in God the Father*. But because there is a difference in the language

¹ St Augustin, discoursing upon that place of St Paul, 1 Tim. ii. 1. *I exhort that first of all, supplications, prayers, and intercessions, be made for all men*, observeth what is the nature of intercession: 'Pro interpellationibus autem quod nostri habent, secundum codices credo vestros postulationes posuisti. Hæc interim duo, id est, quod alii postulationes, alii interpellationes interpretati sunt, unum verbum transferre voluerunt, quod Græcus habet *ἐκτρέφει*. Et profecto advertis: et nostri aliud esse interpellare, aliud postulare. Non enim solemus dicere, postulant interpellaturi, sed interpellant postulaturi. Veruntamen ex vicinitate verbum usurpatum, cui propinquitas ipsa impetrat intellectum, non est velut censoria notatione eupandum. Nam et de ipso Domino Jesu Christo dictum

est, quod interpellat pro nobis. Numquidnam interpellat, et non etiam postulat? Imo vero quia postulat, pro eo positum est, *interpellat*. Evidenter quippe alibi de eo dicitur, *Et si quis peccaverit, Advocatum habemus apud Patrem, Jesum Christum justum, et ipse est exoratio pro peccatis nostris*. Quamquam fortassis codices apud vos etiam in eo loco de Domino Jesu Christo non habent *interpellat pro nobis*, sed *postulat pro nobis*. In Græco enim, quo verbo hic positæ sunt *interpellationes*, quas ipse posuisti *postulationes*, ipsum et illic verbum est, ubi scriptum est, *interpellat pro nobis*. Cum igitur et qui precatur oret, et qui orat precetur, et qui interpellat Deum, ad hoc interpellet, ut oret et precetur, &c.' *Epist. lix. ad Paulinum, Quæst. 5. § 14.* [Ep. 149. § 14. 15. Tom. II. p. 3857.] (p. 508.)

of the Greeks between the word which is rendered *Almighty*¹ in the first Article, and that which is so rendered in the sixth; because that peculiarly signifieth authority of dominion, this more properly power in operation; therefore we have reserved this notion of omnipotency now to be explained.

In which, two things are observable; the propriety, and the universality; the propriety in the potency, the universality in the omnipotency; first, That he is a God of power; secondly, That he is a God of infinite power. The potency consisteth in a proper, innate, and natural force or activity, by which we are assured that God is able to act, work, and produce true and real effects, which do require a true and real power to their production: and in respect of this he is often described unto us under the notion of a *mighty* God. The omnipotency or infinity of this power consisteth in an ability to act, perform, and produce, whatsoever can be acted or produced, without any possibility of impediment or resistance: and in this respect he is represented to us as an *Almighty* God. And therefore such an omnipotency we ascribe unto him: which is sufficiently delivered in the Scriptures, first by
 Luke i. 37. the testimony of an angel, *for with God nothing shall be impossible*; secondly, by the testimony of *Christ* himself,
 Mark x. 27. who said, *With men it is impossible, but not with God; for with God all things are possible*. Now he, to whom all things are possible and to whom nothing is impossible, is truly and properly omnipotent. Thus whatsoever doth not in itself imply a repugnancy of being or subsisting hath in reference to the power of God, a possibility of production: and whatsoever, in

¹ In the first Article it is Παντοκράτωρ, in the sixth Πανοδύναμος. Page 46. And this distinction is very material, and much observed by the Greeks: as Dionysius Areopagita (whoever that is) in his book *De Divinis Nominibus*, in the 8th chapter, explicates the δυναμις, or παντοδύναμος, and in the 10th chapter παντοκράτωρ, as two distinct names with different notions of God. Of the Παντοκράτωρ, which we have already considered, he gives this account: Τὸ μὲν γὰρ λέγεται, διὰ τὸ πάντων αὐτὸν εἶναι παντοκρατορικῇ ἐξουσίᾳ, συνέχουσιν καὶ περιέχουσιν τὰ ὅλα, καὶ ἐνδρύνουσιν

καὶ θεμελιόουσιν καὶ περισφίγγουσιν, καὶ ἀρραγῆς ἐν αὐτῇ τὸ πᾶν ἀποτελοῦσαν, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς τὰ ὅλα, καθάπερ ἐκ ῥίζης παντοκρατορικῆς προέχουσιν, καὶ εἰς αὐτὴν τὰ πάντα καθάπερ εἰς πυθμένα παντοκρατορικὸν ἐπιστρέφουσιν, καὶ συνέχουσιν αὐτὰ, ὡς πάντων ἐξουσίᾳ παγκρατῇ, τὰ συνεχόμενα πάντα κατὰ μίαν ὑπερέχουσιν πάντα συνοχῇ ἀσφαλίστομένη, καὶ οὐκ ἔωσαν αὐτὰ διεκπεσόντα αὐτῆς, ὡς ἐκ παντελοῦς ἐστίας κινούμενα, παραπολεσθαι. c. x. § 1. [Tom. i. p. 828.] But of the δυναμις he gives another account, as we shall see hereafter.

respect of the power of God, hath an impossibility of production must involve in itself a repugnancy or contradiction.

This truth, though confessed by the heathens, hath yet been denied by some of them; but with poor and insufficient arguments¹, that we shall need no more than an explication of the doctrine to refute their objections.

First, then, we must say God is *omnipotent*, because all power, whatsoever is in any creature, is derived from him; and well may he be termed *Almighty*, who is the fountain of all might. There is no activity in any agent, no influence of any cause, but what dependeth and proceedeth from the principal Agent or the first of causes. There is nothing in the whole circumference of the universe but hath some kind of activity, and consequently some power to act² (for nothing can be done without a power to do it): and as all their entities flow from the first of beings, so all their several and various powers flow from the first of powers: and as all their beings cannot be conceived to depend of any but an infinite essence, so all those powers cannot proceed from any but an infinite power.

Secondly, God may be called *omnipotent*, because there can be no resistance made to his power, no opposition to his

¹ The arguments which the heathen used, are but briefly touched by Plutarch, but were more largely delivered by Pliny. 'Αρηρήσθω γάρ (φησιν) ὁ ποιητικὸς λήρος, σὺν Καλλιμάχῳ τῷ λέγοντι,

— Εἰ Θεὸν οἶσθα

ἴσθ' ὅτι καὶ μέγας δαίμων πᾶν δύνατον.

(so it must be read) οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς δύναται πᾶν ποιεῖν. Ἐπεὶ τοιγε, εἰ Θεὸς ἐστι, ποιεῖτω τὴν χίωνα μέλαιναν, τὸ δὲ πῦρ ψυχρόν, τὸ δὲ καθήμενον ὀρθόν, καὶ τὸ ἐναντίον. Plutarch. de Plac. Philos. l. i. c. 7. [Tom. iv. par. 2. p. 88o F.] 'Imperfectæ vero in homine naturæ præcipua solatia, ne Deum quidem posse omnia. Namque nec sibi potest mortem consciscere, si velit, quod homini dedit optimum in tantis vitæ pœnis; nec mortales æternitate donare, aut revocare defunctos; nec facere ut qui vixit non vixerit, qui honores gessit non gesserit, nullumque habere in præterita jus præterquam oblivionis: atque (ut facietis quoque argumentis

societas hæc cum Deo copuletur) ut bis dena viginti non sint, ac multa similiter efficere non posse, per quæ declaratur haud dubie naturæ potentia, idque esse quod Deum vocamus.' Plin. Nat. Hist. l. ii. c. 7. [Tom. i. p. 85.] Add unto these that objection of Elymas the sorcerer, recorded by Dionysius Areopagita: Καίτοι φησιν Ἐλύμας δ μάγος, Εἰ παντοδύναμὸς ἐστὶν ὁ Θεός, πῶς λέγεται τι μὴ δύνασθαι πρὸς τοῦ καθ' ὑμᾶς θεολόγου; Λαϊδορεῖται δὲ τῷ θεῷ Παῦλος φήσαντι, μὴ δύνασθαι τὸν Θεὸν ἐαυτὸν ἀρῆσασθαι. De Divinis Nominiibus, c. 8. [Tom. i. § 5. p. 777.]

² Ἡ ἀπειροδύναμος τοῦ Θεοῦ δ. ἰδοὺς εἰς πάντα τὰ ὅσα χωρεῖ, καὶ οὐδέν ἐστι τῶν ὄντων ὃ παντελῶς ἀφῆρηται τὸ ἔχειν τινα δύναμιν, ἀλλ' ἡ νοερὰν, ἡ λογικὴν, ἡ αἰσθητικὴν, ἡ ζωτικὴν, ἡ οὐσιώδη δύναμιν, ἔχει. Καὶ αὐτὸ δέ, εἰ θέμις εἰπεῖν, τὸ εἶναι δύναμιν, εἰς τὸ εἶναι ἔχει παρὰ τῆς ὑπερουσίου δυνάμεως. Dionys. Areopag. De Divin. Nom. c. 8. § 3. [Tom. i. p. 775.]

Isai. xiv. 27. will, no rescue from his hands¹. *The Lord of hosts hath purposed, and who shall disannul it? His hand is stretched out, and who shall turn it back? He doth according to his will in the army of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth: and none can stay his hand, or say unto him, What doest thou?* According to the degrees of power in the agent and the resistant, is an action performed or hindered: if there be more degrees of power in the resistant than in the agent, the action is prevented; if fewer, it may be retarded or debilitated, not wholly hindered or suppressed. But if there be no degree of power in the resistant in reference to the agent, then is the action totally vigorous; and if in all the powers, beside that of God, there be not the least degree of any resistance, we must acknowledge that power of his, being above all opposition, to be infinite. As Jehoshaphat said, 2 Chron. xx. 6. *In thine hand, O God, is there not power and might, so that none is able to withstand thee?* From hence there is no difficulty with God to perform any thing: no greater endeavour or activity to produce the greatest than the least of creatures; but an equal facility in reference unto all things: which cannot be imagined but by an infinite excess of power, above and beyond all resistance².

Thirdly, God is yet more properly called *omnipotent*, because his own active power extendeth itself to all things³; neither is there any thing imaginably possible, which he cannot do. Thus when God several ways had declared his power unto Job, Job answered the Lord, and said, *I know that thou canst do every thing*. Now that must needs be infinite activity, which answereth to all kinds of possibility. Thus the power of God is infinite extensively, in respect of its object, which is all things; for whatsoever effects there be of his power, yet still there can be more produced: intensively, in respect of the action, or perfection of the effect produced; for whatsoever addition of perfection is possible, is within the sphere of God's omnipotency. The object then of the power

¹ 'Neque enim ob aliud veraciter vocatur omnipotens, nisi quoniam quicquid vult potest; nec voluntate cujuspiam creature voluntatis omnipotentis impeditur effectus.' *S. August. Enchir. ad Laur.* c. 96. [Tom. VI. p. 170 B.] (p. 231.)

² 'Nisi omnipotens esset, non una eademque facilitate summa atque imae fecisset.' *Fulgent. de Fide ad Petrum*, c. 3. [p. 97 H.] (p. 511.)

³ 'Quis est omnipotens nisi qui omnia potest?' *S. August. de Trin.* l. iv. c. 20. § 27. [Tom. VIII. p. 586 F.] (p. 828.)

of God is whatsoever is simply and absolutely possible, whatsoever is in itself such as that it may be; and so possible every thing is, which doth not imply a contradiction. Again, whatsoever implieth a contradiction is impossible, and therefore is not within the object of the power of God, because impossibility is the contradiction of all power. For that is said to imply a contradiction, which if it were, it would necessarily follow, that the same thing would be and not be. But it is impossible for the same thing both to be and not to be, at the same time and in the same respect: and therefore whatsoever implieth a contradiction, is impossible. From whence it followeth, that it may be truly said, God cannot effect that which involveth a contradiction, but with no derogation from his power: and it may be as truly said, God can effect whatsoever involveth not a contradiction, which is the expression of an infinite power.

288 Now an action may imply a contradiction two ways, either in respect of the object, or in respect of the agent. In respect of the object, it may imply a contradiction immediately or consequentially. That doth imply a contradiction immediately, which plainly and in terms doth signify a repugnancy and so destroys itself, as for the same thing to be and not to be, to have been and not to have been. And therefore it must be acknowledged, that it is not in the power of God to make that not to have been which hath already been¹: but that is no derogation to God's power, because not within the object of any power. And he may certainly have all power, who hath not that which belongeth to no power. Again, that doth imply a contradiction consequentially, which in appearance seemeth not to be impossible, but by necessary consequence, if admitted, leadeth infallibly to a contradiction. As that one

¹ Τὸ γεγονός οὐκ ἐνδέχεται μὴ γε-
νέσθαι· διὸ ὁρθῶς Ἀγάθων,

Μόνου γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ θεοῦ στερήσεται,
Ἀγένητα ποιεῖν ἄσπ' ἂν ἢ περπαγεῖνα.

Aristot. *Ethic. Eudem.* l. v. c. 2.

'Quisquis dicit, Si omnipotens est Deus, faciat ut quæ facta sunt, facta non fuerint; non videt hoc se dicere, Si omnipotens est, faciat ut ea quæ vera sunt, eo ipso quo vera sunt falsa sint.' *S. August. contra Faustum*, l. xxvi. c. 5. [Tom. viii. p. 309 D.] (p. 436.) It is granted therefore to be true, which

Pliny objects, *Nat. Hist.* l. ii. c. 7. [Tom. i. p. 85.] 'Ne Deum quidem posse—facere ut qui vixit non vixerit, qui honores gessit non gesserit;' as this proves nothing against omnipotency, because it is no act of possibility. Had the act objected been feasible, and God had not the power to effect it, then had he wanted some power, and consequently had not been omnipotent. But being it is not want of power in the agent, but of possibility in the object, it proveth no deficiency in God.

body should be at the same time in two distinct places, speaks no repugnancy in terms; but yet by consequence it leads to that which is repugnant in itself; which is, that the same body is but one body, and not but one. Being then a covert and consequential contradiction is as much and as truly a contradiction as that which is open and immediate, it followeth that it is as impossible to be effected, and therefore comes not under the power of God.

That doth imply a contradiction in respect of the agent, which is repugnant to his essential perfection; for being every action floweth from the essence of the agent, whatsoever is totally repugnant to that essence, must involve a contradiction as to the agent. Thus we may say, God cannot sleep, God cannot want, God cannot die¹; he cannot sleep, whose being is spiritual; he cannot want, whose nature is all-sufficient; he cannot die, who is essentially and necessarily existent. Nor can that be a diminution of his omnipotency, the contrary whereof would be a proof of his impotency, a demonstration of his infirmity. Thus it is *impossible for God to lie*², to whom we say nothing is impossible; and he who can do all things, *cannot deny himself*³. Because a lie is repugnant

Heb. vi. 18.

2 Tim. ii. 13.

¹ 'Neque enim et vitam Dei et præscientiam Dei sub necessitate ponimus, si dicamus, Necesse est Deum semper vivere et cuncta præscire; sicut nec potestas ejus minuitur, cum dicitur mori fallique non posse. Sic enim hoc non potest, ut potius, si posset, minoris esset utique potestatis. Recte quippe omnipotens dicitur qui tamen mori et falli non potest. Dicitur enim Omnipotens faciendo quod vult, non patiundo quod non vult: quod ei si accideret, nequaquam esset Omnipotens. Unde propterea quædam non potest, quia Omnipotens est.' *S. August. de Civ. Dei*, l. v. c. 10. [Tom. VII. p. 97 c.] (p. 125.) 'Nam ego dico quanta non possit. Non potest mori, non potest peccare, non potest mentiri, non potest falli. Tanta non potest; quæ si posset, non esset Omnipotens.' *Idem, de Tempore Sermon.* 119. al. 213. § 1. [Tom. v. p. 653 F.] (p. 938.)

² 'Nunquidnam mentitur Deus? Sed non mentitur: quia *impossible est*

mentiri Deum. Impossibile autem istud nunquidnam infirmitatis est? Non utique. Nam quomodo omnia potest, si aliquid efficere non potest? Quid ergo ei impossibile? Illud utique quod nature ejus contrarium est, non quod virtuti arduum. *Impossibile*, inquit, *est ei mentiri*, et impossibile istud non infirmitatis est, sed virtutis et majestatis; quia veritas non recipit mendacium, nec Dei virtus levitatis errorem.' *S. Ambros. Annot. in Num.* [Tom. I. p. 458 H.] 'Si volunt invenire quod Omnipotens non potest, habent prorsus; ego dicam, mentiri non potest. Credamus ergo quod potest, non credendo quod non potest.' *S. August. de Civ. Dei*, l. xxii. c. 25. [Tom. VII. p. 522 E.] (p. 693.)

³ This was the argument of Elymas the sorcerer before mentioned, to which Dionysius Areopagita gives this answer: 'Ἡ εὐνοῦς ἀπορροῖς ἐκπτώσις ἀληθείας ἐστίν· ἡ δὲ ἀλθῆεια ὅς ἐστι, καὶ ἡ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐκπτώσις τοῦ ὅτος ἐκπτώ-

to the perfection of veracity, which is essential unto God, as necessarily following from his infinite knowledge and infinite sanctity. We who are ignorant may be deceived; we who are sinful may deceive: but it is repugnant to that nature to be deceived, which is no way subject unto ignorance; it is contradictory to that essence to deceive, which is no way capable of sin. For as it is a plain contradiction to know all things and to be ignorant of any thing; so is it to know all things and to be deceived. As it is an evident contradiction to be infinitely holy and to be sinful; so is it to be infinitely holy and deceive. But it is impossible for any one to lie, who can neither deceive nor be deceived; therefore it is a manifest contradiction to say that God can lie, and consequently it is no derogation from his omnipotency, that he cannot. Whatsoever then God cannot do, whatsoever is impossible to him, doth not any way prove that he is not Almighty, but only shew that the rest of his attributes and perfections are as essential to him as his power; and as his power suffereth no resistance, so the rest of his perfections admit no repugnance.

· 289 Well therefore may we conclude him absolutely omnipotent, who, by being able to effect all things consistent with his per-

σις. Εἰ τοίνυν ἡ ἀλήθεια ὅν ἐστιν, ἡ δὲ ἀρρησις τῆς ἀληθείας τοῦ ὅτος ἐκπῶσις, ἐκ τοῦ ὅτος ἐκπεσεῖν ὁ Θεὸς οὐ δύναται· καὶ τὸ μὴ εἶναι οὐκ ἐστιν, ὡς ἂν τις φάη, τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι οὐ δύναται, καὶ τὸ μὴ εἰδέσθαι κατὰ στέρησιν οὐκ οἶδεν. *De Divin. Nom.* c. 8. § 6. [Tom. I. p. 778.] Φαμέν δὲ καὶ ὅτι οὐ δύναται αἰσχροῦ ὁ Θεός, ἐπεὶ ἐστὶ ὁ Θεὸς δυνάμενος μὴ εἶναι Θεός· εἰ γὰρ αἰσχρὸν τι δρᾷ ὁ Θεός, οὐκ ἐστὶ Θεός. *Orig. conl. Cels.* l. v. § 23. [Tom. I. p. 595 A.] Jobius gives this solution to the same objection: "Α φαμέν μὴ δύνασθαι τὸ θείων, ταῦτα τῶν μήτε ὄντων ἐστὶ, μήτε δυνατῶν ὄντων ὀφειστέον. ποῦ γὰρ ὀφείσθηκε τὸ ἀρῆσασθαι τὸν Θεὸν ἐαυτὸν, ἡ ἡ τροπή, ἡ ἡ τῆς ἀγαθότητος ἐκπῶσις, ἡ τῆς ἀλήθειαν ψεύδος γενέσθαι; Παντοδύναμος δὲ ὑμνεῖται καὶ λέγεται, ὡς τὰ τε πρέπωτα αὐτῷ καὶ σωτήρια τῶν δημιουργημάτων πάντα δυνάμενος, ἐτε βούλεται. *Jod. de Verb. Incarn.* l. iii. c. 13. *apud Photium in Biblioth.* [col. 587. 29.] Ο' Ἀπόστολος φησι περὶ τοῦ

Θεοῦ καὶ πατρός, 'Ἐν οἷς ἀδύνατον ψεύσασθαι Θεὸν' οὐκ ἀσθενεῖν τινα κατηγορῶν τῆς παγκρατοῦς δυνάμεως, ἀλλὰ μεγίστην βώμην, ὅτι ἀρεπιδεκτός ἐστι τοῦ ψεύδους ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας πατήρ. Καὶ ἀλλαχόσε δὲ ταύτην ὀχυρῶν τῆς ἐννοίας ἐφη, 'Ἐὰν ἀρρησώμεθα αὐτὸν, ἐκεῖνος πιστος μένει· ἀρῆσασθαι γὰρ ἐαυτὸν οὐ δύναται. Καὶ τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ ἀσθενείας ἐστὶν ἀπόδειξις, ἀλλ' ἀνυπερβλήτου ἰσχύος, ὅτι οὐκ ἐγχωρεῖ τὴν θέαν φύσιν ἐαυτὴν ἀρῆσασθαι. *Ibid. Pelus. Ep.* 335. l. iii. [p. 387 A.] Theodoret upon that place of St Paul, *It is impossible for God to lie*: Οὐκ ἀσθενεῖ τὸ ἀδύνατον, ἀλλὰ ἀγαν αὐτὸ δευκρὺς δυνατὸν. Οὕτω γάρ, φησί, ἐστὶν ἀληθές ὡς ἀδυνατὸν εἶναι ψεύδος ἐν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι ποτέ. Τὸ δυνατὸν ὅρα (ita lege, non ἀδύνατον οὐδὲ) τῆς ἀληθείας διὰ τοῦ ἀδυνατοῦ σημαίνεσθαι. *Dial.* iii. p. 123. And upon that, *He cannot deny himself*: Πάλιν οὐδὲ τὸ οὐ δύναται τῆς ἀπειρου δυνάμεως ὑπάρχει δηλωτικόν, &c. *Ibid.* p. 124.

fections, sheweth infinite ability¹: and by not being able to do any thing repugnant to the same perfections, demonstrateth himself subject to no infirmity or imbecility. And in this manner we maintain God's *omnipotency*, with the best and eldest, against the worst and latest, of the heathen authors².

Thus God is *omnipotent*, and God only. For if the powers of all things beside God be the power of God, as

¹ Theodoret, having proved that there were many things which fell not under the power of God, at last thus concludes: Πολλὰ τοῖσιν εὐρήκαμεν ἀδύνατα ὅσα τῷ παντοδυνάμῳ Θεῷ.—'Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ δυνηθῆναι τι τοῦτων, ἀπείρου δυνάμεως, οὐκ ἀσθενείας τεκμήριον· τὸ δὲ γε δυνηθῆναι, ἀδυναμίας δῆκονθεν, οὐ δυνάμεως.—'Ὅτι τοῦτων ἕκαστων τὸ ἀτρεπτον τοῦ Θεοῦ κηρύττει καὶ ἀναλολώτων. *Dial.* iii. p. 123. [Tom. iv. p. 123 B.] And Origen *cont. Cels.* gives this for the Christian's general rule: Δύναται καθ' ὑμᾶς πάντα ὁ Θεός, ὡς περ δυνάμενος, τοῦ Θεοῦ εἶναι, καὶ τοῦ ἀγαθῆς εἶναι, καὶ σοφὸς εἶναι οὐκ ἐξίσταται. l. iii. § 70. [Tom. i. p. 493 F.] And the words of Celsus, though ill intended, are yet very true: Αὐτὸς γὰρ (ὁ Θεός) ἐστὶν ὁ πάντων τῶν ὄντων λόγος, οὐδὲν οὐν οὐκ ἐκ παραλόγου οὐδὲ παρ' ἐαυτὸν ἐργάσασθαι. *Apud Orig.* l. v. § 14. And so Origen in his answer confesses: 'Ἀλλὰ καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς οὐδὲν οὐκ ἐκ παραλόγου οὐτε παρ' ἐαυτὸν ἐργάσασθαι ἐστὶν ὁ Θεός. *Ibid.* § 24. [Tom. i. p. 588 A.]

² It was the constant opinion of the most ancient heathens, as appeareth by Homer, who expresseth it plainly, *Odyss.* K. 305.

— Καλεῖν δέ τ' ὀρύσσειν
ἄνδρασι γε θνητοῖσι, θεοὶ δέ τε πάντα δύ-
ναται.

And the same sense is attributed to Linus, in a distich cited for his by Stobæus, Tit. 110. 1; but may rather be thought to have been made by some of the Pythagoreans. For this was the plain doctrine of Pythagoras, who taught his scholars to believe miracles, and to doubt of nothing said to be done by the gods, because all things were possible to them. Οὐ γὰρ εἶναι εἰ μὲν

δυνατὰ τῶν θεῶν, (vel potius τοῖς θεοῖς) τὰ δὲ ἀδύνατα, ὥς περ οἴεσθαι τοὺς σοφιστομένους, ἀλλὰ πάντα δυνατὰ· καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ ἡ αὐτὴ ἐστὶ τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, ὃ ἐκεῖνοι φασὶ μὲν εἶναι Διῶν, ἐστὶ μόντοι ἴσως ἐκείνων·

'Ελπεσθαι χρὴ πάντ'· ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἴστ' οὐδὲν ἄελπτον·
'Ἐφ' οὖν πάντα Θεῷ τελέσαι, καὶ ἀνέμνον οὐδέν.

Iamb. de Vit. Pythag. c. 28. [p. 117.]

So Epicharmus a disciple of Pythagoras: 'Ἀδύνατον οὐδὲν Θεῷ. *Ap. Grot. Excerpt. ex Trag. et Comæd. Gr.* p. 481. So *Pater Omnipotens*, and *Jupiter Omnipotens*, familiar in Virgil and the poets before and after him. These do far outweigh the authority in Plutarch, and that of Pliny, with the addition of Galen, who opposeth the opinion of the philosophers to that of Moses expressly, and to our Saviour obliquely: Οὐ γὰρ δὴ τὸ βουλευθῆναι τοιαύτας γενέσθαι μόνον ἦν ἀταρκες· οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰ τὴν πέτραν ἐξαίφνης ἐβελήσειεν ἀνθρώπων ποιήσαι, δυνατόν αὐτῷ. Which seems to be opposed to those words of our Saviour, *God is able to raise children unto Abraham out of these stones.* Καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν, καθ' ὃ τῆς Μωσέως δόξης ἦθ' ἡμετέρα καὶ Ἰδαίωτος καὶ ἡ τῶν ἄλλων παρ' Ἑλλήσιν ὁρθῶς μεταχειρισάμενων τοὺς περὶ φύσεως λόγους, διαφέρει. Τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἀρκεῖ, τὸ βουλευθῆναι τὸν Θεὸν κοσμήσαι τὴν ὄλην, ἡ δ' εὐθὺς κεκόσμηται· πάντα γὰρ εἶναι τῷ Θεῷ δυνατὰ νομίζει, κἂν εἰ τὴν τέφραν ἔκγονον ἢ βοῦν θέλοι ποιεῖν· ἡμεῖς δ' οὐχ οὕτω γνώσκομεν, ἀλλ' εἶναι γὰρ τινα λέγομεν ἀδύνατα φύσει, καὶ τοῖσιν μὴδ' ἐπιχειρεῖν ὅπως τὸν Θεόν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν γενέσθαι τὸ βέλτιον αἰρεῖσθαι. *De Usu Part.* l. xi. c. 14. [Tom. iv. p. 576 D.]

derived from him, and subordinate unto him, and his own power from whence that is derived can be subordinate to none, then none can be omnipotent but God.

Again, we say, that *God the Father is Almighty*; but then we cannot say, that the *Father only is Almighty*: for the reason why we say the *Father is Almighty*, is because he is *God*; and therefore we cannot say that *he only is Almighty*, because it is not true that *he only is God*¹. Who-soever then is *God*, hath the same reason and foundation of *omnipotency* which the *Father* hath, and consequently is to be acknowledged properly and truly *omnipotent* as the *Father* is. But we have already shewed that the Son of God is truly God; and shall hereafter shew that the Holy Ghost is also God, and that by the same nature by which the Father is God. The *Father* therefore is *Almighty*, because
 290 the *Father is God*; the *Son Almighty*, because the *Son is God*; and the *Holy Ghost Almighty*, because the *Holy Ghost is God*. The *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Ghost*, are *God*, by the same Divinity: therefore, the *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Ghost*, are *omnipotent* by the same *omnipotency*. The *Father* then is not called *Almighty* by way of exclusion, but is here mentioned with that attribute peculiarly, because the power of God answereth particularly to the right hand of God, as being the *right hand of power*². The *Father* therefore is here described by the notion of *Almighty*, to shew, that *Christ* having ascended into heaven, and being set down at the *right hand of God*, is invested with a greater power than he exercised before: and that power which was then actually conferred upon him, acknowledgeth no bounds or limits; but *all power* in the ultimate extent of its infinity is

¹ 'Non ergo quispiam audebit quamlibet creaturam sive coelestem sive terrestrem dicere Omnipotentem, nisi solam Trinitatem, Patrem scilicet et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum. Non enim cum dicimus nos credere in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem, sicut hæretici Ariani, negamus Filium Omnipotentem, aut Spiritum Sanctum.' *Auctor. Lib. de Symbolo ad Catechum.* l. ii. c. 3. [§ 7. *Augustin Op.* Tom. vi. p. 408 A.] (p. 558.)

² Nor is it unusual in other authors to make use of the word *omnipotens*,

rather in relation to the present occasion, than in reference to the person who is said to be omnipotent; as is observed by Servius upon that verse of Virgil, *Æneid.* ix. 625.

'Jupiter omnipotens, audacibus annue corptis.'

Hoc epitheton interdum ad gloriam Numinis ponitur, interdum ad causam dicentis. Namque hoc loco dicendo *omnipotens* ostendit eum etiam his, qui per se minus valent, præstare posse virtutem.'

Matt. xxviii.
18.

given unto him, who is set down on the right hand of him who is God the Father; and, being so, is therefore truly and properly Almighty.

Deut. x. 17.

Luke xii. 5.

It is necessary to profess belief in *God Almighty*; first, because the acknowledgment of his omnipotency begetteth that fear and reverence, submission and obedience, which is due unto his infinite Majesty. Our God is a *great God, a mighty, and a terrible*; therefore terrible because mighty. *I will forewarn you* (saith our Saviour) *whom ye shall fear: Fear him, which after he hath killed hath power to cast into hell; yea, I say unto you, fear him.* Three times we are commanded to fear, and one only reason rendered, but sufficient for a thousand fears, the power of him who is able eternally to punish us. God gave a general command to Abraham, and with it a powerful persuasion to obedience, when he said unto him, *I am the Almighty God; walk before me, and be thou perfect.* It was a rational advice which the apostle giveth us, *Humble yourselves under the mighty hand of God, that he may exalt you in due time.* And it is a proper incentive to the observation of the law of God, to consider that he is the *one Lawgiver, who is able to save and to destroy.*

Gen. xvii. 1.

1 Pet. v. 6.

Jam. iv. 12.

Secondly, the belief of God's *omnipotency* is absolutely necessary, as the foundation of our faith. All the miracles, which have been seen, were therefore wrought, that we might believe; and never miracle had been seen, if God were not omnipotent. The objects of our faith are beyond all natural and finite power; and did they not require an infinite activity, an assent unto them would not deserve the name of faith. If God were not *Almighty*, we should believe nothing; but being he is so, why should we disbelieve any thing? What can God propound unto us which we cannot assent unto, if we can believe that he is *omnipotent*?

¹ This was the argument which the Pythagoreans used, who believed many miraculous actions, which others looked upon as fabulous; because they would disbelieve nothing, which was referred to the Divine power: and the reason of that was, because they thought all things possible to God, as we shewed before. *Tῶν τοιούτων δὲ* (saith Iamblichus, having related several strange

actions, either fabulous or miraculous) *τῶν δοκούτων μυθικῶν ἀπορημονεύουσιν, ὡς οὐδὲν ἀπιστοῦντες ὅ τι ἂν εἰς τὸ θεῖον ἀνάγῃται*: and whereas others looked upon them as weak and simple people for giving credit to such fabulous relations: *πρὸς πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐχὶ αὐτοὺς εὐήθεϊς νομίζουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀπιστοῦντας.* Iambli. de Vit. Pythag. c. 28. [p. 117.]

Thirdly, It is not only necessary in matters of bare faith, and notions of belief, but in respect of the active and operative reliance upon the promises of God. This was the particular confidence of Abraham the father of the faithful, *who staggered not at the promise of God through unbelief: but was strong in faith, giving glory to God; and being fully persuaded that what he had promised, he was able also to perform.* Rom. iv. 20, 21.

291 The promises of God are therefore firm and sure, because he is both willing and able to perform them¹. We doubt or distrust the promises of men, either because we may fear they intend not to do what they have promised, or cannot do what they intend; in the first, we may suspect them because they are subject to iniquity; in the second, because they are liable to infirmity. But being God is of infinite sanctity, he cannot intend by breaking his promises to deceive us: therefore if he be also of infinite power, he must be able to perform what he intended; and consequently we can have no reason to distrust his promises. From whence every good Christian may say with the apostle, *I know whom I have believed, and I am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed unto him against that day.* 2 Tim. i. 12. I am assured that if I be a sheep, and hear my Saviour's voice, the powers of darkness and the gates of hell can never prevail against me; for it was the voice of the son of God, *My Father, which gave them me,* John x. 29. *is greater than all; and no man is able to pluck them out of my Father's hand.*

Lastly, The belief of God's *omnipotency* is necessary to give life to our devotions. We ask those things from heaven which none but God can give, and many of them such as, if God himself were not *Almighty*, he could not effect. And therefore in that form of prayer which Christ hath taught us, we conclude all our petitions unto the Father with that acknowledgment, *For thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory.* Matt. vi. 13. Nor can there be a greater encouragement in the midst of all our temptations, than that we are invited to call upon him in the day of trouble, *who is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think, according to the power that worketh in us.* Eph. iii. 20.

¹ 'In Dei promissis nulla est falsitas, quia in faciendis nulla omnipotentis est difficultas.' *Fulgentius, ad Monim. Lib. i. c. 12.* [p. 16 c.]

After this explication of our Saviour's *session*, we may conclude what every Christian ought, and may be supposed, to intend, when he maketh profession to believe, that *Christ is set on the right hand of God the Father Almighty*. For thereby he 'is conceived to declare thus much:

I assent unto this as a most infallible and necessary truth, that *Jesus Christ*, ascending into the highest heavens, after all the troubles and sufferings endured here for our redemption, did rest in everlasting happiness; he which upon earth had not a place to lay his head, did take up a perpetual habitation there, and sit down upon the throne of God, as a Judge, and as a King, according to his office of Mediator, unto the end of the world; according to that which he merited by his Mediatorship, to all eternity: which *hand of God the Father Almighty* signifieth an *omnipotent* power, able to do all things without any limitation, so they involve not a contradiction, either in themselves or in relation to his perfections. And thus I believe in *Jesus Christ*, who SITTETH AT THE RIGHT HAND OF GOD THE FATHER ALMIGHTY.

ARTICLE VII.

FROM THENCE HE SHALL COME TO JUDGE THE QUICK
AND THE DEAD¹.

THIS Article containeth in it four particular considerations, and no more; First, That *Christ*, who is gone from us, *shall come* again. Secondly, That the place from whence he shall then come, is the highest heaven, to which he first ascended, for *from thence he shall come*. Thirdly, That the end for which he shall come, and the action which he shall perform when he cometh, is *to judge*; for *from thence he shall come to judge*. Fourthly, That the object of that action, or the persons whom he shall judge, are all men, whether dead before, or then alive; for *from thence shall he come to judge the quick and the dead*.

For the illustration of the first particular, two things will be necessary, and no more; first, To shew that the promised *Messias* was to come again, after he once was come: secondly, To declare how our *Jesus* (whom we have already proved once to have come as the true *Messias*) did promise and assure us of a second coming.

That the *Messias* was to come again, was not only certainly, but copiously foretold: the Scriptures did often assure us of a second advent. As often as we read of his griefs and humility, so often we are admonished of his coming to suffer; as often as we hear of his power and glory, so often we are assured of his coming to judge. We must not fancy with the Jews, a double *Messias*, one the son of Joseph, the other of David; one of the tribe of Ephraim, the other of Judah: but we must take that for a certain truth, which they have made an occasion of their error; that the *Messias* is twice to come, once in all humility, to suffer and die, as they conceived of

¹ Or *from whence*; the Latins sometimes *inde*, sometimes *unde*. And the Greek is *θεν*, *unde*, both in the ancient MS. in Sir Robert Cotton's library, and in the Creed of Marcellus. But *ἐκείθεν ἐρχόμενον*, in the later MS. in Bene't College Library. Others neither *θεν*, nor *ἐκείθεν*, but *πάνω*, as Justin Martyr: *Ἡμεῖς ἐπέγνωμεν Χριστὸν Τὸν Θεοῦ σταυρωθέντα καὶ ἀναστάντα, καὶ ἀνεληλυθότα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, καὶ πάνω παραγενεσόμενον κριτὴν πάντων ἀπλῶς*

ἀνθρώπων μέχρι αὐτοῦ Ἄδδμ. Dial. cum Tryphone, p. 362. [419. 21. Thirby.] Others without *inde* or *unde*, only *venturus*, as the Nicene Creed, *Socrat.* l. i. 8. [p. 21 D.] *ἐρχόμενον κρίναι*, others *πάνω ἐρχόμενον*, *Constantin. Symb. Concil. Gen. T. i. p. 534.* or *ἔξωτα πάνω*, and Vincentius Fortunatus, leaving out *inde venturus*, hath only *judicaturus vivos et mortuos*. [*Expos. Symb.* p. 382 D.]

293 pleased God, then he should come in glory, according to the description in the prophet Daniel, *with the clouds of heaven*: whereas these two descriptions are two several predictions, and therefore must be both fulfilled. From whence it followeth, that, being *Christ* is already come, *lowly, and sitting upon an ass*, therefore he shall come gloriously *with the clouds of heaven*. For if both those descriptions cannot belong to one and the same advent, as the Jews acknowledge, and both of them must be true, because equally prophetical; then must there be a double advent of the same *Messias*, and so his second coming was foretold.

That our *Jesus*, whom we have already proved to have come once into the world as the true *Messias*, shall come the second time, we are most assured. We have the testimony of the angels, *This same Jesus, which is taken up from you* Acts i. 11. *into heaven, shall so come in like manner, as ye have seen him go into heaven*. We have the promise of *Christ* himself to his apostles: *If I go to prepare a place for you, I will* John xiv. 3. *come again and receive you unto myself: ye have heard how I said unto you, I go away, and come again unto you*. He it is which from the beginning was to come; that express prophecy so represented him, *The sceptre shall not depart* Gen. xlix. 10. *from Judah, ...until Shiloh come*: the name of *Shiloh* was obscure; but the notion of the *comer*, added to it, was most vulgar. According to this notion, once *Christ* came; and being gone, he keeps that notion still; he is to come again: *For yet a little while, and he that shall come, will come*. Heb. x. 37. Our *Jesus* then shall come; and not only so, but shall so come, as the *Messias* was foretold, after the same manner, in the same glory of the Father, as the *Son of man coming in his kingdom*. This was expressed in the prophetical vision by coming *with clouds*; and in the same manner shall our *Jesus* come: for, *Behold, he cometh with clouds; and every* Rev. i. 7. *eye shall see him, and they also which pierced him*. Those clouds were anciently expounded by the Jews of the glorious

Christ found when he came in humility, is one special cause why he should come again in glory.

¹ 'Ο ἐρχόμενος ἦξε, that is, he who is known by that vulgar appellation ὁ ἐρχόμενος, he which did once come into the world to make that notion

good, is still to be known by the same appellation, and therefore will come again. This was it which made the apostles ask that question, *Matt. xxiv. 3: When shall these things be, and what shall be the sign of thy coming, and of the end of the world?*

attendance of the angels, waiting upon the Son of man¹: and in the same manner, with the same attendance, do we expect the coming of our *Jesus*, even as he himself hath taught us to expect him, saying, *For the Son of man shall come in the glory of his Father with his angels.* And thus our *Jesus* as the true *Messias* shall come again; which was our first consideration.

The place from whence he shall come, is next to be considered, and is sufficiently expressed in the CREED by reflection upon the place whither he went when he departed from us; 294 *for he ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God, and from thence shall he come*; that is, from and out of the highest heaven (where he now sitteth at the right hand of God) shall *Christ* hereafter come to judge both the quick and the dead. For him must the heaven receive, till the time of the restitution of all things; and when that time is fulfilled, from that heaven shall he come. *For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God.* Our conversation ought to be in heaven, because from thence we look for our Saviour the Lord *Jesus*. Our high-priest is gone up into the Holy of Holies not made with hands, there to make an atonement for us; therefore as the people of Israel stood without the tabernacle, expecting the return of Aaron, so must we look unto the heavens, and expect *Christ* from thence, when the Lord *Jesus* shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels. We do believe that *Christ* is set down on the right hand of God; but we must also look upon him, as coming thence, as well as sitting there; and to that purpose *Christ* himself hath joined them together, saying, *Hereafter shall ye see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven.* Thus shall the Saviour of the world come

Matt. xvi. 27.

Acts iii. 21.

1 Thess. iv. 16.

Phil. iii. 20.

2 Thess. i. 7.

Matt. xxvi. 64.

¹ As R. Saadiah Gaon upon that place of Dan. vii. 13. עם עניי השמים הם מלאכי צבא השמים זו היא רוב הגדולה שיתן הבורא למשיח: *The clouds of heaven they are the angels of the host of heaven; this is the great magnificence and power which God shall give unto the Messias.* From hence is that exposition in *Midrash Tillim*, Psalm cxi. א' ר' ברכיה בשם ר' שמאל כותב אחד אומ' וארו עם עניי שמים כבר אנש אתה הוא וקדמוי הקרבוני וכרוב אחר אומר והקרבותיו ונש אלי הא כיצד

Rabbi Barachia said in the name of Rabbi Samuel, one scripture saith, (Dan. vii. 13.) And behold one like the Son of man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of days, and they brought him near before him. And another scripture saith, (Jer. xxx. 21.) And I will cause him to draw near, and he shall approach unto me. Behold in what manner! The angels shall bring him into the midst of them.

from the right hand of power, in fulness of majesty, from the highest heavens, as a demonstration of his sanctity; that by an undoubted authority and unquestionable integrity, he might appear most fit *to judge both the quick and the dead*; which is the end of his second coming, and leads me to the third consideration, the act of his judging: *From whence he shall come to judge.*

For the explication of this action, as it stands in this Article, three considerations will be necessary. First, How we may be assured that there is a judgment to come, that any one *shall come to judge.* Secondly, In case we be assured that there shall be a judgment, how it appeareth that he which is ascended into heaven, that is, that *Christ*, shall be the judge. Thirdly, In case we can be assured that we shall be judged, and that *Christ* shall judge us, it will be worthy our inquiry, in what this judgment shall consist, how this action shall be performed: and more than this cannot be necessary to make us understand, *that he shall come to judge.*

That there is a judgment to come after this life, will appear demonstrable, whether we consider ourselves who are to undergo it, or God who is to execute it. If we do but reflect upon the frame and temper of our own spirits, we cannot but collect and conclude from thence, that we are to give an account of our actions, and that a judgment hereafter is to pass upon us. There is in the soul of every man a conscience; and whosoever it is, it giveth testimony to this truth. The antecedent or directive conscience tells us what we are to do, and the subsequent or reflexive conscience warns us what we are to receive. Looking back upon the actions we have done, it either approves or condemns them; and if it did no more, it would only prove that there is a judgment in this life, and every man his own judge. But being it doth not only allow and approve our good actions, but also doth create a complacency, apology, and confidence, in us; being it doth not only disprove and condemn our evil actions, but doth also constantly accuse us, and breed a fearful expectation and terror in us; and all this prescinding from all relation to any thing either to be enjoyed or suffered in this life: it followeth that this conscience is not so much a judge as a witness, bound over to give testimony for or against us, at some judgment after this life to pass upon us. For all men are *a law unto themselves, and have the work of the law written in their* Rom. ii. 14-16.

hearts, their consciences also bearing witness, and their thoughts the mean while accusing or excusing one another, in the day when God shall judge the secrets of men.

Again, if we consider the God who made us, and hath full 295
 dominion over us, whether we look upon him in himself, or in his word, we cannot but expect a judgment from him. First, If we contemplate God in himself, we must acknowledge him
Psalm. lviil. 11. to be the Judge of all mankind; *so that a man shall say, Verily he is a God that judgeth in the earth.* Now the same God who is our judge, is, by an attribute necessary and inseparable, just; and this justice is so essential to his Godhead, that we may as well deny him to be God, as to be just. It was
Gen. xviil. 25. a rational expostulation which Abraham made, *Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?* We may therefore infallibly conclude that God is a most just judge; and if he be so, we may as infallibly conclude, that after this life he will judge the world in righteousness. For as the affairs of this present world are ordered, though they lie under the disposition of Providence, they shew no sign of an universal justice. The wicked and disobedient persons are often so happy, as if they were rewarded for their impieties; the innocent and religious often so miserable, as if they were punished for their innocence. Nothing more certain, than that in this life rewards are not correspondent to the virtues, punishments not proportionable to the sins, of men. Which consideration will enforce one of these conclusions; either that there is no judge of the actions of mankind; or if there be a judge, he is not just, he renders no proportionable rewards or punishments; or lastly, if there be a judge, and that judge be just, then is there a judgment in another world, and the effects thereof concern another life. Being then we must acknowledge that there is a judge, which judgeth the earth; being we cannot deny but God is that judge, and all must confess that God is most just; being the rewards and punishments of this life are no way answerable to so exact a justice as that which is divine must be: it followeth that there is a judgment yet to come, in which God will shew a perfect demonstration of his justice, and to which every man shall, in his own bosom, carry an undeniable witness of all his actions.

From hence the heathen, having always had a serious apprehension both of the power of the conscience of man, and

of the exactness of the justice of God, have from thence concluded, that there is a judgment to come. Insomuch that when St Paul *reasoned of righteousness, and temperance, and judgment to come, Felix trembled.* The discourse of righteousness and temperance touched him, who was so highly and notoriously guilty of the breach of both; and a preconception which he had of judgment after death, now heightened by the apostle's particular description, created a horror in his soul and trembling in his limbs. The same apostle discoursing to the Athenians, the great lights of the Gentile world, and teaching them this article of our CREED, that *God hath appointed a day, in the which he will judge the world in righteousness, by that man whom he hath ordained; whereof he hath given assurance unto all men, in that he hath raised him from the dead; found some which mocked, when they heard of the resurrection of the dead; but against the day of judgment none replied.* That was a principle of their own; that was confessed by all who either believed themselves or a God; a conscience or a Deity¹.

Acts xxiv. 25.

Acts xvii. 31.

¹ This principle of a judgment to come, Justin Martyr propounds to the Gentiles, as generally acknowledged by all their writers, and as the great encouragement of his Apology for the Christian religion: 'Ἐπεὶ τοῖνυν ἡμῶν ὁ περὶ τῆς ἀληθοῦς θεοσεβείας πρόκειται λόγος, ἧς οὐδέν, ὁμαι, προτιμώτερον τοῖς ἀκινδύνως βιούσι προφηημένοις εἶναι νομόμαται, διὰ τὴν μέλλουσαν μετὰ τὴν τελευταίαν τοῦδε τοῦ βίου ἐσεσθαι κρίσιν· ἦν οὐ μόνον οἱ ἡμέτεροι κατὰ θεὸν κηρύττουσι πρόγονοι, προφῆται τε καὶ νομοθέται, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ παρ' ὑμῶν νομισθέντες εἶναι σοφοί, οὐ ποιηταὶ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλόσοφοι οἱ τὴν ἀληθὴ καὶ θείαν ἐπαγγελλούμενοι παρ' ὑμῶν εἰδέναι γινώσκον. *Ad Græcos Cohort.* § 1. [p. 1. c. Edit. Colon. 1682.] Tertullian shews the same, not only from the writings, but the constant conversation and language even of the Gentiles: 'Anima—licet carcere corporis preessa, licet institutionibus pravis circumscripta, licet libidinis et concupiscentiis evigorata, licet falsis Diis exancillata,

cum tamen resipiscit, ut ex crapula, ut ex somno, ut ex aliqua valetudine, et sanitatem suam patitur, Deum nominat, hoc solo, quia proprie verus hic unus Deus, bonus et magnus*. Et quod Deus dederit, omnium vox est. Judicem quoque contestatur illum, Deus videt, et Deo commendo, et Deus mihi reddet. O testimonium animæ naturaliter Christianæ! *Apol. adv. Gentiles*, c. 17. [p. 18 c.] Indeed the ancient Gentiles have expressed the judgment to come very exactly: as Philemon, cited by Justin Martyr, *de Monarch. Dei*, [§ 3. p. 106 A.]

* Ἐστὶν Δίκης ὁφθαλμός, ὅς τὰ πάνθ' ὀρά. Εἰ γὰρ ὁ δίκαιος καὶ ἀσεβῆς ἔξουσιν ἐν, Ἄρας ἀπειθεῖν, κλέπτει, ἀποστρέφει, κλέα. Μηδὲν πλατῆσθαι· ἐστὶ κἀν ἔδου κρίσις, Ἦνπερ ποιῆσαι θεὸς ὁ πάντων δεσπότης, Ὅς τοῦνομα φοβερὸν, οὐδ' ἂν νομισάμεν ἑγώ.

And Plato especially hath delivered it according to their notion most particularly, whose places to that purpose are faithfully collected by Eusebius and Theodoret, and may be read in them;

* [This is the reading adopted by Pamelius. Rigalt, and after him Havercamp, have, hoc solo nomine, quia proprio Dei veri. Deus magnus. Deus bonus, et, quod Deus dederit, omnium vox est.]

But yet, beside the consideration of the internal power of 296
conscience in ourselves; beside the intuition of that essential
attribute, the justice of God (which are sufficient arguments
to move all men); we have yet a more near and enforcing per-
suasion, grounded upon the express determination of the will
of God. For the determinate counsel of the Almighty actually
to judge the world in righteousness, is clearly revealed in his
Heb. ix. 27. word: *it is appointed unto men once to die, but after this the
judgment.* There is a death appointed to follow this life, and
a judgment to follow that death; the one as certain as the
other. For in all ages God hath revealed his resolution to
judge the world.

Upon the first remarkable action after the fall, there is a
Gen. iv. 7. sufficient intimation given unto angry Cain: *If thou doest well,
shalt thou not be accepted? and if thou doest not well, sin lieth
at the door;* which by the most ancient interpretation signi-
fieth a reservation of his sin unto the judgment of the world
to come¹. Before the flood, Enoch prophesied of a judgment
Jude 14, 15. to come, *saying, Behold, the Lord cometh with ten thousand of
his saints to execute judgment upon all, and to convince all that
are ungodly among them of all their ungodly deeds, which they
have ungodlily committed, and of all their hard speeches, which
ungodly sinners have spoken against him.* His words might
have an aim at the waters which were to overflow the world;
but the ultimate intention looked through that fire which shall
consume the world preserved from water.

The testimonies which follow in the Law and the Pro-
phets, the predictions of *Christ* and the apostles, are so many
and so known, that both the number and the plainness will
excuse the prosecution. The throne hath been already seen,

Eusebius de *Præparat. Evang.* l. xi. c. 38. and l. xii. c. 6. Theodoret *Serm.*
11. de *Fine et Judicio.* Where after
the citation of several places he con-
cludes: Οὗτος ἀκριβὴς ἐκτελεῖται ὁ
Πάτερ εἶπαι τὰ ἐν ᾧ φέρεται κερήφια.
[Tom. iv. p. 649 c.]

¹ So the Targum of Jonathan ren-
ders it, חלם אם תשיב עוברה ישתקך לך, חלם
חומר חלם לא תשיב עוברה בעלמא חלם
ליום דינא רבא חשך נשיר: *If thou makest
thy works good, shall not thy sin be
forgiven thee? And if thou makest not
thy works good in this world, thy sin is*

kept unto the day of the great judgment.
And the Jerusalem Targum yet more
expressly, חלם חלם עוברה בעלמא
חלם חומר חלם לא תשיב עוברה
בעלמא חלם ליום דינא רבא חשך
נשיר: *If thou makest thy
works good in this world, shall it not
be remitted and forgiven unto thee in
the world to come? And if thou makest
not thy works good in this world, thy
sin shall be reserved unto the day of the
great judgment.* In the same manner
the Chaldee paraphrase of Onkelos,
ליום-דינא חשך נשיר.

the Judge hath appeared sitting on it, the books have been already opened, the dead small and great have been seen standing before him: there is nothing more certain in the word of God, no doctrine more clear and fundamental, than that of *eternal judgment*. I shall therefore briefly conclude Heb. vi. 2. the first consideration, from the internal testimony of the conscience of man, from the essential attribute of the justice of God, from the clear and full revelation of the will and determination of God, that after death, with a reflection on this, and in relation to another life, there is a judgment to come, there *shall* some person *come to judge*.

Our second consideration followeth (seeing we are so well assured that there shall be a judgment); who that person is which *shall come to judge*, who shall sit upon that throne, before whose tribunal we shall all appear, from whose mouth we may expect our sentence. Now the judiciary power is the power of God, and none hath any right to judge the subjects and servants of God, but that God whose servants they are. The Law by which we are to be judged was given by him; the actions which are to be discussed were due to him; the persons which are to be tried are subject to his dominion: God therefore is the *judge of all*. He *shall bring every work* Heb. xii. 23. Eccles. xii. 14. *into judgment, with every secret thing, whether it be good or whether it be evil*; and so the last day, that *day of wrath*, is Rom. ii. 5. *the revelation of the righteous judgment of God*. Now if God,

297 as God, be the Judge of all, then whosoever is God is judge of all men¹; and therefore being we have proved the Father and the Son, and shall hereafter also prove the Holy Ghost, to be God; it followeth that the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, shall judge the world; because the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in respect of the same Divinity, have the same autocratorical power, dominion, and authority.

But notwithstanding in that particular day of the general judgment to come, the execution of this judiciary power shall be particularly committed to the Son, and so the Father and the Holy Ghost shall actually judge the world no otherwise but by him. For *God hath appointed a day in the which* Acts xvii. 31. *he will judge the world in righteousness, by that man whom*

¹ Πάρεστι τολυν ἐν τῇ κρίσει τότε ὁ θεὸς ὁ πάντων πατήρ, συγκαθεζομένου Χριστοῦ καὶ συμπαραβύτος Ἀγίου Πνεύματος. S. Cyril. Hier. Catech. 15. [p. 386.] (p. 237.)

John v. 22.

he hath ordained. It is God who judgeth; it is *Christ* by whom he judgeth. *For the Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment to the Son.* There is therefore an original, supreme, autocratical, judiciary power: there is a judiciary power delegated, derived, given by commission. *Christ*, as God, hath the first together with the Father and the Holy Ghost: *Christ*, as man, hath the second from the Father expressly, from the Holy Ghost concomitantly. For the Father expressly, from the Holy Ghost concomitantly. For the Father hath given him authority to execute judgment, because he is the Son of man; not simply because he is a man, therefore he shall be Judge (for then by the same reason every man should judge, and consequently none, because no man could be judged if every man should only judge), but because of the three persons which are God, he only is also the Son of man¹; and therefore for his affinity with their

John v. 27.

¹ This explication I thought necessary to insert, because it seems to me the only way to end that controversy, which is raised upon the interpretation of those words of St John, which we ordinarily read thus, v. 27. Καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ καὶ κρίσιν ποιεῖν, ὅτι υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐστὶ. 28. Μὴ θαυμάζετε τοῦτο. By which distinction, those words, because he is the Son of man, have reference to the precedent sentence. But anciently they have been otherwise distinguished: Καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ καὶ κρίσιν ποιεῖν. Ὅτι υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐστὶ, μὴ θαυμάζετε τοῦτο. So the old Syriac translation, ver. 27. : דבא דאיהו עבר דנחמא ודאיהו עבר דנחמא and then ver. 28. : דברא דאיהו לא דאיהו עבר דנחמא. And St Chrysostom is so earnest for this reading, that he chargeth the former distinction upon Paulus Samosatenus, as invented by him in favour of his heresy, that Christ was nothing else but purely man: "Ὅτι υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐστὶ, μὴ θαυμάζετε τοῦτο. Παῦλος μὲν δὲ Σαμοσατεὺς οὐχ οὕτω φησὶν, ἀλλὰ πῶς; ἐξουσίαν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ κρίσιν ποιεῖν ὅτι υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐστὶν· ἀλλ' οὐδεμίαν ἀκολουθίαν ἔχει τοῦτο οὕτω λεγόμενον" (so he argues against that reading) οὐ γὰρ διὰ τοῦτο ἔλαβε κρίσιν, ὅτι ἀνθρώπος ἐστίν (ἐπεὶ τί ἐκώλυε πάντα ἀνθρώπους εἶναι κριτάς); ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τῆς ἀρρήτου οὐσίας ἐκείνης ἐστίν

υἱός, διὰ τοῦτο ἐστὶ κριτής. Οὕτω τολῶν ἀναγνώστειν, Ὅτι υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐστὶ, μὴ θαυμάζετε τοῦτο. Hom. 39. ad loc. [§ 3. Tom. VIII. p. 230 A.] Euthymius followeth the distinction of St Chrysostom, and Theophylact makes the same argument: Χρὶς δὲ γνώσκειν ὅτι Παῦλος δὲ Σαμοσατεὺς ψιλὸν ἀνθρώπον δογματίζων τὸν Κύριον, οὕτως ἀνεγίνωσκε τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον. Καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ καὶ κρίσιν ποιεῖν ὅτι υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐστίν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ στίζων, ἀπ' ἄλλης ἀρχῆς ἀνεγίνωσκε τό, Μὴ θαυμάζετε τοῦτο. Ἀνόητος δὲ τελείως ἐστὶ τὸ οὕτως ἀναγινώσκειν, τὴν γὰρ κρίσιν δέδωκε τῷ Υἱῷ δὲ Πατρί, οὐχ ὅτι υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ὅτι Θεός. ad loc. [p. 632 A.] But although this division of the words be both by St Chrysostom and Theophylact charged upon Paulus Samosatenus the heretic, yet we find no other distinction in the ancient copies; nor did the ancient Latin Fathers any otherwise read it than that Paulus did. We must then acknowledge no other coherence than the ordinary, that God gave his Son power to judge, because he was the Son of man. Nor need we, to avoid the argument of St Chrysostom, change the ὅτι into καθότι, the quia into quatenus; for it is not rendered as the absolute reason in itself, but in relation unto God, or the Per-

nature, for his sense of their infirmities, for his appearance to their eyes, most fit to represent the greatest mildness and sweetness of equity, in the severity of that just and irrespective judgment.

Nor was this a reason only in respect of us who are to be judged, but in regard of him also who is to judge; for we must not look only upon his being the Son of man, but also upon what he did and suffered as the Son of man. He humbled himself so far as to take upon him our nature: in that nature so taken, he humbled himself to all the infirmities which that was capable of, to all the miseries which this life could bring, to all the pains and sorrows which the sins of all the world could cause: and therefore in regard of his humiliation did God exalt him, and part of the exaltation due unto him was this power of judging. *The Father* therefore, who is only God, and never took upon him either the nature of men or angels, *judgeth no man* (and the same reason reacheth John v. 22, 26, 27. also to the Holy Ghost); *but hath committed all judgment to the Son*; and the reason why he hath committed it to him, is, *because he is not only the Son of God*, and so truly God; but also *the Son of man*, and so truly man; *because he is that Son of man*, who suffered so much for the sons of men.

From whence at last it clearly appeareth, not only that it is a certain truth that *Christ* shall judge the world; but also the reasons are declared and manifested unto us why he hath that power committed unto him, why *he shall come to judge the quick and the dead*. For certainly it is a great demonstration of the justice of God, so highly to reward that Son of man, as to make him judge of all the world, who came into the world, and was judged here; to give him absolute power of absolution and condemnation, who was by us condemned to die, and died that he might absolve us; to cause all the sons of men to bow before his throne, who did not disdain for their sakes to stand before the tribunal, and receive that sentence, *Let him be crucified*¹, which event as infallible, and Matt. xxvii. 23.

sons of the Trinity: the Father shall not judge, nor the Holy Ghost, because those two persons are only God; but all judgment is committed to God the Son, because he is the Son of man.

¹ 'Veniet (Christus) ut judicet, qui stetit sub iudice: veniet in ea forma,

in qua judicatus est, ut videant in quem pupugerunt. Cognoscant Judæi quem negaverunt: convincat eos ille homo susceptus et ab eis crucifixus.' *Auctor. de Symb. ad Catech.* l. ii. c. 8. § 17. [Augustin. Opera, Tom. vi. p. 413 F.] (p. 564.) 'Veniet, ergo, fratres

Matt. xxvi.
64.

reason as irrefragable, Christ himself did shew at the same time when he stood before the judgment-seat, saying, *Nevertheless I say unto you, Hereafter shall ye see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven.*

Heb. xii. 14.

Again, if we look upon ourselves which are to be judged, whom can we desire to appear before, rather than him who is of the same nature with us? If the children of Israel could not bear the presence of God as a Lawgiver, but desired to receive the Law by the hand of Moses; how should we appear before the presence of that God judging us for the breach of that Law, were it not for a better Mediator, of the same nature that Moses was and we are, who is our Judge? In this appeareth the wisdom and goodness of God, that making a general judgment, he will make a visible judge, which all may see who shall be judged. *Without holiness no man shall ever see God*; and therefore if God, as only God, should pronounce sentence upon all men, the ungodly should never see their judge¹. But that both the righteous and unrighteous might see and know who it is that judgeth

mei, veniet: ille qui prius venit occultus, veniet in potestate manifestus: ille qui iudicatus est, veniet iudicaturus: ille qui stetit ante hominem, iudicaturus est omnem hominem.' *Idem*, l. iii. c. 8. [§ 8. p. 422 B.] (p. 573.) 'Judex hic erit Filius hominis; forma illa hic iudicabit quæ iudicata est. Audite et intelligite, jam hoc Propheta dixerat, *Videbunt in quem pupugerunt*. Ipsam formam videbunt quam lancea percusserunt. Sedebit Judex qui stetit sub iudice. Damnabit veros reos qui factus est falsus reus. Ipse veniet, forma illa veniet.' *S. August. de Verbis Domin. Serm. 64. al. 127. § 10.* [Tom. v. p. 435 C.] (p. 624.)

¹ 'Cum et boni et mali visuri sint iudicem vivorum et mortuorum, proculdubio eum videre mali non poterunt, nisi secundum formam qua Filius hominis est; sed tamen in claritate in qua iudicabit, non in humilitate in qua iudicatus est. Cæterum illam Dei formam, in qua æqualis est Patri, proculdubio impii non videbunt. Non enim sunt mundicordes, *Beati* enim

mundicordes, quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt.' *S. August. de Trin. lib. i. c. 13. [§ 28. Tom. viii. p. 544 B.]* (p. 768.) 'Hoc rectum erat, ut iudicandi viderent iudicem. Iudicandi enim erant et boni et mali. *Beati autem mundo corde, quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt.* Restabat ut in iudicio forma servi et bonis et malis ostenderetur, forma Dei solis bonis servaretur.' *Idem de Verbis Dom. Serm. 64. al. 127. § 10.* [Tom. v. p. 435 D.] (p. 625.) 'Et potestatem dedit ei et iudicium facere, quoniam Filius hominis est. Puto nihil esse manifestius. Nam quia Filius Dei est æqualis Patri, non accipit hanc potestatem iudicii faciendi, sed habet illam cum Patre in occulto. Accipit autem illam, ut boni et mali eum videant iudicantem, quia Filius hominis est. Visio quippe Filii hominis exhibebitur et malis. Nam visio formæ Dei non nisi mundis corde, quia *ipsi Deum videbunt*, id est, solis piis exhibebitur, quorum dilectioni hoc ipsum promittit, quia seipsum ostendit illis.' *Idem, de Trin. l. i. c. 13. [§ 30. Tom. viii. p. 545 C.]* (p. 769.)

them, *Christ*, who is both God and man, is appointed Judge; so as he is man all shall see him, and as he is God they only shall see him who by that vision shall enjoy him.

Christ Jesus then, the Son of God and the Son of man, he which was *born of the Virgin Mary*, he which *suffered under Pontius Pilate*, he which *was crucified, dead, and buried*, and *descended into hell*, he which *rose again from the dead*, *ascended into heaven*, and is *set down at the right hand of God*: he, the same person, in the same nature, 299 shall come to judge the quick and the dead. For the Son Matt. xvi. 27. of Man shall come in the glory of his Father, with his angels, and then he shall reward every man according to his works. He then who is to come, is the Son of man; and when he cometh, it is to judge. The same *Jesus* which Acts i. 11. was taken up from the apostles into heaven, shall so come in like manner as they saw him go into heaven. That Son of man then, which is to judge, is our *Jesus*, even the same *Jesus*, and shall come in the same manner, by a true and local translation of the same nature out of heaven. For God will judge Acts xvii. 31. the world in righteousness, by that man whom he hath ordained, whereof he hath given an assurance unto all men, in that he hath raised him from the dead. He then which ascended into heaven, was the same which was raised from the dead; and by that resurrection God assured us, that the same man should judge us. For to this end *Christ* both died, and rose, Rom. xiv. 9. and revived, that he might be the Lord both of the dead and living. It appeareth therefore, by God's determination, by *Christ's* resurrection and ascension, that the man *Christ Jesus* is appointed Judge.

This office and dignity of the Son of man was often declared by several figurative and parabolical descriptions. John the Baptist represented him *that cometh after him*, by this delineation of a husbandman: *whose fan is in his hand*, Matt. iii. 12. *and he will thoroughly purge his floor*, *and gather his wheat into the garner*, *but will burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire*¹. The Son of man describes himself as a householder, saying to the reapers in the time of harvest, *Gather ye together first the tares*, Matt. xiii. 30. *and bind them in bundles to burn them*; *but gather the*

¹ Ἀνωτέρω μὲν τὴν κόλασιν εἶπεν· ἐπαύσα δὲ καὶ τὸν κρεττὸν δείκνυσιν, καὶ τὴν τιμωρίαν ἀθανάτων εἰσάγει. S.

Chrysost. Hom. 11. ad loc. [§ 5. Tom. VII. p. 155 c.]

*wheat into my barn: and this harvest is the end of the world*¹.

Matt. xiii. 47, 48. He representeth himself under the notion of a fisherman, *casting a net into the sea, and gathering of every kind; which, when it was full, he drew to the shore, and sat down, and gathered the good into vessels, but cast the bad away.* He is

Matt. xxv. 10. the bridegroom who took the wise virgins *with him to the marriage*, and shut the door upon the foolish. He is the man, who, travelling into a far country, delivered the talents to his servants; and *after a long time cometh again and*

Matt. xxv. 19, 21, 30. *reckoneth with them*, exalting the good and faithful, and casting the unprofitable servant into outer darkness. Lastly,

he is the shepherd, and is so expressly described in relation to his judgment. *For when the Son of man shall come in his glory, and all the holy angels with him, then shall he sit down upon the throne of his glory. And before him shall be gathered all nations; and he shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd [divideth] his sheep from the goats. And he shall set the sheep on his right hand, and the goats on his left.* Being then the Son of man is thus constantly represented as making the great decretory separation, and the last judicatory distinction between man and man; as an husbandman separating the wheat, sometime from the chaff, sometime from the tares; as a fisherman gathering the good fish, casting the bad away; as a bridegroom receiving the wise, excluding the foolish, virgins; as a master distinguishing the servants of his family, rewarding the faithful, punishing the unprofitable; as a shepherd dividing his sheep from the goats, placing one on the right hand, the other on the left: it plentifully proveth that the same Son of man is appointed the Judge of all the sons of men. And thus it appeareth that *Christ* is he who shall be the Judge; which is the second consideration subservient to the present explication.

Thirdly, It being thus resolved that the Son of man shall be the Judge, our next consideration is, what may the nature of this judgment be; in what that judicial action doth consist; what he shall then do, when *he shall come to judge*. The reality of this act doth certainly consist in the final determination and actual disposing of all persons in soul and body to their eternal condition: and in what manner this shall par-

¹ Πάλιν αναμνησέσκει αὐτοὺς τῶν ἀγόντων. *S. Chrysost. Hom. 46. in Ἰωάννου βημάτων τῶν κριτῆς αὐτὸν εἰς* *Matt. xiii. 30. [§ 2. Tom. vii. p. 482 D.]*

300 ticularly be performed, is not so certain unto us¹; but that which is sufficient for us, it is represented under a formal judiciary process. In which first there is described a throne, a tribunal, a judgment-seat: for *in the regeneration the Son of man shall sit in the throne of his glory*: and that this throne is a seat not only of majesty but also of judicature, appeareth by the following words spoken to the apostles, *Ye also shall sit upon^a twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel*. As in that vision in the Revelation, *I saw thrones, and they sat upon them, and judgment was given unto them. And I saw a great white throne, and him that sat on it, from whose face the earth and the heaven fled away*. This throne of *Christ* is expressly called his judgment-seat, when the apostle tells us, *we shall all stand before the judgment-seat of Christ, and we must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ*. In respect then of the Son of man, he shall appear in the proper form and condition of a Judge, sitting upon a throne of judicature. Secondly, there is to be a personal appearance of all men before that seat of judicature upon which *Christ* shall sit; for we must all appear, and we shall all stand before that judgment-seat. *I saw the dead* (saith the apostle) *stand before the throne of God*. Thus all nations shall be gathered before him. *He shall send his angels with a great sound of a trumpet, and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other*. For the coming of our Lord *Jesus Christ* is our gathering together unto him. Thirdly, when those which are to be judged, are brought before the judgment-seat of *Christ*, all their actions shall appear: *he will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of the hearts*: he will bring every work into judgment, with every secret thing, whether it be good, or whether it be evil. To this end, in the vision of Daniel, when the judgment was set, the books were opened; and in that of St John, the books were opened; and the dead were judged out of those things that were written in the books, according to their works. Fourthly,

Matt. xix. 28.

Matt. xix. 28.

Rev. xx. 4, 11.

Rom. xiv. 10.

2 Cor. v. 10.

Rev. xx. 12.

Matt. xxv.

Matt. xxiv. 51.

2 Thess. ii. 1.

1 Cor. iv. 5.

Eccles. xii. 14.

Dan. vii. 10.

Rev. xx. 12.

¹ St Augustin speaking of the particulars foretold to be exhibited at the day of judgment, concludes them in this manner: 'Quæ omnia quidem ventura esse credendum est: sed quibus modis et quo ordine veniant, magis

tunc docebit rerum experientia, quam nunc valet consequi ad perfectum hominum intelligentia.' *De Civit. Dei*, l. xx. c. 30. § 5. [Tom. VII. p. 466 D.] (p. 613.)

² [Upon the thrones, 3rd Ed.]

after the manifestation of all their actions, there followeth a definitive sentence, passed upon all their persons according to those actions¹, which is the fundamental and essential consideration of this judgment: the sentence of absolution, in these words expressed, *Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world;* Matt. xxv. 34. the sentence of condemnation in this manner, *Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels.* Matt. xxv. 41. Lastly, after the promulgation of the sentence, followeth the execution; as it is written, *And these shall go away into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal.* Matt. xxv. 46. Thus appeareth Christ's majesty by sitting on the throne; his authority, by convening² all before him; his knowledge and wisdom, by opening all secrets, revealing all actions, discerning all inclinations; his justice, in condemning sinners; his mercy, in absolving believers; his power, in the execution of his sentence. And thus the Son of man *shall come to judge*, which is the last particular subservient to the third consideration of this Article.

The fourth and last consideration is, what is the object of this action; who are the persons which shall appear before that Judge, and receive their sentence from him; what is the latitude of that expression, *the quick and the dead*. The phrase itself is delivered several times in the Scriptures, and that upon the same occasion: for *Christ was ordained of God to be the Judge of quick and dead*, and so his commission extendeth to both; he *is ready to judge the quick and the dead*, his resolution reacheth to each; and as he is ordained and ready, so *shall he judge the quick and the dead*, the execution excludeth neither. But although it be the Scripture language, and therefore certainly true; yet there is some ambiguity in the phrase, and therefore the intended sense not evident.

The Holy Ghost speaketh of death in several notions, 301 which makes the quick and the dead capable of several interpretations. Because after death the soul doth live, and the body only remaineth dead; therefore some have understood

¹ 'Dominus non accepta persona judicat mundum: unusquisque secundum quæ fecit accipit. Si fuerit bonus, bonitas eum antecedit; si nequam,

merces nequitie eum sequitur.' *Ep. Barnab.* c. 4. [Ex Vet. Interp. c. 4. p. 60. col. i.]

² [Convening, in the third edition.]

the souls of men by *the quick*, and their bodies by *the dead*¹; and then the meaning will be this, that *Christ* shall come to judge immediately upon the resurrection, when the souls which were preserved alive shall be joined to the bodies which were once dead; and so men shall be judged entirely, both in body and soul, for all those actions which the soul committed in the body. Now though this be a truth, that men shall be judged when their souls and bodies are united; though they shall be judged according to those works which their souls have acted in their bodies; yet this is not to be acknowledged as the interpretation of this Article, for two reasons: first, Because it is not certain that all men shall die, at least a proper death, so that their bodies shall be left any time without their souls: secondly, Because this is not a distinction of the parts of man, but of the persons of men.

Again, Because the Scripture often mentioneth a death in trespasses and sins, and a living unto righteousness, others have conceived by *the quick* to be understood the just², and by *the dead* the unjust: so that *Christ* shall judge *the quick*, that is, the just, by a sentence of absolution; and *the dead*, that is, the unjust, by a sentence of condemnation. But though the dead be sometimes taken for sinners, and the living for the righteous, though it be true that *Christ* shall judge them both; yet it is not probable that in this particular they should be taken in a figurative or metaphorical sense, because there is no adjunct giving any such intimation, and because the literal sense affordeth a fair explication: further yet, because the Scripture, in the same particular, naming the quick and the dead, sufficiently teacheth us that it is to be understood of a corporeal death, *Whether we live or die* (saith the apostle), *we are the Lord's: for to this end Christ both died,*³

Rom. xiv. 8.

¹ So Theophylact testifieth: Τὴν δὲ καὶ ψυχὰς καὶ σώματα ἐνόησαν. *Comment. in 2 Tim. iv. 1.* [p. 826.] Indeed Isidorus Pelusiota giveth this as the first interpretation: Τὸ κρίνεσθαι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς, τοῦτό ἐστι, τὸ καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα εἰς κρίσιν ἐλεύσεσθαι, καὶ οὔτε ἐν θατέρου κεχωρισμένον· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ κοινῇ τὴν ἐνταῦθα συνάρθειαν ἐποιήσαντο, οὕτω καὶ τὴν ἐκεῖθεν δίκην ἡνωμένως ὑφέξουσιν. *Epist. 222. l. i.* [p. 64 D.]

² This is the second exposition delivered by Isidorus Pelusiota to such as are not satisfied with the first: Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ζητεῖς, οὕτω διάκριται, ζῶντας, τοὺς ἀεζῶντων βίον καὶ θεοφιλεῖ μετελθόντας, καὶ ἀποδοῦναι αὐτοῖς ἀτελευτήτους ἀμοιβάς, κρίναι τοὺς νεκρωθέντας τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασι, καὶ τὸ δοθὲν αὐτοῖς τάλατον ὡς ἐν τάφῳ τῇ ἑαυτῶν καταχώσαντας ῥαθυμῖα, καὶ ἀμύνασθαι αὐτοὺς τιμωρίᾳ. *Epist. 222. l. i.* [p. 64 E.]

and rose, and revived, that he might be Lord both of the dead and living.

Thirdly, Therefore by *the dead* are understood all those who ever died before the time of *Christ's* coming to judgment¹, and by *the quick* such as shall be then alive: so that the quick and the dead, literally taken, are considered in relation to the time of *Christ's* coming; at which time there shall be a generation living upon the face of the earth, and before which time all the generations passed since the creation of the world shall be numbered among the dead. And this undoubtedly is the proper and literal sense of the Article²,

¹ This is the third exposition of Isidorus Pelusiota: *El δὲ καὶ ἄλλως, οὕτως, κρίναι τοὺς τότε ζῶντας καταλειφθέντας, καὶ τοὺς ἤδη πρὸ αὐτῶν κοιμηθέντας. Epist. 222. l. i. [p. 64 E.]* Others of the Fathers give the second and third explication, leaving it indifferent, and preferring neither; as St Chrysostom: *Ἦτοι ἀμαρτωλὸς λέγει καὶ δικαίους, ἦτοι καὶ τοὺς ἀπελθόντας καὶ τοὺς νῦν ὄντας, οἱ πολλοὶ καταλειφθένται ζῶντες. Com. in. 2 Tim. iv. 1. [Hom. ix. § 1. Tom. xi. p. 715 A.]* 'Duobus autem modis accipi potest, quod vivos et mortuos judicabit; sive ut vivos intelligamus, quos hic nondum mortuos, sed adhuc in ista carne inventurus est ejus adventus; mortuos autem, qui de corpore, priusquam veniat, exierunt vel exituri sunt: sive vivos justos, mortuos autem injustos, quoniam justii quoque judicabuntur.' *S. August. in Enchirid. c. 54. [Tom. vi. p. 159 A.]* (p. 217.) 'Credimus etiam inde venturum convenientissimo tempore, et judicaturum vivos et mortuos, sive istis nominibus justii et peccatores significantur; sive quos tunc ante mortem in terris inventurus est appellati sunt vivi, mortui vero qui in ejus adventu resurrecturi sunt.' *Idem, de Fide et Symb. c. 8. [§ 15. Tom. vi. p. 116 B.]* (p. 157.) 'Inde venturus judicare vivos et mortuos. Vivos qui superfuerint, mortuos qui præcesserint. Potest et sic intelligi, vivos, justos; mortuos, injustos: utrosque enim judicat, sua cuique retribuens. Justis dicturus est in judicio, Venite,

benedicti, &c. Sinistris quid? Ite in ignem, &c. Sic judicabuntur a Christo vivi et mortui.' Auctor. l. i. de Symb. ad Catechum. § 11. [§ 12. Tom. vi. p. 403 F.] (p. 553.) 'Duobus enim modis hæc sententia accipitur. Vivi et mortui in anima, item vivi et mortui in corpore. Secundum priorem, judicabit vivos in anima, credentes; et mortuos in anima, fidem nullam habentes: secundum posteriorem, judicabit vivos in carne, quos præsentēs invenerit ejus adventus; judicabit et mortuos in carne, quos resuscitaturus est Deus excelsus.' *Auctor. l. iv. de Symb. ad Catechum. § 8. [Tom. vi. p. 429 F.]* (p. 580.) But although these two expositions were thus indifferently propounded, yet the former ought by no means so to be received as any way to evacuate or prejudice the latter. 'Quod autem dicimus in Symbolo, in adventu Domini vivos ac mortuos judicandos, non solum justos et peccatores significari, sicut Diodorus putat; sed et vivos eos, qui in carne invenienda sunt credimus, qui adhuc morituri creduntur; vel immutandi sunt, ut alii volunt, ut suscitati continuo vel reformati, cum ante mortuis judicentur.' *Gennadius, De Dogmat. Eccl. c. 8.*

² This is the clear interpretation of Theodoret, without the least mention of any other: *Νεκρῶν δὲ καὶ ζώντων κριτὴν τὸν Κύριον κέκληκεν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀνάστηται, καὶ εἰς τὸ κριτὴριον ἀγει, καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὸν τῆς συντελείας καιρὸν εὐρισκομένους ἐκδύων τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν, ἀπαρεῖ τὰς εὐθύνas.*

That *Christ* shall come to judge, not only those which shall be alive upon the earth at his appearing, but also all such as have lived and died before. None shall be then judged while they are dead; whosoever stand before the judgment-seat, shall appear alive; but those which never died, shall be judged as they were alive; those which were dead before, that they may be judged, shall rise to life. He shall judge therefore *the quick*, that is, those which shall be then alive when he cometh¹; and he shall judge *the dead*, that is, those which at the same time shall be raised from the dead.

302 The only doubt remaining in this interpretation is, Whether those that shall be found alive when our Saviour cometh, shall still so continue till they come to judgment; or upon his first appearance they shall die, and after death revive, and so together with all those which rise out of their graves appear before the judgment-seat. The consideration of our mortality, and the cause thereof, (that *it is appointed for all men once to die*, in that *death hath passed upon all*), might persuade us that the last generation of mankind should taste of death, as well as all the rest that went before it; and therefore it hath been thought², especially of late, that those, whom *Christ* at his coming finds alive, shall immediately die; and after a sudden and universal expiration, shall be restored to life again, and joined with the rest whom the graves shall render, that all may be partakers of the resurrection.

Heb. ix. 27.
Rom. v. 12.

But the apostle's description of the last day mentioneth no such kind of death, yea rather excludeth it, *For we which are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord, shall not* ^{1 Thess. iv. 15-17.}

Πάντες γάρ, φησίν, οὐ κοιμηθησόμεθα, πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα. *Com. in 2 Tim. iv. 1. [Tom. iii. p. 503 c.]* 'Vivi agnoscuntur, qui in corpore erunt in adventu Domini; mortui, qui ex hac luce migraverunt.' *Auctor Exp. Symb. sub nomine S. Chrys.*

¹ This is cleared by the author of the Questions and Answers under the name of Justin Martyr: *Εἰ τὸ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ὥρον πᾶσι τοῖς θανοῦσιν ὁ Θεὸς διδόναι ὑπέσχετο, καὶ πάντες ἐκ τῶν τάφων ἀναστάντες τῷ κριτῇ παρασταθαι μέλλουσι, πῶς πληρωθήσεται τὸ, κρῖναι νεκροὺς καὶ ζῶντας τὸν Κύριον; πῶς δὲ νεκροὶ κριθῆναι δυήσονται, ὡν τὰ μὲν σώματα ἐν μνήμασιν ἐβρίπται,*

αἱ δὲ ψυχὰς τῶν σωμάτων κεχωρισμέναι εἶσιν; Resp. Οὐ πάντες, φησὶ, κοιμηθησόμεθα· κρινεῖ οὖν ζῶντας μὲν, τοὺς τότε ζῶντας, νεκροὺς δὲ, τοὺς ἀνισταμένους ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν. Quæst. et Resp. ad Orthod. Quæst. 109. [p. 464 B.]

² 'Omnium enim hominum erit resurrectio. Si omnium erit, ergo omnes moriuntur, ut mors ab Adam ducta omnibus filiis ejus dominetur, et maneat illud privilegium in Domino, quod de eo specialiter dicitur, *Non dabis Sanctum tuum videre corruptionem.* Hanc rationem maxima Patrum turba tradente suscepimus.' *Gennad. de Eccl. Dogm. c. 7.*

prevent them which are asleep. For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel and the trump of God; and the dead in Christ shall rise first: then we which are alive and remain, shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air; and so shall we be ever with the Lord. In which words, they which remain unto the coming of the Lord, are not said to die or to rise from the dead, but are distinguished from those which are asleep and rise first; yea, being alive, are caught up together with them¹, having not tasted death.

1 Cor. xv. 51.

The same is farther confirmed by the apostle, saying, *Behold, I shew you a mystery; we shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed.* Which, being added to the former, putteth this doctrine out of question: for the living which remain at the coming of Christ are opposed to them which are asleep, and the opposition consists in this, that they shall not sleep; which sleep is not opposed to a long death, but to death itself, as it followeth, *the dead shall be raised incorruptible*, 303 and we (which shall not sleep) *shall be changed*; so that their mutation shall be unto them as a resurrection². And

¹ This is the observation of Epiphanius, who from these words proves as much; for having repeated the text, he thus infers: 'Ἀπὸ τῶν συνεφευγμένων ἐκάστης λέξεως ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν τὰ ἐπίχειρα. Διαρῶν γὰρ ὁ ἄγιος Ἀπόστολος τῶν δύο τρόπων τὸ εἶδος, εἰς μίαν ἐλπὶδα συνήγαγεν, ἀπὸ τοῦ, Ἡμεῖς ἀρπαγησόμεθα ἐν νεφέλαις εἰς συνάντησιν αὐτοῦ· ὡς δὲ λέγει οὕτως τοῦτο τὸ σῶμα, καὶ οὐχ ἔτερον παρὰ τοῦτο, ὃ γὰρ ἀρπαγὴς οὕτως τέθηκε. *Hæres. lxi. § 70.* [Tom. I. p. 601 A.]

² *Nam et in hoc ingemiscimus, [hoc gemimus, Rigalt.] domicilium nostrum, quod de celo est, superindui desiderantes, siquidem induti et non nudi inveniamur: id est, ante volumus superinduere virtutem celestem æternitatis, quam carne exuamur. Hujus enim gratiæ privilegium illos manet, qui ab adventu Domini deprehendentur in carne, et propter duritias temporum Antichristi merebuntur, compendio mortis per demutationem expunctæ, concurrere cum resurgentibus, sicut Thessalonicensibus scribit.* *Tertull. de*

Resur. Carn. c. 41. [p. 409 D.] 'Sancti, qui die consummationis atque judicii in corporibus reperiendi sunt, cum aliis sanctis, qui ex mortuis ressurecturi sunt, rapiuntur in nubibus obviam Christo in æra, et non gustabunt mortem: eruntque semper cum Domino, gravissima mortis necessitate calcata; unde ait Apostolus, *Omnes quidem non dormiemus, omnes autem immutabimur.*' *Theod. Heracleotes Com. ad loc. apud S. Hieron. Ep. 152. al. 9.* (Tom. I. p. 794 D.) 'Apollinarius, licet aliis verbis, eadem quæ Theodorus asseruit; quosdam non esse morituros, et de præsentī vita rapiendos in futuram, ut mutatis glorificatisque corporibus sint cum Christo.' *S. Hieron. ib. (Tom. I. p. 795 C.)* 'Ὁ δὲ λέγει, τοῦτό ἐστιν· οὐ πάντες μὲν ἀποθανοῦμεθα, πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγούμεθα, καὶ οὐ μὴ ἀποθνήσκωτες· θνητοὶ γὰρ κἀκεῖνοι. Μὴ τοίνυν, ἐπειδὴν ἀποθνήσκεις, διὰ τοῦτο δόλως, φησὶν, ὡς οὐκ ἀναστησόμενος. Εἰσὶ γὰρ, τινὲς εἰσω, οἱ καὶ τοῦτο διαφεύξονται. καὶ ὅμως οὐκ ἀρκεῖ τοῦτο αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐκείνην, ἀλλὰ δεῖ καὶ ἐκεῖνα τὰ σώματα

the collation of these two scriptures maketh up this conclusion so manifestly, that I conceive no man had ever doubted or questioned the truth of it, had they not first differed in the reading of the text¹.

τὰ μὴ ἀποθνήσκοντα ἀλλαγῆναι, καὶ εἰς ἀφθαρσίαν μεταπεσεῖν. *S. Chrysost. Hom. 42. ad loc. [§ 2. Tom. x. p. 396 c.]* So St Jerome speaking of that place, 1 Thess. iv. 'Hoc ex ipsius loci contentia sciri potest, quod Sancti, qui in adventu Salvatoris fuerint deprehensi in corpore, in iisdem corporibus occurrant ei: ita tamen, ut inglorium et corruptivum et mortale, gloria et incorruptione et immortalitate mutetur: ut, qualia corpora mortuorum surrectura sunt, in talem substantiam etiam vivorum corpora transformentur.' *S. Hieron. Ep. 149. al 6. ad Marcell. (Tom. i. p. 326 D.)* And St Augustin, in relation to the same place: 'Revera, quantum ad verba beati Apostoli pertinet, videtur asserere quosdam in fine sæculi, adveniente Domino, cum futura est resurrectio mortuorum, non esse morituros, sed vivos repertos, in illam immortalitatem, quæ sanctis etiam cæsteris datur, repente mutandos, et simul cum illis rapiendos, sicut dicit, in nubibus. Nec aliquid aliud mihi visum est, quoties de his verbis volui cogitare.' *Ad tertium Quæst. Dulcitii, § 2. [Tom. vi. p. 96 c.] (p. 131.)* These and others of the ancients have clearly delivered this truth, so that Gennadius, notwithstanding his *maxima Patrum turba* for the contrary, did well confess: 'Verum quia sunt et alii æque catholici et eruditi viri, qui credunt, anima in corpore manente, immutandos ad incorruptionem et immortalitatem eos qui in adventu Domini vivi inveniendi sunt; et hoc eis reputari pro resurrectione ex mortuis, quod mortalitatem præsentis vite immutatione deponant, non morte. Quolibet quis acquiescat modo, non est hæreticus, nisi ex contentione hæreticus fiat.' *De Eccl. Dogm. c. 7.*

¹ There have been observed three several readings of that place, 1 Cor.

xv. 51. one of the Latin, two of the Greek. 'Illud autem breviter in fine commoneo; hoc, quod in Latinis codicibus legitur, *Omnes quidem resurgemus, non omnes autem immutabimur*, in Græcis voluminibus non haberi: sed vel, *Omnes dormiemus, non autem omnes immutabimur*; vel, *Non omnes dormiemus, omnes autem immutabimur*.' *S. Hieron. ep. 152. al. 9. (ep. 119. § 12. Tom. i. p. 810 G.)* But there was not one of these three only in the Latin copies, that is the first; but one, which was in the Greek, was also in the Latin, that is the second. For both these St Augustin takes notice of: 'Nam et illud quod in plerisque codicibus legitur, *Omnes resurgemus*, unde fieri poterit, nisi omnes moriamur? Resurrectio quippe, nisi mors præcesserit, nulla est. Et quod nonnulli codices habent, *Omnes dormiemus*, multo facilius et apertius id cogit intelligi.' *Ad tertiam Quæst. Dulcit. § 3. [Tom. vi. p. 96 D.] (p. 131.)* 'Sed aliud rursus occurrit, quod idem dixit Apostolus, cum de resurrectione corporum ad Corinthios loqueretur, *Omnes resurgemus* vel sicut alii codices habent, *Omnes dormiemus*.' *Idem, de Civit. Dei, l. xx. c. 20. [§ 3. Tom. vii. p. 453 D.] (p. 599.)* Two readings thereof were anciently in the Latin, two in the Greek; one of the Greek in the Latin, and no more. First then that reading, *Omnes quidem resurgemus, &c.* which is at this day in the Vulgar Latin, was by the testimony of St Jerome and St Augustin the ordinary reading in their times, and is also used by Tertullian: 'Horum demutationem ad Corinthios reddit dicens, *Omnes quidem resurgemus, non autem omnes demutabimur*.' *De Resur. Carn. c. 42. [p. 410 A.]* And although St Jerome testifieth that it was not to be found in the Greek copies, yet to the same purpose it is amongst the *Varia Lec-*

Wherefore, being the place to the Thessalonians sufficiently proves it of itself; being that to the Corinthians, as we read it, invincibly confirmeth the same truth; I conclude that the living, when *Christ* shall come, are properly distinguished from all those which die before his coming; because death itself 304 hath passed upon the one, and only a change different from death shall pass upon the other; and so conceive that *Christ*

tiones March. Vele. Πάντες ἀναβιώσωμεν, ἀλλὰ οὐ πάντες ἀναλλαγόμεθα. And in *Codice Claromontano*, the Greek is erased in this place, but the Latin left is, *Omnes quidem resurgemus.* As for the second reading, *Omnes dormiemus, &c.* this was anciently in the Latin copies, according to St Austin; and also in the Greek, according to St Jerome. Didymus did so read it, and contend for that reading: 'Scio quod in nonnullis codicibus scriptum sit, *Non quidem omnes dormiemus, omnes autem immutabimur.* Sed considerandum, an ei quod premissum est, *omnes immutabimur*, possit convenire quod sequitur, *Mortui resurgent incorrupti, et nos immutabimur.* Si enim omnes immutabuntur, et hoc commune cum cæteris est, superfluum fuit dicere, *et nos immutabimur.* Quamobrem ita legendum est, *Omnes quidem dormiemus, non omnes autem immutabimur.*' *Apud S. Hieron. Ep. 152. al. 9. (Ep. 119. § 5. Tom. I. p. 795 E.)* Indeed Acacius bishop of Cæsarea doth not only acknowledge this reading, but saith it was in most copies; 'Dicamus primum de eo, quod magis in plurimis codicibus invenitur, *Eccc mysterium dico vobis: Omnes quidem dormiemus; non omnes autem immutabimur.*' *Ibid. (p. 798 B.)* The Alexandrian MS. may confirm this lection, which reads it thus: *Οἱ πάντες μὲν οὐ κοιμηθήσονται, οὐ πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγθήσονται*, for the first *οὐ* is not written in the line, but above it. And the Ethiopic version to the same purpose, *Omnes nos moriemur, sed non omnes nos immutabimur.* The third reading, *Non omnes dormiemus, &c.* though it were not anciently in the Latin, yet it was frequently found in

the Greek copies. Acacius testifieth thus much: 'Transeamus ad secundam lectionem, quæ ita fertur in plerisque codicibus. *Non quidem omnes dormiemus, omnes autem immutabimur.*' *Apud Hier. ibid. [p. 799 B.]* It was so anciently read in the time of Origen, as appeareth by the Fragment taken by St Jerome out of his 'Ἐξηγητικὰ upon the First Epistle to the Thessalonians (which he mentioneth himself in his second book against Celsus), and by his words in the fifth against Celsus: *Οὐχ ὑπολαβὼν μετὰ τινος ἀπορίας [ἀπορήτου σοφίας] λελέχθαι παρὰ τῷ Ἀποστόλῳ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ τὸ, οὐ πάντες κοιμηθήσονται, πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγθήσονται.* § 17. [Tom. I. p. 589 E.] The same is acknowledged by Theodorus Heraclæotes, Apollinarius, Didymus, [vid. Hieron. Ep. 119. § 5. Tom. I. p. 795, 5.] St Chrysostom, Theodoret, Theophylact, and Œcumenius, *ad loc.* The same is confirmed by the ancient Syriac translation, *ܕܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܕܝܢ* as also by the Arabic. Being then of the three readings, but two were anciently found in the Greek copies, ('Quæritis quo sensu dictum sit, et quo modo in prima ad Corinthios Pauli Epistola sit legendum, *Omnes quidem dormiemus, non autem omnes immutabimur*; an juxta quædam exemplaria, *Non omnes dormiemus, omnes autem immutabimur*; utrumque enim in Græcis codicibus invenitur.' *S. Hieron. ibid. [p. 794 C.]*) and of those two but one is now to be found, and the Greek Fathers successively have acknowledged no other; being that which is left agrees with the most ancient translations, we have no reason to doubt or question it.

is called the Lord and Judge of the quick and the dead, in reference at least to this expression of the CREED. For although it be true of the living of any age to say that *Christ* is Lord and Judge of them and of the dead; yet in the next age they are not the living, but the dead, which *Christ* shall come to judge, and consequently no one generation, but the last, can be the quick which he shall judge. As therefore to the interpretation of this Article, I take that distinction to be necessary¹, that in the end of the world all the generations dead shall be revived, and the present generation living so continued, and *Christ* shall gather them all to his tribunal-seat, and so shall truly come to judge both *the quick and the dead*.

To believe an universal judgment to come is necessary; first, To prevent the dangerous doubts arising against the ruling of the world by the providence of God; that old rock of offence, upon which so many souls have suffered shipwreck. That which made the prophet David confess, his feet were almost gone, his steps had well nigh slipped, hath *Psalm lxxlii. 2*

¹ This was well observed by St Austin: 'Si autem in his verbis Apostoli nullus alius sensus poterit reperiri, et hoc eum intelligi voluisse claruerit, quod videntur ipsa verba clamare; id est, quod futuri sint in fine seculi, et adventu Domini, qui non exspolientur corpore, sed superinduantur immortalitate, ut absorbeatur mortale a vita: huic sententiae proculdubio conveniet quod in Regula Fidei confitemur, *venturum Dominum, judicaturum vivos et mortuos*; ut non hic intelligamus, vivos justos, mortuos autem injustos, quamvis judicandi sint justi et injusti; sed vivos quos nondum exiisse, mortuos autem quos jam exiisse de corporibus adventus ejus inveniet.' *Ad tertiam Quæst. Dulcissimi.* § 4. [Tom. VI. p. 96 E.] (p. 131.) And Origen long before did make the same exposition of these words, *that he might be Lord both of the dead and living*, Rom. xiv. 9: 'Ὅρα γὰρ ἐν τοῖτοις, οὗ ἀπέθανεν Ἰησοῦς, ἵνα νεκρῶν κυριεύσῃ, καὶ ἀπέστη, ἵνα μὴ μόνον νεκρῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ ζώντων κυριεύσῃ. Καὶ οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ Ἀπόστολος νεκροὺς μὲν ὧν κυριεύει ὁ Χριστός, τοὺς

οὕτω κατελεγμένους ἐν τῇ πρὸς Κορινθίους προτέρᾳ (σαλπίζει γὰρ, καὶ οἱ νεκροὶ ἐγερθήσονται ἀφ' αὐτοῦ) ζῶντας δὲ αὐτοῦς, καὶ τοὺς ἀλλαγγομένους, ἐτέρους ὄντας τῶν ἐγερθησομένων νεκρῶν. Ἐχει δὲ καὶ περὶ τούτων ἡ λέξις οὕτως, Καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀλλαγγομέθεα, ἐξ ἧς ἐρημμένη τῷ, Οἱ νεκροὶ ἐγερθήσονται πρῶτον. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Θεσσαλονικεῖς προτέρᾳ ἐν ἐτέραις λέξεσι τὴν αὐτὴν διαφορὰν παριστάς, φησὶν, Ἄλλους μὲν εἶναι τοὺς κοιμωμένους ἄλλους δὲ τοὺς ζῶντας, λέγων, &c. L. ii. *contra Celsum*, § 65. [Tom. I. p. 436 F.] Which exposition is far more proper than that of Methodius: 'Ἐπὶ τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν σωμάτων παραληπτέον' ζώντων μὲν τῶν ψυχῶν, καθὼς ἀθάνατοι, νεκρῶν δὲ τῶν σωμάτων. Phot. in *Biblioth. Cod.* cccxxiv. ad fin. [col. 932, 27.] And Ruffinus, 'Quid autem dicitur *judicare vivos et mortuos*, nisi quod alii vivi, alii mortui, ad judicium veniant? sed animæ simul judicabuntur et corpora, in quibus vivos animas, corpora mortuos nominavit.' *Expos. in Symb.* § 32. [p. 25.]

hurried multitudes of men to eternal perdition. The conspicuous prosperity of the wicked, and apparent miseries of the righteous; the frequent persecutions of virtue, and eminent rewards of vice; the sweet and quiet departures often attending upon the most dissolute, and horrid tortures putting a period to the most religious lives, have raised a strong temptation of doubt and mistrust, whether there be a God that judgeth the earth. Nor is there any thing in this life, considered alone, which can give the least rational satisfaction to this temptation. Except there be a life to come after such a death as we daily see, except in that life there be rewards and punishments otherwise dispensed than here they are, how can we ground any acknowledgment of an overruling justice? That therefore we may be assured that God who sitteth in heaven ruleth over all the earth, that a divine and most holy Providence disposeth and dispenseth all things here below; it is absolutely necessary to believe and profess, that a just and exact retribution is deferred, that a due and proportionable dispensation of rewards and punishments is reserved to another world; and consequently that there is an universal judgment to come.

Secondly, It is necessary to believe a judgment to come, thereby effectually to provoke ourselves to the breaking off our sins by repentance; to the regulating our future actions by the word of God; and to the keeping a conscience void of offence toward God and toward man. Such is the sweetness of our sins, such the connaturalness of our corruptions, so great our confidence of impunity here; that except we looked for an account hereafter, it were unreasonable to expect that any man should forsake his delights, renounce his complacencies, and by a severe repentance create a bitterness to his own soul. But being once persuaded of a judgment, and withal possessed with a sense of our sins, who will not tremble with Felix? who will not *flee from the wrath to come*? What must the hardness be of that impenitent heart, which *treasureth up unto itself wrath against the day of wrath and revelation of the righteous judgment of God*? We are naturally inclined to follow the bent of our own wills, and the inclination of our own hearts: all external rules and prescriptions are burdensome to us; and did we not look to give an account, we had no reason to satisfy any other desires than our own:

Matt. iii. 7.

Rom. ii. 5.

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especially the dictates of the word of God are so pressing and exact, that were there nothing but a commanding power, there could be no expectation of obedience. It is necessary then that we should believe that an account must be given of all our actions; and not only so, but that this account will be exacted according to the rule of God's revealed will, that God *shall judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ, according to the gospel.* There is in every man not only a power to reflect, but a necessary reflection upon his actions; not only a voluntary remembrance, but also an irresistible judgment of his own conversation. Now if there were no other judge beside our own souls, we should be regardless of our own sentence, and wholly unconcerned in our own condemnations. But if we were persuaded that these reflections of conscience are to be so many witnesses before the tribunal of Heaven, and that we are to carry in our own hearts a testimony either to absolve or condemn us, we must infallibly watch over that unquiet inmate, and endeavour above all things for a good conscience. For *seeing that all things shall be dissolved, what manner of persons ought we to be in all holy conversation and godliness, looking for and hasting unto the coming of the day of God!* Reason itself will tell us thus much; but if that do not, or if we will not hearken to our own voice; *the grace of God that bringeth salvation teacheth us, that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world, looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ.*

Thirdly, It is necessary to profess faith in *Christ* as Judge of the quick and the dead, for the strengthening our hope; for the augmenting our comfort; for the establishing our assurance of eternal life. If we look upon the judgment to come, only as revealing our secrets, as discerning our actions, as sentencing our persons according to our works done in the flesh, there is not one of us can expect life from that tribunal, or happiness at the last day. We must confess that we have all sinned, and that there is not any sin which we have committed but deserves the sentence of death; we must acknowledge that the best of our actions bear no proportion to eternity, and can challenge no degree of that weight of glory; and therefore in a judgment, as such, there can be

nothing but a fearful expectation of eternal misery, and an absolute despair of everlasting happiness. It is necessary therefore that we should believe that *Christ* shall sit upon the throne; that our Redeemer shall be our Judge; that we shall receive our sentence not according to the rigour of the Law, but the mildness and mercies of the Gospel; and then we may look upon not only the precepts, but also the promises of God: whatsoever sentence in the sacred Scriptures speaketh any thing of hope, whatsoever text administereth any comfort, whatsoever argument drawn from thence can breed in us any assurance, we may confidently make use of them all in reference to the judgment to come: because by that Gospel which contains them all, we shall be judged. If we consider whose Gospel it is, and who shall judge us by it, *we are the members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones; for which cause he is not ashamed to call us brethren.* As one of our brethren he hath redeemed us, he hath laid down his life as a ransom for us. He is our High-priest who made an atonement for our sins, *a merciful and faithful High-priest, in all things being made like unto his brethren.* He which is Judge, is also our Advocate; and who shall condemn us, if he shall pass the sentence upon us, who maketh intercession for us? Well therefore may *we have boldness and access with confidence by the faith of him* unto the throne of that Judge, who is our brother, who is our Redeemer, who is our High-priest, who is our Advocate, who will not by his word at the last day condemn us, because he hath already in the same word absolved us, saying, *Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that heareth my word, and believeth on him that sent me, hath everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation, but is passed from death unto life.*

Having thus explained the nature of the judgment to come, and the necessity of believing the same, we have given sufficient light to every Christian to understand what he ought to intend, and what it is he professeth, when he saith, I believe in him who *shall come to judge the quick and the dead.* For thereby he is conceived to declare thus much:

I am fully persuaded of this, as of an infallible and necessary truth, that the eternal Son of God, in that human nature, in which he died, and rose again, and ascended into heaven, shall certainly come from the same heaven into which he

ascended, and at his coming shall gather together all those which shall be then alive, and all which ever lived and shall be before that day dead: when, causing them all to stand before his judgment-seat, he shall judge them all according to their works done in the flesh; and passing the sentence of condemnation upon all the reprobates, shall deliver them to be tormented with the devil and his angels; and pronouncing the sentence of absolution upon all the elect, shall translate them into his glorious kingdom, of which there shall be no end. And thus I believe in *Jesus Christ*, WHO SHALL JUDGE THE QUICK AND THE DEAD.

I BELIEVE IN THE HOLY GHOST.

IN this Article we repeat again the first word of the CREED, *I believe*; whereas a conjunction might have been sufficient, but that so many particulars concerning the Son had intervened. For as we are baptized in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost: so do we make confession of our faith, saying, *I believe in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost*¹; and the ancients, whose Creed was something shorter, made no repetition of the act of faith, but only an addition of the object, *And in the Holy Ghost*². And as we repeat the act of faith in this Article, so some did also in the second, *I believe in Jesus Christ*³. Wherefore being this word, *I believe*, is taken here only by way of resumption or repetition, and consequently must be of the same sense or importance, of which it was in the beginning of the CREED, it may well receive the same explication here which it received there; to that therefore the reader is referred.

¹ 'Sed enim ordo rationis et fidei auctoritas, digestis vocibus et literis Domini, admonet nos post hæc credere etiam in Spiritum Sanctum, olim Ecclesie repromissum, sed statutis temporum opportunitatibus redditum.' *Novatiani de Trin.* c. 29. [*Init.* p. 311. col. 1 A.] Schlictingius the Socinian, in his Preface to the Polonian Confession of Faith, endeavourereth to persuade us, that this Article of the Holy Ghost is not so ancient as the rest; which being diametrically opposite to that original of the Creed, which I have delivered, the baptismal words, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, it will be necessary to examine his reason, which is drawn only from the authority of Tertullian; who, in his book *De Veland. Virg.* c. 1. [p. 192 c.] reciting the rule of faith, makes no mention of the Holy Ghost: and *De Præscr. Hæret.* propounds this Article no otherwise: 'Quam ut credamus Christum in celos ereptum sedisse ad dextram Patris, misisse vicariam vim Spiritus Sancti*.' c. 13. [p. 235 c.] But this objection made for the novelty of this Article is easily answered: for Irenæus,

before Tertullian, hath it expressly in his Confession, l. i. c. 10. and calls it the faith, 'in Patrem, et Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum;' and also declares, that the Church received that faith, and preserved it through the whole world.

² So the ancient Greek MS. *καὶ εἰς Πνεῦμα ἁγίον*; and Marcellus, *καὶ εἰς τὸ ἁγιον Πνεῦμα*; as also Arius and Euzoius, and the Council of Nice. *Socrat.* l. i. c. 8. Thus also the Latins: 'Post hoc ponitur in ordine fidei, *Et in Spiritum Sanctum.*' *Ruffinus in Symb.* § 34. *Maximus Taurin.* [*Hom. de Expos. Symboli*, p. 40 D.] et *Auctor. lib. de Symb. ad Catechum.* The MS. in the Oxford Library, *Et in Spiritum Sanctum.* Others, instead of the conjunction, made use of *credo*, by way of repetition, as we do: 'Credo in Spiritum Sanctum.' *Chrylogus, Eusebius Gallican., Auctor Serm. de Tempore, Elierius Uzam., the Greek and Latin MS. in Bene't College Library:* and 'Credo in Sancto Spiritu.' *Venantius Fortunatus. [Expos. Symb.]* p. 382 E.]

³ As the ancient Saxon Creed set forth by Freherus.

[* This is the substance of the passage referred to, not an accurate quotation.]

For although the ancient Fathers did frequently make use of this language to prove the Divinity of the Spirit¹, and did thence argue that he is really and truly God, because we *believe in the Holy Ghost*; yet being that language is not expressly read in the Scriptures in relation to the Spirit, as it is in reference to the Son; being to believe in the Holy Ghost, is only the expression of the Church contained in the CREED; being in the same Creed many of the ancients, without any reprehension, have used the same phrase in the following Articles expressly, and where the preposition is not expressed, it may very well be thought it was understood: therefore I think fit to acquiesce in my former exposition, and lay no great force in the preposition.

308 It will therefore be sufficient for the explication of this Article, if we can declare what is the full and proper object of our faith contained in it, what we are obliged to believe concerning the *Holy Ghost*. And as to this we shall discharge our undertaking, and satisfy whatsoever is required in this exposition, if we can set forth these two particulars, the nature and the office of that blessed Spirit. For the name of *Ghost* or *Gas*t in the ancient Saxon language signifieth a spirit, and

¹ Gregory Nazianzen, disputing for the divinity of the Holy Ghost, proveth that he is no creature thus: 'Αλλ' εἰ μὲν κτίσμα, πῶς εἰς αὐτὸ πιστεύομεν, ἢ ἐν αὐτῷ τελειούμεθα; οὐ γὰρ ταῦτόν ἐστι πιστεῖν εἰς τι, καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ πιστεῖν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶ θεότητος, τὸ δὲ παντὸς πράγματος. *Orat.* xxxvii. [xxxi. § 6. Tom. I. p. 560 A.] Epiphanius seems to speak thus much, shewing, that though the Fathers of the Nicene Council had determined nothing particularly of the Holy Ghost, yet they sufficiently shew that he is God, by those words: Καὶ εἰς Πνεῦμα ἄγιον. 'Ἐθδὲ γὰρ ἡ ἐκθεσις ὁμολογεῖ καὶ οὐκ ἀρνεῖται· Πιστεύομεν γὰρ εἰς ἓνα Θεὸν Πατέρα παντοκράτορα. Τὸ δὲ πιστεύομεν οὐχ ἀπλῶς εἰρηται, ἀλλὰ ἡ πίστις εἰς τὸν Θεόν. Καὶ εἰς ἓνα Κόριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν· οὐχ ἀπλῶς εἰρηται, ἀλλ' εἰς Θεὸν ἡ πίστις. Καὶ, εἰς τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα· καὶ οὐχ ἀπλῶς εἰρηται, ἀλλ' εἰς μίαν δοξολογίαν, καὶ εἰς μίαν ἑνωσιν θεότητος, καὶ μίαν ὁμοουσιότητα,

εἰς τρία τέλεια, μίαν δὲ θεότητα, μίαν οὐσίαν, μίαν δοξολογίαν, μίαν κυριότητα, ἀπὸ τοῦ πιστεύομεν καὶ πιστεύομεν καὶ πιστεύομεν.' *Hæres.* lxxiv. § 14. [Tom. I. p. 904 B.] 'Agnoscamus verbi ipsius privilegium. Credere illi quilibet potest hominum; credere vero in illum, soli debere te Majestati noveris. Sed et hoc ipsum aliud est *Deum credere*, aliud est *credere in Deum*. Esse Deum et diabolus credere dicitur, secundum Apostolum; nam et *dæmones credunt et contremiscunt*. In Deum vero credere, [nisi qui pie in eum speraverit, non probatur. In Deum ergo credere,] hoc est fideliter eum querere, et tota in eum dilectione transire. Credo ergo in illum, hoc est dicere, Confiteor illum, colo illum, adoro illum, totum me in jus ejus ac dominium trado atque transfundo. In professionis hujus reverentia universa divino nomini debita continentur obsequia.' *Paschasius in Prefat. Operis de Spiritu S.* [p. 734 D.]

in that appellation of the Spirit of God his nature principally is expressed. The addition of holiness, though it denote the intrinsical sanctity essentially belonging to that Spirit, yet notwithstanding it containeth also a derivative notion, as signifying an emanation of that holiness, and communication of the effects thereof; and in this communication his office doth consist. Whatsoever therefore doth concern the Spirit of God, as such, and the intrinsical sanctity which belongeth to that Spirit, may be expressed in the explication of his nature; whatsoever belongeth to the derivation of that sanctity may be described in his office; and consequently more cannot be necessary, than to declare what is the nature, what the office, of the Spirit of God.

For the better indagation of the nature of the *Holy Ghost*, I shall proceed by certain steps and degrees; which, as they will render the discourse more clear, so will they also make the reasons more strong, and the arguments more evident. And first, as to the existence of the Spirit of God, it will be unnecessary to endeavour the proof of it: for although the Sadducees seemed to deny it, who said *that there is no resurrection, neither angel nor spirit*; though it hath been ordinarily concluded from thence that they rejected the *Holy Ghost*¹, yet it cannot be proved from those words that they denied the existence of the Spirit of God, any more than that they denied the existence of God who is a spirit; nor did the notion which the Jews had of the Spirit of God any way incline the Sadducees, who denied the existence of the angels and the souls of men, to reject it. The resurrection, angel and spirit, which the Sadducees refused to acknowledge, were but two particulars; for it is expressly added, that the *Pharisees confessed both*; of which two the resurrection was one, angels and spirits were the other²; wherefore that which the Sadducees disbelieved was the existence of such created spiritual natures, as the angels and the souls of men are conceived to have. And as for those disciples at Ephesus, who had *not*

Acts xxiii. 8.

Acts xix. 2.

¹ As Epiphanius: Πνεῦμα δὲ ἄγιον οὐκ ἴσασι. *Hæres.* xiv. [Tom. I. p. 31 D.] Τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον Σαδδουκαῖοι μὲν οὐδὲ εἶναι τὸ παράπαν ἐνόμισαν, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀγγέλους, οὐδὲ ἀνδράσιν, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅθεν τὰς τοσαύτας περὶ αὐτοῦ μαρτυρίας ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ διαπτύσαντες. *Greg. Naz. Orat.*

xxxvii. [xxxi. § 5. Tom. I. p. 558 E.]

² Φαρισαῖοι δέ, φησὶν, ὁμολογοῦσι τὰ ἀμφότερα. καὶ μὴν τρία ἐστί· πῶς οὖν λέγει ἀμφότερα; ἢ ὅτι πνεῦμα καὶ ἀγγελος ἐν ἐστί; *S. Chrysost. Hom.* 49. in *Act. Apost.* xxiii. 8. [§ 1. Tom. ix. p. 364 D.]

so much as heard whether there be any *Holy Ghost*; if they were Gentiles, it is no wonder, because they never had that notion in their religion; if they were Jews, as they seem to be, because they were baptized with the baptism of John, it signifieth not that they never heard of the Spirit of God, but only that they had not heard of the giving of it, which the apostle mentioned: as we read elsewhere, that the *Holy Ghost* was not yet; not denying the existence, but the plentiful effusion of it. For, whatever the nature of the Spirit of God may be thought to be, no man can conceive the apostle should deny his existence before Christ's glorification, whose operation was so manifest at his conception. Howsoever, the apostle asked those ignorant disciples, *Unto what then were ye baptized?* intimating, that if they were baptized according to the rule of Christ, they could not be ignorant that there is an *Holy Ghost*; because the apostles were commanded to baptize in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the *Holy Ghost*. It is therefore presumed that every one who professeth the name of Christ, from the first baptismal institution, acknowledgeth that there is an *Holy Ghost*; and the only question consists in this: what that *Holy Ghost* is, in whose name we are baptized, and in whom, according to our baptism, we profess in the CREED to believe.

In order to the determination of which question, our first assertion is, That the *Holy Ghost*, described to us in the word of God, and joined with the Father and the Son in the form of baptism, is a person. We are all baptized in the name of three, the Father, the Son, and the *Holy Ghost*; and the public confession of our faith hath relation to those three. We all confess that two of these, the Father and the Son, are persons: that which we now assert, is only this, That the *Holy Ghost*, who is of the three the third, is also a person as the other two. That blessed Spirit is not only an energy or operation¹, not a quality or power, but a spiritual and intellectual

¹ To conclude the nature of the Holy Ghost, which is not so immediately expressed in the Scriptures, it will be needful so to place our assertions, as that they may occur to all other misconceptions. Now the old notions (and more they cannot now have) were thus delivered by Gregory

Nazianzen, that great divine so much concerned in this subject: *Τῶν δὲ καθ' ἡμᾶς σοφῶν οἱ μὲν ἐνέργειαν τοῦτο (τὸ Πνεῦμα) ὑπέλαβον, οἱ δὲ κρίσμα, οἱ δὲ Θεόν, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἔγνωσαν ὑπέρτερον τούτων· αἰδοὶ τῆς γραφῆς, ὡς φασιν, ὡς οὐδὲν ἕτερον σαφῶς δηλώσασθαι. Οὐαί. xxxvii. [xxx. § 5. Tom. i. p. 559 A.]*

subsistence. If we conceive¹ it is an operation only², then must it only be actuated and not act; and when it is not actuated, it must not be at all. If we say, that it is a quality, and not a substance; we say that it is that, which we cannot prove to have any being. It seemeth to me strangely unreasonable, that men should be so earnest in endeavouring to prove that the *Holy Ghost* which sanctifieth them, is no substance, when they cannot be assured that there is any thing operative in the world beside substantial beings; and consequently if they be not sanctified by that, they can be susceptible of no holiness. By what reason in nature can they be assured, by what revelation in Scripture can they be confident, that there is a reality deserving the name of quality distinguished from all substance, and yet working real and admirable effects? If there were no other argument but this, that we are assured by the Christian faith that there is a *Holy Ghost* existing; and we cannot be assured, either by reason or faith, that there is a quality really and essentially distinguished from all substance; it would be sufficient to deter us from that boldness, to assert the *Holy Ghost*, in whose name we are baptized, to be nothing else but a quality.

But we are not left to guess at the nature of the Spirit of God; the word of God, which came from that Spirit, hath sufficiently delivered him as a person. It is indeed to be observed, that in the Scriptures there are some things spoken of the Holy Ghost, which are proper and peculiar to a person, as the adversaries confess; others which are not properly and primarily to be attributed to a person, as we cannot deny: and it might seem to be equally doubtful, in relation to the

These were the three particular and opposite opinions: either the Spirit is an operation, or a created substance, or God; the fourth is but a doubt or hesitation which of the three is true. The first of these is thus propounded by way of question: Τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον ἢ τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸ ὑπερσχηκῶτων πάντως ὑποθετόν, ἢ τῶν ἐν ἑτέρῳ θεωρουμένων, ὧν τὸ μὲν οὐσίαν καλοῦσιν οἱ περὶ ταῦτα δεινοί, τὸ δὲ συμβεβηκός. *Ibid.* [§ 6. p. 559 D.] Either it is subsisting in itself, as a substance; or in another, as an accident. This was the first question then, and still is.

[“conceived,” in the third edition.]

² This is the argument of the same Father: Εἰ μὲν οὖν συμβέβηκεν, ἐνέργεια τοῦτο ἂν εἴη Θεοῦ· τί γὰρ ἕτερον, ἢ τίς; τοῦτο γὰρ πως μᾶλλον, καὶ φεύγει σύνθεσιν· καὶ εἰ ἐνέργεια, ἐνεργηθήσεται δηλονότι, οὐκ ἐνεργήσει, καὶ ὁμοῦ τῷ ἐνεργηθῆναι παύσεται· τοιοῦτον γὰρ ἡ ἐνέργεια. Πῶς οὖν ἐνεργεῖ, καὶ τὰδε λέγει, καὶ ἀφορίζει, καὶ λυπεῖται, καὶ παροξύνεται, καὶ ὅσα κινουμένου σαφῶς ἐστίν, οὐ κινήσεις; *Ibid.* [§ 6. p. 559 D.]

Scripture-expressions, whether the Holy Ghost were a person or no; and that they which deny his personality, may pretend as much Scripture as they which assert it. But in this seeming indifference, we must also observe a large diversity; inasmuch as the *Holy Ghost*, or Spirit of God, is not always taken in the same propriety of signification; nor do we say that the *Holy Ghost*, which signifieth a person, always signifieth so much. It is therefore easily conceived how some things may be attributed to the Spirit in the Scriptures which are not proper to a person, and yet the Spirit be a person, because sometimes the Spirit is taken for that which is not a person, as we acknowledge: whereas, if ever any thing be attributed to the *Holy Ghost* as to a person, which cannot be otherwise understood of the Spirit of God than as of a person, then may we infallibly conclude that the *Holy Ghost* is a person. This therefore we shall endeavour fully and clearly to demonstrate; first, That the Scriptures declare unto us the

310 *Holy Ghost* as a person, by such attributes and expressions as cannot be understood to be spoken of the Spirit of God any other way than as a person: secondly, That whatsoever attributes or expressions are used in the Scriptures of the *Holy Ghost*, and are objected as repugnant to the nature of a person, either are not so repugnant as is objected; or if they be, they belong unto the Spirit, as it signifies not a person.

First then, The *Holy Ghost*, or good Spirit of God, is clearly and formally opposed to those evil spirits, which are and must be acknowledged persons of a spiritual and intellectual subsistence. As, *The Spirit of the Lord departed from Saul, and an evil spirit from the Lord troubled him.* Now, what those evil spirits from the Lord were, is apparent from the sad example of Ahab, concerning whom we read, *there came out a spirit and stood before the Lord and said, I will entice him; and the Lord said unto him, Wherewith? and he said, I will go out and be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets. And the Lord said, Thou shalt entice him, and thou shalt also prevail; go out, and do even so.* From whence it is evident, that the evil spirits from God were certain persons, even bad angels, to which the one good Spirit as a person is opposed, departing from him to whom the other cometh.

Again, The New Testament doth describe the *Holy Ghost* by such personal dispositions, and with such operations, as are

as evident marks and signs of a person as any which are attributed to the Father or the Son, which are unquestionable persons; and whatsoever terms are spoken of the Spirit by way of quality, are spoken as well of those which are acknowledged persons. We are exhorted by the apostle *not to grieve the Spirit of God*; and grief is certainly a personal affection, of which a quality is not capable. We are assured that the same *Spirit maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered*; and we can understand what are interceding persons, but have no apprehension of interceding or groaning qualities. The operations of the Spirit are manifest, and as manifestly personal; for he *searcheth all things, yea, even the deep things of God*; and so he *knoweth all things, even the things of God*, which can be no description of the power of God; he *worketh all the spiritual gifts, dividing to every man severally as he will*, in which the operation, discretion, distribution, and all these voluntary, are sufficient demonstrations of a person. He revealeth the will of God, and speaketh to the sons of men, in the nature and after the manner of a person; *for the Spirit said unto Peter, Behold, three men seek thee: arise therefore, and get thee down, and go with them, doubting nothing; for I have sent them.* And the *Holy Ghost said* unto the prophets and teachers at Antioch, *Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them.* We cannot better understand the nature of the *Holy Ghost* than by the description given by Christ which sent him: and he said thus to his disciples, *The Comforter* (or the Advocate), *which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things;...he shall testify of me: and ye also shall bear witness....If I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart, I will send him unto you. And when he is come, he will reprove the world, and he will guide you into all truth; for he shall not speak of himself; but whatsoever he shall hear, that shall he speak; and he shall shew you things to come. He shall glorify me; for he shall receive of mine, and shall shew it unto you.* All which words are nothing else but so many descriptions of a person; a person hearing, a person receiving, a person testifying, a person speaking, a person reproving, a person instructing.

The adversaries to this truth¹, acknowledging all these

¹ The present adversaries to this truth are the Socinians, and their opinion was thus first delivered by Socinus: 'Quod in testimoniis sacris quæ

John xiv. 26;
xv. 26, 27;
xvi. 7, 8, 13,
14.

311 personal expressions, answer that it is ordinary in the Scriptures to find the like expressions, which are proper unto persons, given unto those things which are no persons: as when the apostle saith, *Charity suffereth long, and is kind; charity envieth not, charity vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil, rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth; beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things*: all which personal actions are attributed to charity, which is no person, as in other cases it is usual¹, but belonging to that person which is charitable; because that person which is so qualified doth perform those actions according to, and by virtue of, that charity which is in him. In the same manner, say they², personal actions are attributed to the *Holy Ghost*, which is no person, but only the virtue, power, and efficacy of God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, because that God the Father is a person, and doth perform those personal actions, attributed to the *Holy*

adversarii citant, Spiritui Sancto actiones tribuuntur, et ea quæ personarum sunt propria; ex hoc nihil concludi potest, cum aliis rebus, quas personas non esse constat, similiter in Scripturis sacris actiones tribuantur, et ea quæ sunt propria personarum. Cujus rei plenissimam fidem facere potest vel locus ille Pauli, (1 Cor. xiii. a 4 usque ad 8.) ubi perpetuo de charitate, tanquam de persona aliqua loquitur, illi permulta tribuens, quæ revera non nisi in personam cadunt.' *Faustus Socinus contra Wiekum*, c. 10. [Tom. II. p. 620. col. 2.]

¹ So the Racovian Catechism doth enlarge this answer, stating the question thus: 'Qui vero ii Scripturæ loci accipiendi sunt, in quibus Spiritui Sancto actiones personarum propriæ, et ad Deum ipsum spectantes, attribuantur?' And returning this solution: 'Ad eum modum, quo in Scripturis rebus id attribuitur sæpenumero, quod personarum est; neque tamen res illæ propterea personæ censentur, ut peccato, quod *deceperit*, et *occiderit* (Rom. vii. 11.), et legi quod *loquatur* (Rom. iii. 19.), et Scripturæ quod *prospiciat*

et *prænunciet* (Gal. iii. 8), et charitati quod sit *longanimis*, &c. (1 Cor. xiii. 4—7.) denique Spiritui, i. e. vento, quod *spiret ubi velit*.' (John iii. 8.) c. 6. Vide *Socini Epistolam 3. ad Petrum Statorium*.

² 'Quod si quis dixerit, satis constare, Paulum eo in loco figurate loqui, et charitatis nomine eum intelligere qui charitate est præditus, quatenus ea est præditus: respondebo, cum Spiritus Sanctus sit Spiritus Dei, certumque sit alioqui spiritum alicujus personæ non posse esse personam ab ea, cujus est spiritus, distinctam; non minus constare, cum Spiritui Sancto ea tribuantur, quæ personæ et simul ipsius Dei sunt propria, nihil aliud intelligendum nomine Spiritus Sancti esse, quam ipsum Deum Spiritu suo, id est, virtute atque efficacia sua, agentem atque operantem.' *F. Socinus, cont. Wiek.* c. 10. 'Quoniam vero Spiritus Sanctus virtus Dei est, hinc fit ut ea quæ Dei sunt, Spiritui Sancto attribuantur, et sub nomine Spiritus Sancti sæpe Deus ipse intelligatur, quatenus suam virtutem Deus per Spiritum suum exerit.' *Catech. Racov.* c. 6.

Acts x. 19,
20.

Ghost, by that virtue, power, and efficacy in himself, which is the *Holy Ghost*. As when we read, *The Spirit said unto Peter, Behold, three men seek thee: arise therefore, and get thee down, and go with them, doubting nothing; for I have sent them:* we must understand that God the Father was the person which spake those words, and which sent those men; but because he did so by that virtue which is the *Holy Ghost*, therefore the *Holy Ghost* is said to speak those words, and send those men. In the same manner when we read, *The*

Acts xlii. 2.

Holy Ghost said unto those at Antioch, Separate me Barnabas and Saul, for the work whereunto I have called them: we must conceive it was God the Father who spake those words, who had called Barnabas and Saul, and to whom they were to be separated; but because God did all this by that power within him, which is his Spirit, therefore those words and actions are attributed to the *Holy Ghost*. This is the sum of their answer; and more than this I conceive cannot be said in answer to that argument which we urge from those personal expressions attributed to the Spirit of God, and, as we believe, as to a person.

But this answer is most apparently insufficient, as giving no satisfaction to the argument. For if all the personal actions, attributed in the Scriptures to the Spirit, might proceed from the person of God the Father, according to the power which is in him, then might this answer seem satisfactory: but if these actions be personal, as they are acknowledged, and cannot be denied; if the same cannot be attributed to the person of God the Father, whose Spirit it is; if he cannot be said to do that by the power within him, which is said to be done by the *Holy Ghost*; then is that defence not to be defended, then must the *Holy Ghost* be acknowledged a person. But I shall clearly prove, that there are several personal attributes given in the sacred Scriptures expressly to the *Holy Ghost*, which cannot be ascribed to God the Father; which God the Father, by that power which is in him, cannot be said to do; and consequently cannot be any ground why those at- 312 tributes should be given to the Spirit if it be not a person.

To make intercession is a personal action, and this action is attributed to the Spirit of God, *because he maketh intercession for the saints according to the will of God.* But to make intercession, is not an act which can be attributed to

Rom. viii. 27.

God the Father, neither can he be said to intercede for us according to that power which is in him; and therefore this can be no Prosopopœia; the *Holy Ghost* cannot be said to exercise the personal action of intercession, for that reason, because it is the Spirit of that person which intercedeth for us. To come unto men, as being sent unto them, is a personal action; and so the Comforter, or Advocate, who is the *Holy Ghost*, did come, being sent; *when the Comforter is come, whom I will send you from the Father*, saith Christ: John xv. 26. and again, *If I go not away the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart, I will send him to you.* John xvi. 7. But to come unto men, as being sent, cannot be ascribed to God the Father, who sendeth, but is never sent; especially in this particular, in which the Father is said expressly to send, and that in the name of the Son (*whom the Father will send in my name*, saith our Saviour). John xiv. 26. When therefore the *Holy Ghost* cometh to the sons of men, as sent by the Father in the name of the Son, and sent by the Son himself, this personal action cannot be attributed to the Father as working by the power within him, and consequently cannot ground a Prosopopœia, by which the virtue or power of God the Father shall be said to do it. To speak and hear are personal actions, and both together attributed to the Spirit in such a manner as they cannot be ascribed to God the Father. *When he* (saith Christ), *the Spirit of truth, is come, he will guide you into all truth: for he shall not speak of himself: but whatsoever he shall hear, that he shall speak.* John xvi. 13. Now to speak, and not of himself, cannot be attributed to God the Father, who doth all things of himself; to speak what he heareth, and that of the Son; to deliver what he receiveth from another, and to glorify him from whom he receiveth by receiving from him, as Christ speaketh of the *Holy Ghost*, *He shall glorify me; for he shall receive of mine, and shew it to you;* is by no means applicable to the Father; and consequently it cannot be true that the *Holy Ghost* is therefore said to do these personal actions, because that person, whose spirit the *Holy Ghost* is, doth those actions by and according to his own power, which is the *Holy Ghost*. It remaineth therefore, that the answer given by the adversaries of this truth is apparently insufficient, and consequently that our argument, drawn from the personal actions attributed in the Scriptures to the Spirit, is sound and valid.

I thought this discourse had fully destroyed the Socinian Prosopopœia; and indeed, as they ordinarily propound their answer, it is abundantly refuted. But I find the subtilty of Socinus prepared another explication of the Prosopopœia¹, to supply the room where he foresaw the former would not serve. Which double figure he groundeth upon this distinction: "The Spirit, that is, the power of God," saith he, "may be considered either as a propriety and power in God, or as the things on which it worketh are affected with it. If it be considered in the first notion, then if any personal attribute be given to the Spirit, the Spirit is there taken for God, and by the Spirit God is signified: if it be considered in the second notion, then if any personal attribute be given to the Spirit, the Spirit is taken for that man in which it worketh; and that man, affected with it, is called the Spirit of God."

So that now we must not only shew that such things ³¹³ which are attributed to the *Holy Ghost* cannot be spoken of the Father; but we must also prove that they cannot be attributed unto man, in whom the Spirit worketh from the Father: and this also will be very easily and evidently proved. The *Holy Ghost* is said to come unto the apostles as sent by the Father and the Son, and to come as so sent is a personal action, which we have already shewed cannot be the action of the Father, who sent the Spirit; and it is as certain that it cannot be the action of an apostle who was affected with the Spirit which was sent, except we can say that the Father and the Son did send St Peter an advocate to St Peter; and

¹ 'Credo me satis ostendisse, Spiritum Sanctum non esse personam, non magis quam aliæ vel proprietates, vel effecta Dei, sint personæ; cum nihil sit aliud quam peculiaris quædam virtus et efficacia Dei; quæ si, ut ipsius Dei proprietas, et vis, per quam agit, consideratur et accipitur, figuræ Metonymiæ aut Prosopopœiæ accommodatissimus est locus: et Metonymiæ quidem, si Spiritus Sancti nomine ipse Deus, cujus est Spiritus, quique per eum agit, significetur; Prosopopœiæ vero, ut quando Deus per Spiritum Sanctum agit, ipsi Spiritui Sancto Dei actio tribuatur. Sin autem hæc virtus et efficacia Dei consideratur, et accipitur, ut res in quibus agit, ab ipsa

afficiuntur, utrique isti figuræ similiter aptissimus est locus. Quandoquidem commodissime per Metonymiam is qui a Spiritu Sancto aliquo modo affectus quidpiam agit, quatenus id agit, Spiritus Sanctus seu Spiritus Dei metonymice dici potest: ut factum est apud Paulum, cum ait (1 Cor. ii. 10.) *Spiritum* (subaudi Dei) *omnia scrutari, etiam profunda Dei*: ubi Spiritus Dei nomine sine dubio intellexit hominem Spiritu Dei præditum, quatenus, videlicet ab isto Spiritu afficitur.—Jam per Prosopopœiam ipsi Spiritui Sancto actionem tribui, quæ ipsius Spiritus ope ab homine fiat, adeo est proclive ut nihil magis.' *F. Socin. in Resp. ad Wick. c. 10.* [Tom. II. p. 621, col. 1.]

St Peter, being sent by the Father and the Son, did come unto St Peter. Again, our Saviour speaking of the *Holy Ghost* saith, *He shall receive of mine*: therefore the *Holy Ghost* in that place is not taken for the Father; and *shew it unto you*, therefore he is not taken for an apostle: in that he *receiveth*, the first Socinian Prosopopœia is improper: in that he *sheweth* to the apostle, the second is absurd. The *Holy Ghost* then is described as a person distinct from the person of the Father, whose power he is; and distinct from the person of the apostle in whom he worketh, and consequently neither of the Socinian figures can evacuate or enervate the doctrine of his proper and peculiar personality.

Secondly, For those attributes or expressions used of the *Holy Ghost* in the sacred Scriptures, and pretended to be repugnant to the nature of a person, either they are not so repugnant, or, if they be, they belong unto the Spirit, as it signifieth not the person, but the gifts or effects of the Spirit. They tell us that the Spirit is given, and that sometimes in measure, sometimes without measure¹; that the Spirit is poured out, and that men do drink of it, and are filled with it; that it is doubled and distributed, and something is taken from it; and that sometimes it is extinguished: and from hence they gather, that the *Holy Ghost* is not a person, because these expressions are inconsistent with personality. But a satisfactory answer is easily returned to this objection. It is true, that God is said to have *given the Holy Ghost to them that obey him*; but it is as true that a person may be given: so we read in the prophet Isaiah, *unto us a Son is given*; and we are assured that *God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son*, and certainly the Son of God is a person. And if all the rest of the expressions be such as they pretend, that is, not proper to a person; yet do they no way prejudice the truth of our assertion, because we acknowledge the effects and operations of the Spirit to have in the Scriptures the name of the Spirit, who is the cause of

Acts v. 32.

Isa. ix. 6.

John III. 16.

¹ 'Spiritum Sanctum non esse Deitatis Personam hinc discere potes; primum quod ea quæ Spiritui Sancto in Scripturis attribuantur, nulla prorsus ratione Personæ conveniant, ut sunt, quod detur, quod ex eo detur, idque aut secundum mensuram aut

absque omni mensura, quod effundatur ipse et ex ipso effundatur, et quod eo potentur homines, quod augeatur, quod in duplo detur, in partes distribuatur, tollatur ipse et ex ipso tollatur; et similia in Scripturis exstant.' *Catech. Racov. c. 6. Quæst. 12.*

these operations. And being to that Spirit, as the cause, we have already shewn those attributes to be given, which can agree to nothing but a person; we therefore conclude, against the Socinians and the Jews, that the *Holy Ghost* is not a quality, but a person¹; which is our first assertion.

Our second assertion is, That the *Holy Ghost*, in whose 314 name we are baptized, and in whom we profess to believe, is not a created, but a divine and uncreated person. And for the proof of this assertion, we shall first make use of that argument which our adversaries have put into our hands. The Spirit of God which is in God is not a created person; but the *Holy Ghost* is the Spirit of God which is in God, and therefore not a created person. This argument is raised from those words of the apostle, *For what man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of a man which is in him? even so the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God.* That this Spirit of God is the *Holy Ghost*, I find denied by none: that the same Spirit is in God, appeareth by the apostle's discourse, and is granted by the Socinians²:

1 Cor. ii. 11

¹ The opinion of the Jews was, that the *Holy Ghost* was nothing else but the *afflatus*, or energy of God; and therefore they which denied the substantiality of the Spirit were looked upon as symbolizing with the Jews in this particular. 'Lactantius in libris suis, et maxime in Epistolis ad Demetrianum, Spiritus Sancti omnino negat substantiam; et errore Judaico dicit eum vel ad Patrem referri, vel Filium, et sanctificationem utriusque Personæ sub ejus nomine demonstrari.' *S. Hieron.* Ep. 65. al. 41. (Ep. 84. Tom. i. p. 524 c.) Moses Maimonides sufficiently declareth the opinion of the Jews, who delivering the several significations of *רוח*, maketh the fifth and sixth to be these: 'Quinto significat influentiam illam intellectualem divinam a Deo Prophetis instillatam, cujus virtute prophetant.—Sexto significat Propositum, et Voluntatem.' And then concludes: 'Vox hæc *רוח* quando Deo attribuitur, ubique sumitur partim in quinta, partim in sexta significatione, quatenus voluntatem significat.' *More Nevochim*, p. i. c. 40.

² The Socinians, endeavouring to prove from this place that the *Holy Ghost* is not a person, lay the foundation of their argument in this, That he is the Spirit of God, and by nature in God, so that those things which are proper to the Divine nature are attributed and belong to him, and because there is another person in the divine essence, and, as they say, there can be but one, therefore the *Holy Ghost* is not a person. 'Deinde idem (sc. Spiritum Sanctum non esse Personam) ex eo patet, quod non sit extra Deum natura sed in ipso Deo. Nisi enim natura Deo inesset, non potuisset Paulus Spiritum Dei cum spiritu hominis qui homini inest natura conferre, idque eo in loco (1 Cor. ii. 11.) ubi ait, *Quis hominum novit quæ sunt hominis, nisi spiritus hominis qui est in homine? Ita quæ sunt Dei nemo novit nisi Spiritus Dei.* Quoniam vero Spiritus Sanctus in Deo est, nec tamen in Spiritu Sancto reciproce dici potest esse Deum, hinc apparet Spiritum Sanctum non esse Personam. Præterea cum superius demonstratum sit unam tantum esse in

that it is so the Spirit of God, and so by nature in God that it cannot be a creature, is granted by the same. It followeth therefore undeniably that the *Holy Ghost* is no created person, inasmuch as that cannot be a created person, which hath not a created nature; and that can neither have nor be a created nature, which by nature is in God. Wherefore although it be replied by others, that it is not said in the text that the Spirit is in God, yet our adversaries' reason overweighs their negative observation; and it availeth little to say that it is not expressed, which must be acknowledged to be understood. The *Holy Ghost* then is a person (as I have proved), and is not of a nature distinguished from that which is in God (as is confessed, and only denied to be in God, because it is not said so when it is implied); therefore he is no created person.

Secondly, The *Holy Ghost* is such a one as against whom a sin may be committed, and when it is so, cannot be remitted. But if he were no person, we could not commit that sin against him; and if he were a created person, the sin committed against him could not be irremissible: therefore he is a person, and that uncreated. The argument is grounded upon the words of our Saviour, *All manner of sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men; but the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven unto men. And whosoever speaketh a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him: but whosoever speaketh a word against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, neither in the world to come*¹. By which words it appeareth there is a sin or blas-

Matt. xli. 31,
32.

Deitate personam, et Spiritus Sanctus sit Dei virtus, ut verba Christi ad Apostolos indicant, (Luc. xxiv. 49), efficitur Spiritum Sanctum non esse personam divinam. Denique si Spiritus Sanctus esset persona, essentiam quoque divinam eum habere oporteret. Nam ea attribuantur illi quæ propria sunt essentiae divinæ: at superius docuimus substantiam divinam unam esse numero, nec tribus personis esse posse communem. Quamobrem Spiritum non esse Deitatis personam planum est.' *Catech. Racovian.* c. 6. To the same purpose doth Socinus argue against Wiekus, [c. 10. Tom. II. p. 620, 621.] that the nature of the Spirit is the

nature of God, and that the Spirit cannot therefore be a person, because there can be but one person in the nature of God. Whereas therefore, independently from this place, we have proved that the Holy Spirit is a person; and from this place have inferred with them, that the same Spirit is in God, and of the Divine nature; it followeth, that he is no created Spirit, inasmuch as nothing in the divine nature can be created.

¹ 'Quomodo audent inter omnia numerare Spiritum Sanctum, quando ipse Dominus dixit, *Qui blasphemaverit in Filium hominis, remittetur ei; qui autem blasphemaverit in Spiritum Sanc-*

phemy against the *Holy Ghost* distinct from all other sins and blasphemies committed against God the Father, or the Son of God; that this sin hath an aggravation added unto it, beyond other sins and blasphemies: but if the *Holy Spirit* were no person, the sin could not be distinct from those sins which are committed against him whose Spirit he is; and if he were a person created, the sin could receive no such aggravation beyond other sins and blasphemies.

To this they answer, that the sin against the *Holy Ghost* 315 is not therefore unpardonable because he is God, which is not to our purpose; but they do not, cannot, shew that it can be unpardonable, if he were not God. It is not therefore simply, and for no other reason, unpardonable, because that person is God against whom it is committed: for if so, then any sin committed against any person which is God, would be unpardonable; which is false. But that sin, which is particularly called blasphemy against the Holy Spirit, is a sin against God, and in such a manner aggravated, as makes it irremissible; of which aggravation it were incapable, if the Spirit were not God.

Thirdly, Every created person was made by the Son of God as God, and is now put under the feet of the Son of God as man. But the Spirit of God was not made by the Son of God, nor is he now put under the feet of the Son of man.

John 1. 3.

Therefore the Spirit of God can be no created person. *All things were made by the Word, and without him was not any thing made that was made;* therefore every created person

1 Cor. xv. 27.

was made by the Word. *God hath put all things under the feet of Christ; and when he saith, All things are put under him; it is manifest that he is excepted which did put all things under him:* and being none is excepted beside God, every created person must be under the feet of the Son of man. But the Spirit of God in the beginning was not made, yea rather in the beginning made the world, as Job speaks of

Job xxvi. 13.

God, *By his Spirit he hath garnished the heavens*¹: nor is

tum nec hic nec in futurum remittetur ei. Quomodo igitur inter creaturas audet quisquam Spiritum computare? Aut quis sic se obligat, ut si creaturæ derogaverit, non putet sibi hoc aliqua venia relaxandum. S. Ambros. *de Spiritu Sancto*. l. i. c. 3. [Tom. iv. p. 218 A.]

¹ Those which anciently did believe the Spirit of God to be a created person, did also teach that he was made by the Son, as Epiphanius testifieth of the Arians: Παρὶ τοῦτο δηλὸν ἐστίν, ὅτι ὁμολογοῦσι τοὺς ἀγγέλους ὑπὸ τοῦ Υἱοῦ γεγενῆσθαι, καὶ γὰρ καὶ περὶ τοῦ

he under the feet of Christ, now set down at the right hand of God, who with supreme authority, together with the Father, sent the prophets; as Isaiah testifieth, saying, *Now the Lord* Isai. xlviii. 16.
God and his Spirit hath sent me; and with the same authority, since the exaltation of our Saviour, sent forth such as were separated to himself, as appeareth in the case of Barnabas and Saul; and with the same authority giveth all spiritual gifts¹, *dividing to every man severally as he will*; 1 Cor. xii. 11.
 so that in this kingdom of Christ all things are done *by the* Rom. xv. 19.
power of the Spirit of God.

Fourthly, He, by whose operation Christ was conceived in the womb of the Virgin, was no created person; for by

Πνεύματος βλασφημοῦσι, καὶ τολμῶσι λέγειν κεκτισθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Τιού. *Hæc.* lxi. § 52. [Tom. I. p. 774 A.] 'Ariani ab Ario, in eo sunt notissimi errore, quo Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum nolunt esse unius ejusdemque nature,—sed esse Filium creaturam, Spiritum vero Sanctum creaturam creaturæ, hoc est, ab ipso Filio creatum volunt.' *S. August. Hæc.* xlix. [Tom. VIII. p. 14 A.] As Eusebius: Τὸ δὲ παράκλητον Πνεῦμα, οὕτε Θεός, οὕτε Τίός. ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὁμοίως τῷ Τίῳ καὶ αὐτὸ τὴν γέννησιν ἐληφεν. ἐν δὲ τῇ τῶν διὰ τοῦ Τιού γενομένων τυγχαίνει, ὅτι δὲ πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἓν. *De Eccl. Theol.* l. iii. c. 6. [p. 175 A.] 'Ο δὲ Τίός μόνος πατρικῇ θεότητι τετιμημένος, ποιητικὸς ἂν εἴη καὶ δημιουργητικὸς τῆς τῶν γεννητῶν ἀπάντων ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων, καὶ δὴ καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς τοῦ παρακλήτου Πνεύματος ὑπάρξεως· πάντα γὰρ δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἓν. *Ibid.* [p. 174 C.] Where it is worth our observation, that Eusebius citing the place of St John, to prove that the Holy Ghost was made by the Son, leaves out those words twice together, by which the Catholics used to refute that heresy of the Arians, viz. δ γέγονεν. All things which were made, were made by the Son, but the Holy Ghost was not amongst them, δ γέγονεν, which were made, and therefore was not made by the Son. Τὸ Ἅγιον γὰρ Πνεῦμα κτίσμα

πάντων κτισμάτων φασιν εἶναι, διὰ τὸ, διὰ τοῦ Τιού τὰ πάντα γεγενῆσθαι, ὡς εἶπεν ἡ γραφή, ἀσυνέτως τινὰς διαρπαδίζοντες· οὐ καθὼς εἰρηται τὸ ῥητὸν ἔχοντες, ἀλλὰ κακῶς ὑπονοούντες, καὶ ἀπὸ ῥητοῦ τὸ καλῶς εἰρημένον κατὰ τὴν κακὴν αὐτῶν ὑπόνοιαν παρερμηνεύοντες· οὐ γὰρ τὸ θείον Εὐαγγέλιον περὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐφη, ἀλλὰ περὶ πάντων τῶν κεκτισμένων, ὅτι εἰ τι κτιστὸν, διὰ τοῦ Λόγου γεγενῆται, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Λόγου· τὰ γὰρ πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἓν, παρεκτινομένης τῆς ἀναγνώσεως, ἔχει, δ γέγονεν, ἵνα οὕτω γνωσθῇ, ὅτι πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἓν. *S. Epiphani. Hæc.* lxi. § 56. [Tom. I. p. 778 D.]

¹ Ταῦτα πάντα ἐνεργεῖ τὸ ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ Πνεῦμα, διαροῦν ἰδίᾳ ἐκάστῳ καθὼς βούλεται. Καθὼς βούλεται φησιν, οὐ καθὼς προστάττεται· διαροῦν, οὐ διατρούμενον· ἀδθεντοῦν, οὐκ ἀδθεντῆ ὑποκειμενον· τὴν γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἥνπερ ἐμαρτύρησε τῷ Πατρὶ, ταύτην καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι ἀνατίθηναι δ Παῦλος· καὶ ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ Πατρὸς φησιν, 'Ο δὲ Θεός ἐστιν ὁ ἐνεργῶν τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσι, οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα, φησὶν, ἐνεργεῖ τὸ ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ Πνεῦμα, διαροῦν ἰδίᾳ ἐκάστῳ, καθὼς βούλεται· εἰδες ἀνηρτισμένην ἐξουσίαν; ὡν γὰρ ἡ οὐσία μία, δῆλον καὶ ὅτι ἡ ἀδθεντῆ μία· καὶ ὡν λόγιμος ἡ ἀξία, τοῦτων καὶ ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ ἐξουσία μία. *S. Chrysost. de Sanct. Pentecost. Hom.* ii. [Tom. II. p. 469 C.]

virtue of that conception he was called the Son of God; whereas if a creature had been the cause of his conception, he had been in that respect the son of a creature; nay, according to the adversaries' principles, he had taken upon him the nature of angels. But the *Holy Ghost* it was by whose operation Christ was conceived in the womb of a virgin. For it was an angel that said to Mary (not that an angel, but that) *the Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee; therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee, shall be called the Son of God.* Therefore the Spirit of God is no created person; which is our second assertion against the ancient, but newly-revived heresy of the Arians and Macedonians¹.

Luke i. 35.

¹ This express notion of the Spirit of God, that he was a person, as a ministering Spirit, and created, was acknowledged the doctrine of the Arians, as may appear out of the former testimonies, and is evident by those which followed his opinions. Which being of two kinds, the Anomeans, or pure Arians (such as were Aetius, Eunomius, and Eudoxius), and the Homoiousians or Semi-Arians (such as Eusebius and Macedonius), they both alike denied the Divinity, and asserted the creation of the Holy Ghost. The opinion of the Anomeans is clear out of the words of Eunomius, who very subtilly delivered it, as if it had been the opinion of the ancients: *Τὴν τῶν ἁγίων ἐν ἅπασιν φυλάσσοντες διδασκαλίαν παρ' ὧν τρίτον αὐτὸ ἀξιώματι καὶ τάξει μαθόντες, τρίτον εἶναι καὶ τῇ φύσει πεπιστεύκαμεν.* *S. Basil. contra Eunom.* l. iii. § i. [Tom. i. p. 271 D.] The confession of the ancients was, that the Holy Ghost was the third person in the Trinity in order and dignity; and Eunomius pretending to follow them, added, that he was also third in nature; which the ancients never taught. And what this third in nature was, he thus declared: *Τρίτον τάξει καὶ φύσει, προστάγματι μὲν τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἐνεργείᾳ δὲ τοῦ Τιοῦ γενόμενον· τρίτῃ χώρᾳ τιμώμενον, ὡς πρῶτον καὶ μέγιστον ἀπ᾽ ὧν, καὶ μόνον τοιοῦ-*

τον τοῦ μονογενοῦς ποίημα, θεότητος καὶ δημιουργικῆς δυνάμεως ἀπολειπόμενον. *Ibid.* § 5. [p. 276 C.] And again: *Εἰ μὴ κτίσμα ἐστίν, οὐκοῦν γέννημα ἢ ἀγέννητον· εἰς δὲ ἀναρχος Θεὸς καὶ ἀγέννητος· οὐτε μὴν γέννημα· λείπεται οὖν κτίσμα καὶ ποίημα αὐτὸ ὁνομαζέσθαι.* *Ibid.* § 6. [p. 277 A.] So Gregory Nyssen repeats the words of the same Eunomius: *Πιστεύομεν εἰς τὸν Παράκλητον—γενόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ μόνου Θεοῦ διὰ τοῦ μονογενοῦς,* and declares that their ordinary language was *ἀντὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος κτίσμα κτισματος καὶ ἔργον ἔργου ὁνομαζέειν.* *Orat. i. cont. Eunom.* [Orat. ii. *contra Eun.* p. 485 A. 487 C.] Beside these, the Semi-Arians, and some of those which were orthodox as to the Divinity of the Son, were of the same heresy as to the nature of the Holy Ghost, and therefore were called *Πνευματομάχοι* (as Epiphanius derives them in the description of that heresy, ἀπὸ Ἑμμαρίων καὶ ἀπὸ Ὁρθόδοξων, *Har.* lxxiv. § 1.), [Tom. i. p. 886 D.] and afterward *Macedoniani*. 'Macedoniani sunt a Macedonio [Constantinopolitanæ Ecclesiæ*] Episcopo, quos et Πνευματομάχους Græci dicunt, eo quod de Spiritu Sancto litigent. Nam de Patre et Filio recte sentiunt, quod unius sint ejusdemque substantiæ vel essentiae, sed de Spiritu Sancto hoc nolunt credere, creaturam eum esse dicentes.'

[* These words are omitted in the Benedictine edition.

Our third assertion is that which necessarily followeth from the former two, that the Spirit of God, in whose name we are baptized, and in whom we profess to believe, is properly and truly God. For if he be a person, as we have proved in the declaration of our first assertion; if he be a person not created, as we have demonstrated in the corroboration of the second assertion; then must he of necessity be acknowledged to be God, because there is no uncreated essence beside the essence of the one eternal God. And there is this great felicity in the laying of this third assertion, that it is not proved only by the two precedent assertions, but also by the adversaries of them both. He which denies the first, that is, the Socinian, affirms that the Spirit of God is in God, and is the eternal and omnipotent power of God; he which denies the second, that is, the Macedonian, asserts that he is a person of an intellectual nature subsisting; but whatsoever is a person subsisting of eternal and omnipotent power, must be

S. August. Hæres. 52. [Tom. VIII. p. 14 B.] This heresy was first condemned by the Council of Alexandria: "Ἐνθα καὶ τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα θεολογήσαντες, τῇ ὁμοουσίῳ τριάδι συναναλαμβάνοντο. *Socrat. l. iii. c. 7.* [p. 143 C.] Afterward, by the Council held in Illyricum: "Ἡμεῖς δὲ φρονοῦμεν ὡς καὶ αἱ Σύνοδοι νῦν ἥ τε κατὰ Ῥώμην καὶ ἡ κατὰ Γαλλίαν, μίαν εἶναι καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, ἐν τρισὶ προσώποις, τούτεστι ἐν τρισὶ τελείαις ὑποστάσεσι. *Apud Theodoret. Hist. Eccl. l. iv. c. 8.* [p. 160 A.] The Synod held at Rome with the Gallican bishops under Damasus: "Ὅστε τὸν Πατέρα καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν μᾶς οὐσίας, μᾶς θεότητος, μᾶς ἀρετῆς, μᾶς δυνάμεως, καὶ ἐνὸς χαρακτήρος πιστεύεσθαι χρῆ, καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὑποστάσεως καὶ οὐσίας καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον. *Apud Theodoret. l. ii. c. 22.* [p. 103 C.] Another Synod held under the same Damasus at Rome: *Εἰ τις εἰποι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον ποιεῖν, ἢ διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ γεγενῆσθαι, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. Apud Theodoret. l. v. c. 11.* [p. 215 B.] After and upon these particular Synods this heresy was fully condemned in the second general Council held at Constantinople, in which

these words were added to the Nicene Creed: Καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον, τὸ κύριον, τὸ ζωοποιόν, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, καὶ σὺν Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ συμπροσκυνούμενον, καὶ συνδοξαζόμενον, τὸ λαλῆσαν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν. And in the first Canon mentioning the heresies condemned expressly by the Council, they name: Ἰδικῶς τὴν τῶν Εὐνομιανῶν, εἰσὶν Ἀνομοίων, καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀρειανῶν, εἰσὶν Εὐδοξιανῶν, καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἡμερειανῶν, ἡγοῦν Πνευματομάχων. And thus the heresy of Macedonius, who made the Holy Ghost a created person, was condemned by the second general Council; Οὕτως δὲ οὖν ὁ ἱεροφάντης χορὸς Μακεδονίων τινα, τὸν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως θρόνον δραπεγμα πάλαι ποιησάμενον, ὅτι τὸ πανάγιον καὶ ζωαρχικὸν ἐδυσφήμεϊ Πνεῦμα, εὐθύναντας ἐδικαίον δοῦναι ὡς καὶ Ἀρειος κατὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, οὕτω καὶ αὐτὸς κατὰ τοῦ παναγίου παραταττόμενος Πνεύματος, εἰς δούλους καὶ ὑπηρέτας τὴν δεσποτικὴν καὶ ὑπερκείμενην αὐτοῦ συνέταττε κυριότητα. *Pholius. Epist. i. § 10.* [p. 6.] [Macedonium ipsum hæreticum Homoiousianum, sive Semiarianum, fuisse disertis verbis tradit Theodoretus, *Hæc. Fab. Compend. l. iv. c. 5.* M. J. Routh.]

acknowledged to be God. Whether therefore we look upon the truth of our assertions, or whether we consider the happiness of their negations, the conclusion is, that the *Holy Ghost* is God.

Exod. xxxiv.
84.

But were there nothing which is already said demonstrated, there is enough written in the word of God to assure us of the Deity of the *Holy Ghost*, to make us undoubtedly believe that the Spirit of God is God. It is written by Moses, that *when he went in before the Lord to speak with him, he took the veil off, until he came out.* And that Lord, with whom Moses spake, was the one Jehovah, the God of heaven and earth. But we are assured that the Spirit was and is that Lord to which Moses spake; for the apostle hath taught us so much by his own interpretation, saying, *Even unto this day, when Moses is read, the veil is upon their heart. Nevertheless, when it shall turn to the Lord, the veil shall be taken away. Now the Lord is that Spirit.* The Spirit is here so plainly said to be the Lord, that is, Jehovah, the one eternal God, that the adversaries of this truth must either deny that the Lord is here to be taken for God, or, that the Spirit is to be taken for the Spirit of God: either of which denials must seem very strange to any person which considereth the force and plainness of the apostle's discourse. 317

2 Cor. III. 15
—17.

But indeed they are so ready to deny any thing, that they will by no means acknowledge either the one or the other: but *the Lord* must be something which is not God, and *the Spirit* must be something which is not the Spirit of God: and then they conclude the argument is of no force, and may as well conclude the apostle's interpretation hath no sense. *The Lord*, they say, is Christ, and not God; for Christ, they say, is not God: *the Spirit*, they say, is the mystery of the Law, or the hidden sense of it, and that every one knows is not the Spirit of God. But we are assured that the apostle did mean by *the Spirit* the Spirit of God, not the sense of the Law; for he addeth immediately, *Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty*; and the sense of the Law is never called the Spirit of the Lord. Nay, were it not that the coherence of the discourse did satisfy us; yet the objection ought not at all to move us: for the name of *Spirit*, in those places mentioned by them to signify *the sense of the Law*, hath no affinity with this, according to their own way of argumentation: for it is

never so taken with the emphasis of an article¹, and put in the place either of an entire subject or a predicate in a proposition, except by way of opposition; and one of those it must of necessity be, in those words of the apostle, *now the Lord is that Spirit*, and that without the least intimation of any opposition.

Again, we are assured that by *the Lord* the apostle did understand the eternal God; for he speaketh of the same Lord which he mentioned in the verse before, and that is the Lord God spoken of in the book of Exodus; of which except the apostle speaks, his argument hath neither inference nor coherence. In vain therefore is this pretended for an answer, that the apostle by *the Lord* doth always, unless he cite some place out of the old Covenant, understand Christ; for in this particular he citeth a certain place out of the Book of Exodus², and useth the name of the *Lord* in the same notion in which there it is used, framing an argument and urging it from thence; and if he did not, that rule is not so universal and infallible³, but that the *Lord* in the language of the same apostle

¹ The places alleged by them are these: Περιτομή καρδίας ἐν Πνεύματι, οὐ γράμματι. Rom. ii. 29. Ὡστε δουλεύειν ἡμᾶς ἐν καινότητι πνεύματος, καὶ οὐ παλαιότητι γράμματος. Rom. vii. 6. Ἦτις καλεῖται πνευματικῶς Σόδομα καὶ Γόγγυρος. Rev. xi. 8. One of these places speaks only adverbially, the other two have πνεῦμα in obliquo; and one of those two has it cum adjuncto, both of them cum opposito, none of them cum articulo, none of them are in loco subjecti, or prædicati; and therefore how any of these can shew, that τὸ πνεῦμα in this place by us urged, invested with an article, standing in the place either of a complete subject, or a complete predicate, with nothing adjoined, nothing opposed unto it, must be taken in the same sense with them, I cannot imagine. In the sixth verse of this chapter (2 Cor. iii.) indeed it is the subject of a proposition, and invested with an article; but that is an article of opposition: Τὸ γὰρ γράμμα ὑποκρίνεται, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ζῶσκει; and this not. However, in that sense objected, it nei-

ther agrees with the words before it, nor with those which follow it.

² The words in Exodus were these, xxxiv. 34: Ἦλκα δὲ ἂν εἰσπορεύετο Μωϋσῆς ἐναντὶ Κυρίου λαλεῖν αὐτῷ, περιηρέτο τὸ κάλυμμα which are thus made use of by the apostle: ἦλκα δὲ ἂν ἐπιστρέψῃ πρὸς Κύριον, περιαιρεῖται τὸ κάλυμμα. Κύριος then is here used by St Paul citing some place out of the old Covenant, and the words which follow, Ὁ δὲ Κύριος, signify the same Κύριος, as appeareth by the conjunction δέ: and if so, then, according to the doctrine of our adversaries, it cannot signify Christ. For that Lord of whom Moses spake, was then when Moses wrote; but that Christ of which they interpret it, was not then, as they teach; therefore that Lord cannot be Christ, in their interpretation, without a contradiction.

³ For though Christ be most frequently called *our Lord*, yet being God the Father of Christ is our Lord, being ὁ Κύριος is often used by St Paul without any restriction or intimation of appropriating that act unto

may not signify the second, but the first or third person of the Trinity. If then the *Lord* be the eternal God, as the apostle without any question understood him in Moses; if the *Spirit* be the Spirit of the Lord, as the apostle expounds himself in the words immediately following; then the Spirit of the Lord is the eternal God, and so termed in the Scriptures.

Again, the same Scriptures do clearly manifest the same 318
Spirit to be God, and term him plainly and expressly so. For

Acta v. 3.

when Peter said, *Ananias, why hath Satan filled thine heart to lie to the Holy Ghost?* he repeateth the same question in refer-

Acta v. 4.

ence to the same offence, *Why hast thou conceived this thing in thine heart? thou hast not lied unto men, but unto God.* To lie unto the *Holy Ghost*, is to lie unto God: to lie unto the *Holy Ghost*, is not to lie unto men, because the *Holy Ghost* is not man: and consequently not to lie unto any angel, because the *Holy Ghost* is not an angel; not to lie unto any creature, because the *Holy Ghost* is no creature; but to lie unto God, because the *Holy Ghost* is God.

To this plain and evident argument there are so many answers, that the very multitude discovers the weakness of them all; for if any one of them were sufficient to bear down the force of our reason, the rest would be superfluous. First, They answer that it cannot be collected from hence that the Spirit is God, because the *Holy Ghost* in the original is put in

the Son, which is attributed to the Lord by him, the rule cannot be certain and universal. For I desire to know by what means they can be assured that the apostle doth by the title *ὁ Κύριος* intend Christ, and not the most high God the Father, in these following places: 1 Cor. iii. 5. iv. 19. vii. 10, 12. xvi. 7. 1 Thess. iv. 6. v. 27. 2 Thess. iii. 1, 5, 16. 2 Tim. i. 16, 18. ii. 7. And beside, I ask how the pretence of this general rule can be properly objected by those who know that they, to whom they do object this rule, have contended that this title is elsewhere attributed to the Holy Ghost. As St Basil upon that place, 2 Thess. iii. 5: *Ὁ δὲ Κύριος κατευθύνει ὑμῶν τὰς καρδίας εἰς τὴν ἀγάπην τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ εἰς τὴν ὑπομονὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, thus disputes: *Τίς ὁ κατευθύνων Κύριος εἰς τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀγάπην,*

καὶ εἰς τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν θλίψεων τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὑπομονήν; ἀποκρινάσθωσαν ἡμῖν οἱ τὸ Πνεῦμα καταδουλούμενοι. *Ἐπεὶ γὰρ περὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς ὁ λόγος, πάντως ἂν εἴρητο, ὁ δὲ Κύριος ὑμᾶς κατευθύνει εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀγάπην· ἔπερ περὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος, προσέκειτο ἂν, εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ ὑπομονήν· ζητεῖται οὖν οὐ τί ἐστὶν ἄλλο πρόσωπον, ὃ τῇ προσηγορίᾳ τοῦ Κυρίου τιμᾶσθαι δεῖται.* And upon the like place, 1 Thess. iii. 12, 13: *Ποῖον Κύριον ἐσχεῖται ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν, ἀμέμπτους τὰς καρδίας ἐστηρικμένους ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ τῶν ἐν Θεσσαλονικίᾳ πιστῶν στηριζαί; Ἀποκρινάσθωσαν ἡμῖν οἱ μετὰ τῶν λειτουργικῶν πνευμάτων τῶν πρὸς διακονίαν ἀποστελλομένων (the newly-revived opinion clearly) τὸ δῶγον Πνεῦμα τιθέντες· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔχουσι.* *De Spiritu Sancto, c. 21.* [Tom. III. p. 44 B, C.]

one case¹, and *God* in another; and the apostle speaking in one manner of the Spirit, and in another of God, cannot shew that the Spirit is God. To which is easily answered, that the case or manner of the apostle's speech can make no difference, if the sense and substance be the same, as here it is; for to deceive the *Holy Ghost*, is nothing else but to lie unto him, or by a lie to endeavour to deceive him. The act objected to Ananias was but one, which act of his the apostles looked upon as injurious, not to themselves, but to the *Holy Ghost*; and therefore St Peter shewed the sin to be not against men, but against God: as certainly then as the apostles were men, so certainly was the *Holy Ghost*, in the esteem of St Peter, God.

As for that sense which they put upon the words, different from that of lying to God, as if Ananias were accused for "counterfeiting the Holy Ghost," it is most certain that the words can in this place bear no such sense; for the sin of Ananias is again expressed in the case of his wife Sapphira, to whom St Peter said, *How is it that ye have agreed together to tempt the Spirit of the Lord?* But to tempt the Spirit, and to counterfeit the Spirit, are two several things; and it is evident that in this place the tempting of the Spirit was nothing else but lying to him: for St Peter said to Sapphira, *Tell me whether ye sold the land for so much? and she said, Yea, for so much.* In which answer she lied. *Then Peter said unto her, How is it that ye have agreed together to tempt the Spirit of the Lord?* viz. in saying, that ye sold the land for so much. Here is no colour then for that new pretence, that Ananias did bear the apostles in hand that what was done, he did by the motion of the Holy Spirit, and so did pretend, counterfeit, and belie the *Holy Ghost*. This is not to expound St Peter, but to belie Ananias, and make him guilty of that sin, which he was never yet accused of. It is most certain that he lied; 319 it is also certain that he to whom he lied was the *Holy Ghost*; and therefore it might be well translated, that he *lied to the Holy Ghost*².

¹ 'Ex his facile apparet haudquam ex eo loco concludi posse Spiritum Sanctum esse Deum; cum alio modo de Spiritu Sancto loquatur Petrus, alio de Deo. Illic dicit *mentiri* seu *fallere*, ac *ludificari* Spiritum Sanctum, hic *mentiri* Deo.' Orrellius, *De uno Deo*

Patre, l. i. § 3. *Argum.* i. [Tom. III. p. 64.]

² Our translation is here accused without reason. For though the original be, *ψεύσασθαι τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον*, yet some copies have it *ἐπὶ τὸ πνεῦμα*, and the Syriac did so read and inter-

Next, Because they may very well be conscious that this verbal or phraseological answer may not seem sufficient, they tell us though both the phrases were synonymous, yet they did no way prove that the Spirit is God: and the reason which they render to justify this negation, is, because there are several places of the Scripture, in which the messengers of God, who are acknowledged not to be God, are mentioned in the same relation unto God as here the Spirit is. To which the answer is most plain and clear, that there is no creature ever mentioned in the same manner as the Holy Ghost is here.

1 Thes. iv. 8. As when they allege those words of the apostle, *He therefore that despiseth, despiseth not man but God, who hath also given us his Holy Spirit*; I cannot see what similitude can be made unto the Scripture now in question; for if the Spirit be not understood in the first words, *he therefore that despiseth*, it hath no relation to the present question; and if it be, it were so far from being a confutation, that it would be another confirmation. As for the other, *He that heareth you, heareth me; he that despiseth you, despiseth me; and he that despiseth me, despiseth him that sent me*: it is so far from justifying their interpretation, that it hath nothing in it like that which founds our reason, that is, no opposition. For there are three particulars in that Scripture, which we produce for our assertion; first, That they lied to the *Holy Ghost*; secondly, That in doing so, they lied not unto men; and thirdly, That by the same act they lied unto God. In which the opposition is our foundation. For, if the Spirit of God were not God, as we

Matt. x. 40.
Luke x. 16.

pret it, דחורל ברוחא רקדשא; the Vulgar Latin to the same purpose, *mentiri te Spiritui Sancto*. And the author of the Tractate *De Temp. Barbarico*, under the name of St Austin, *mentiri te apud Spiritum Sanctum*, c. 3. Now ψεύδεσθαι εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα is the same with τῷ πνεύματι, as μὴ ψεύδεσθε εἰς ἀλλήλους, *lie not one to another*. Col. iii. 9. If we read it εἰς πνεῦμα, then it is rightly translated. Again, if we read it, τὸ πνεῦμα, it has in this case the sense of τῷ πνεύματι. As Psal. lxxvi. 2. יִכְחַשׁ לְךָ אֵיבֶיךָ LXX. ψεύσονται σε οἱ ἐχθροί σου, of the same sense with that Psal. lxxxi. 16. כִּשְׁאִי יִדְהוּ יִכְחַשְׁרֵלִי LXX. Οἱ ἐχθροί Κυρίου ἐψεύ-

σαντο αὐτῷ. So Deut. xxxiii. 29. יִכְחַשׁ אֵיבֶיךָ LXX. Kal ψεύσονται σε οἱ ἐχθροί σου. And Isa. lvii. 11. כִּי רַבּוּבִי מִן הָאֱשֵׁשׁ מִן הָאֵשׁ לֹא יִכְחַשׁ בְּשִׁחוּתוֹ מִן הָאֵשׁ דּוֹלֵקָהּ σου. If therefore we read it ψεύσασθαι τὸ πνεῦμα, it is rightly translated to *lie unto the Holy Ghost*; and so agreeth with that which followeth to *tempt the Holy Ghost*, as Psal. lxxviii. 36. Τῇ γλώσσῃ αὐτῶν ἐψεύσαντο αὐτῷ, and verse 41. ἐπέτρηναν καὶ ἐπείρασαν τὸν Θεόν. Therefore whatsoever shifts are laid upon the phrase, or difference of expression, are either false or frivolous.

are sure it is not man, it might as well have been said, You lied not unto the *Holy Ghost*, but unto God. And indeed if the apostle would have aggravated the sin of Ananias with the full propriety and iniquity, in their sense, he must have said, Thou hast not lied unto men, nor unto the Spirit of God, but unto God. But being he first told him plainly his sin, *lying to the Holy Ghost*; and then let him know the sinfulness of it, *thou hast not lied unto men, but unto God*; it is evident that the *Holy Ghost* to whom he lied is God.

Thirdly, That person whose inhabitation maketh a temple, is God: for if the notion of a temple be nothing else but to be the house of God, if to be the house of any creature is not to be a temple, as it is not; then no inhabitation of any created person can make a temple. But the inhabitation of the *Holy Ghost* maketh a temple, as we are informed by the apostle: *What, know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you?* Therefore the *Holy Ghost* is God. ^{1 Cor. vi. 19.}

To this is replied differently according to the diversity of our adversaries; as it is not probable that the deniers of so great a truth should agree. The first tells us, that if we would enforce by this reason, that the *Holy Ghost* is God, we must prove that he is a person¹, and that he doth possess
 320 our bodies by a divine right. But we have already proved that he is a person, and certainly there can be no other right but that which belongs to God, by which the *Holy Ghost* inhabiteth and possesseth us. Nor have they any pretence to evince the contrary; but that which more confirmeth our assertion; for they urge only those words of the apostle, *Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?* We do certainly know that we are the temple of God; and we also know that the Spirit of God therefore dwelleth in us; and we therefore know that we are the temple of God, because we know that the Spirit of God dwelleth in us; and we know no other reason why we are the temple of God, when the Spirit of God dwelleth in us, but only because we know the Spirit of God is God; ^{1 Cor. iii. 16.}

¹ Si quis ex eo, quod corpus nostrum Spiritus Sancti templum sit, concludere velit, eum esse Deum; illi demonstrandum est, ita corpus nostrum Spiritus Sancti templum dici, ut intelligatur eum esse personam, cujus

honori corpus nostrum sit dicatum, et a qua corpus nostrum eo jure, quod divini numinis proprium est, possideatur, ac principaliter incolatur. *Crell. De uno Deo Patre*, l. i. § 3. arg. 1. [Tom. III. p. 64. col. 2.]

for if the Spirit were any other person not divine, or any thing but a person though divine, we could not by any means be assured, that he did properly inhabit in us; or if he did, that by his inhabitation he could make a temple of us. The second hath very little to say, but only this, that being the *Holy Ghost* who possesseth us is a person, we must shew that our bodies are his by the highest interest, and primarily dedicated to his honour; which he therefore conceives we cannot shew, because he thinks our body is not at all his by interest, or dedicated to his honour. But it were very strange, if we should be baptized in the name of the *Holy Ghost*, and that the *Holy Ghost* should have no interest in us, but that he should be ours by interest, and not we his; that the Spirit of God should call for men to be separated to himself, and that they which are so separated should be no way dedicated to his honour. If the *Holy Ghost* had no interest in us, because he is given unto us, then Christ can have no interest in us, for he is also given unto us. Indeed, 1 Cor. vi. 20. if the apostle had said, as our adversary doth, that *we ought with our body to glorify, not the Spirit, but God*; I should have concluded that the Spirit is not God: but being that blessed Spirit which dwelleth in us, and spake by the apostles, never taught us not to glorify him, I shall rather take leave to suspect that of blasphemy, than the assertion of his Deity to be false divinity. And whereas it is said, that *the apostle hath hinted in what respect our body is the temple of the Holy Spirit, to wit, by inhabitation*; this is so far from breeding in me the least thought of diminution, that by this only notion I am fully confirmed in the belief of my assertion. For I know no other way by which God peculiarly inhabiteth in us, but by the inhabitation of the Spirit: and I understand no other way by which we can be the temple of God, but by the inhabitation of God; as it is written, *Ye are the temple of the living God, as God hath said, I will dwell in them, and walk in them; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people*: and therefore I conclude that the *Holy Ghost*, who by his inhabitation maketh our bodies temples, is that God which dwelleth in us.

Fourthly, He, to whom the divine attributes do belong as certainly as they belong unto God the Father, is truly and properly God; because those are divine attributes, which are

proprieties of the divine nature, and consequently none can be endued with them to whom the nature of God belongeth not. But the divine attributes, such as are omniscience, omnipotency, omnipresence, and the like, do belong as certainly unto the *Holy Ghost* as they do unto God the Father: therefore we are as much assured that the *Holy Ghost* is God. The Scriptures to prove these attributes are so well known, that I shall not need to mention them: and they are so many, that to manage them against the exceptions of the adversaries, would take up too much room in this discourse; especially considering they question some of them in the Father as well as in the Spirit, and so I should be forced to a double proof.

321 Fifthly, He, to whom are attributed those works which are proper unto God, by and for which God doth require of us to acknowledge and worship him as God, is properly and truly God: because the operations of all things flow from that essence by which they are; and therefore if the operations be truly divine, that is, such as can be produced by no other but God, then must the essence of that person which produceth them be truly such. But such works as are proper unto God, by and for which God hath required us to acknowledge him and worship him as God, are attributed often in the Scriptures to the Spirit of God, as the acts of creation and conservation of all things, the miracles wrought upon and by our blessed Saviour, the works of grace and power wrought in the hearts of true believers, and the like. Therefore, without any further disputation, which cannot be both long and proper for an exposition, I conclude my third assertion, that the *Holy Ghost*, or Spirit of God, is a person truly and properly divine, the true and living God.

Now being we do firmly believe, that the true and living God can be but one, that the infinity of the divine essence is incapable of multiplicity; being we have already shewn that the Father is originally that one God, which is denied by none; and have also proved, that the only Son is the same God, receiving by an eternal generation the same divine nature from the Father: it will also be necessary, for the understanding of the nature of the Spirit of God, to shew how that blessed Spirit is God: to which purpose, that I may proceed methodically, my fourth assertion is, That the Spirit of God, which is the true and living God, is neither God the Father, nor the Son of God.

First, Though the Father be undoubtedly God, though the *Holy Ghost* be also God, and (because there cannot be two Gods) the same God; yet the *Holy Ghost* is not the Father: for the Scriptures do as certainly distinguish them in their persons, as they do unite them in their nature. He which proceedeth from the Father is not the Father, because it is impossible any person should proceed from himself: but the

John xv. 26. *Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father*: therefore he is not the Father. He which is sent by the Father, and from the Father, is not the Father by whom and from whom he is sent; for no person can be sent by himself, and by another from himself: but the *Holy Ghost* is sent by God the Father, and by the

John xv. 26. Son from the Father; therefore he is not the Father.

Secondly, Though we have formerly proved, that the Son of God is properly and truly God; though we now have also proved, that the Spirit of God is God, and in reference to both we understand the same God; yet the *Holy Ghost* is not the Son: for he which receiveth of that which is the Son's, and by receiving of it glorifieth the Son, cannot be the Son, because no person can be said to receive from himself that which is his own, and to glorify himself by so receiving;

John xiv. 26. but the Comforter, who is the *Holy Ghost*, received of that which is the Son's, and by receiving of it glorifieth the Son;

John xvi. 14. for so our Saviour expressly said, *He shall glorify me; for he shall receive of mine*: therefore the *Holy Ghost* is not the Son. Again, he whose coming depended upon the Son's departing, and his sending after his departure, cannot be the Son, who therefore departed that he might send him. But the coming of the *Holy Ghost* depended upon the Son's departing, and his sending after his departure: as he told the apostles before

John xvi. 7. he departed, *I tell you the truth, it is expedient for you that I go away; for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart, I will send him unto you*: therefore the *Holy Ghost* is not the Son.

Thirdly, Though the Father be God, and the Son be God, and the *Holy Ghost* be also the same God, yet we are 322 assured that the *Holy Ghost* is neither the Father nor the Son; because the Scriptures frequently represent him as distinguished both from the Father and the Son. As, when the

Matt. iii. 16. Spirit of God descended like a dove, and lo, a voice from heaven, saying, *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased*, he was manifestly distinguished from the person of

the Son, upon whom he lighted, and from the person of the Father, who spake from heaven of his Son. The apostle teacheth us, that *through the Son we have an access by one Spirit unto the Father*, and consequently assureth us, that the Spirit *by whom*, is not the Father *to whom*, nor the Son *through whom*, we have that access. So God sent forth his Son, that we might receive the adoption of sons: and because we are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, *Abba, Father*. Where the Son is distinguished from the Father as first sent by him, and the Spirit of the Son is distinguished both from the Father and the Son, as sent by the Father after he had sent the Son. And this our Saviour hath taught us several times in a word, as, *The Comforter whom the Father will send in my name; The Comforter whom I will send unto you from the Father;* and when that Comforter is come, *Go, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*. I conclude therefore against the old Sabellian heresy¹, that the *Holy Ghost*, although he be truly and properly God, is neither God the Father, nor God the Son; which is my fourth assertion.

Our fifth assertion is, That the *Holy Ghost* is the third person in the blessed Trinity. For being he is a person, by our first assertion; a person not created, by the second; but

¹ This heresy indeed was very ancient, even before Sabellius, though those which held it were afterwards all so denominated from Sabellius. For we find it was the opinion of Praxeas, against whom Tertullian wrote; who being urged with that place, where the three persons were distinguished, *The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee; therefore that which is born of thee shall be called the Son of God*, answereth thus: 'Filius Dei Deus est, et virtus altissimi altissimus est.' c. 26. After Praxeas followed Noëtus: *μονοθεῖως τὸν αὐτὸν Πατέρα, καὶ Υἱόν, καὶ ἄγιον Πνεῦμα—ἡγησάμενος*. S. Epiphani. Har. lvii. § 2. [Tom. i. p. 481 D.] 'Noëtiani a quodam Noëto, qui dicebat Christum eundem ipsum esse Patrem et Spiritum Sanctum.' S. August. Har. 36. [Tom. viii.

p. 9 A.] Suddenly after Noëtus arose Sabellius: *Δογματίζει γὰρ οὗτος, καὶ ὁ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Σαβελλιανοί, τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι Πατέρα, τὸν αὐτὸν Υἱόν, τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι ἄγιον Πνεῦμα: ὡς εἶναι ἐν μιᾷ ὑποστάσει τρεῖς ὀνομασίας*. S. Epiphani. Har. lxii. § 1. [Tom. i. p. 513 A.] From him afterwards were all which held the same opinion, called Sabellians: 'Sabelliani ab illo Noëto, quem supra memoravimus, defluxisse dicuntur. Nam et discipulum ejus quidam perhibent fuisse Sabellium. Sed qua causa duas hæreses eas Epiphanius computet, nescio; cum fieri potuisset videamus, ut fuerit Sabellius iste famosior, et ideo ex illo celebrius hæc Heresis nomen acceperit. Noëtiani enim difficile ab aliquo sciuntur; Sabelliani autem sunt in ore multorum.' S. August. Har. 41. [p. 9 c.] (Vol. viii. p. 11.)

a divine person, properly and truly God, by the third; being though he is thus truly God, he is neither the Father nor the Son, by the fourth assertion it followeth that he is one of the three; and of the three he is the third. For as there is a number in the Trinity, by which the persons are neither more nor less than three; so there is also an order, by which, of these persons, the Father is the first, the Son the second, and the *Holy Ghost* the third. Nor is this order arbitrary or external, but internal and necessary, by virtue of a subordination of the second unto the first, and of the third unto the first and second. The Godhead was communicated from the Father to the Son, not from the Son unto the Father; though therefore this were done from all eternity, and so there can be no priority of time, yet there must be acknowledged a priority of order, by which the Father, not the Son, is first, and the Son, not the Father, second. Again, the same Godhead was communicated by the Father and the Son unto the *Holy Ghost*, not by the *Holy Ghost* to the Father or the Son; though therefore this was also done from all eternity, and therefore can admit of no priority in reference to time; yet that of order must be here observed; so that the Spirit receiving the Godhead from the Father who is the first person, cannot be the first; receiving the same from the Son, who is the second, cannot be the second; but being from the first and second, must be of the three the third. And thus both the number and the order of the persons are signified together by the apostle, saying, *There are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost; and these three are one.* And though they are not expressly said to be three, yet the same number is sufficiently declared, and the same order is expressly mentioned, in the baptismal institution made *in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* As therefore we have formerly proved the Son to be truly the second person, and at the same time the Father to be first, so doth this which we have, but briefly, spoken, prove that the *Holy Ghost* is the third¹; which is our fifth assertion.

Our sixth and last assertion (sufficient to manifest the nature of the *Holy Ghost*, as he is the Spirit of God) teacheth

¹ Vide p. 68. So Epiphanius several times calls the Holy Spirit *τρίτον τῆ* *δομασία.* In *Ancorat.* § 8. [Tom. II. p. 13 A. *Hæc.* lxii. 4. Tom. I. p. 515 D.]

1 John v. 7.

Matt. xxviii.
19.

that Spirit to be a person proceeding from the Father and the Son. From whence at last we have a clear description of the blessed Spirit, that he is the most high and eternal God, of the same nature, attributes, and operations, with the Father and the Son, as receiving the same essence from the Father and the Son, by proceeding from them both. Now this procession of the Spirit, in reference to the Father, is delivered expressly, in relation to the Son, is contained virtually in the Scriptures. First, it is expressly said, That the *Holy Ghost* proceedeth from the Father, as our Saviour testifieth, *When the Comforter is come, whom I will send unto you from the Father, even the Spirit of truth which proceedeth from the Father, he shall testify of me.* And this is also evident from what hath been already asserted: for being the Father and the Spirit are the same God, and being so the same in the unity of the nature of God, are yet distinct in their personality, one of them must have the same nature from the other; and because the Father had been already shewn to have it from none, it followeth that the Spirit hath it from him.

Secondly, Though it be not expressly spoken in the Scripture, that the *Holy Ghost* proceedeth from the Son, yet the substance of the same truth is virtually contained there: because those very expressions, which are spoken of the Holy Spirit in relation to the Father, for that reason because he proceedeth from the Father, are also spoken of the same Spirit in relation to the Son; and therefore there must be the same reason presupposed in reference to the Son, which is expressed in reference to the Father. Because the Spirit proceedeth from the Father, therefore is it called the Spirit of God and the Spirit of the Father. *It is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you.* For by the language of the apostle, the Spirit of God is the Spirit which is of God, saying, *The things of God knoweth no man but the Spirit of God.* And we have received not the spirit of the world, but the Spirit which is of God. Now the same Spirit is also called the Spirit of the Son, for because we are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into our hearts: the Spirit of Christ, Now if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his; even the Spirit of Christ which was in the prophets: the Spirit of Jesus Christ, as the apostle speaks, *I know that this shall turn to my salvation through your*

John xv. 26.

Matt. x. 20.

1 Cor. ii. 11.

12.

Gal. iv. 6.

Rom. viii. 9.

1 Pet. i. 11.

Phil. i. 12.

prayer, and the supply of the Spirit of Jesus Christ. If then the *Holy Spirit* be called the Spirit of God and the Father because he proceeded from the Father, it followeth that being called also the Spirit of the Son, he proceedeth also from the Son.

Again, Because the *Holy Ghost* proceedeth from the Father, he is therefore sent by the Father, as from him who hath by the original communication a right of mission; as, *the Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send.* But the same Spirit which is sent by the Father, is also sent by the Son, as he saith, *When the Comforter is come, whom I will send unto you.* Therefore the Son hath the same right of mission with the Father, and consequently 324 must be acknowledged to have communicated the same essence. The Father is never sent by the Son, because he received not the Godhead from him; but the Father sendeth the Son, because he communicated the Godhead to him: in the same manner neither the Father nor the Son is ever sent by the Holy Spirit, because neither of them received the divine nature from the Spirit; but both the Father and the Son sendeth the *Holy Ghost*, because the divine nature, common to both the Father and the Son, was communicated by them both to the *Holy Ghost*. As therefore the Scriptures declare expressly, that the Spirit proceedeth from the Father; so do they also virtually teach, that he proceedeth from the Son.

From whence it came to pass in the primitive times, that the Latin Fathers taught expressly the procession of the Spirit from the Father and the Son¹, because by good con-

¹ This is not the late but ancient opinion of the Latin Church, as will appear by these testimonies. 'Loqui de eo (Spiritu Sancto) non necesse est, qui Patre et Filio auctoribus confitendus est.' *S. Hil. de Trin.* l. ii. § 29, [p. 802 c.] 'Spiritus quoque Sanctus cum procedit a Patre et Filio, non separatur a Patre, non separatur a Filio.' *S. Ambros. de Sp. S.* l. i. c. 11. [10. Tom. iv. p. 226 F.] 'Spiritus autem Sanctus vere Spiritus est, procedens quidem a Patre et Filio: sed non est ipse Filius, quia non generatur, neque Pater, quia procedit ab utroque.' *Id. de Symb.* c. 3. [Tom. iv. p. 89 D.]

'Et in servos celestia dona profudit, Spiritum ab Unigena Sanctum et Patre procedentem.'

Paulinus in Nat. 9. S. Felices, ver. 92.

'Nec possumus dicere quod Spiritus S. et a Filio non procedat; neque enim frustra idem Spiritus et Patris et Filii Spiritus dicitur.' *S. August. de Trin.* l. iv. c. 20. [Tom. viii. p. 587 A.] (p. 829.) 'Firmissime tene et nullatenus dubites, eundem Spiritum Sanctum, qui Patris et Filii unus est Spiritus, de Patre et Filio procedere.' *Fulg. de Fide ad Petrum, c. 11.* [p. 101 H.]

'Qui noster Dominus, qui tuus unicus Spiritus de Patre corde Paracletum.'

Prud. Cathem. Hymn. v. 162.

sequence they did collect so much from those passages of the Scripture which we have used to prove that truth. And the Greek Fathers, though they stuck more closely to the phrase and language of the Scripture, saying, that the Spirit proceedeth from the Father, and not saying¹, that he proceedeth from the Son; yet they acknowledged under another Scripture-expression the same thing which the Latins understand by procession, viz. That the Spirit is of or from the Son, as he is of and from the Father; and therefore usually when they said, *he proceedeth from the Father*, they also added, *he received of the Son*². The interpretation of which words, according to the Latins, inferred a procession³; and that which

'Tanquam idem Deus nunc Pater, nunc Filius, nunc Spiritus S. nominetur; nec alius sit qui genuit, alius qui genitus est, alius qui de utroque processit.' *Leo* (speaking of the Sabellian heresy), *Epist.* xciii. c. 1. [p. 932 c.] 'Audi manifestius: proprium Patris esse genuisse, et proprium Filii natum fuisse; proprium vero Spiritus Sancti procedere de Patre Filioque.' *Vigil. cont. Eut.* l. i. § 10. By which testimonies, and the like, of the Latin Fathers, we may well guess in which Church the Creed, commonly attributed to Athanasius, first was framed; for as it is confessed to be written first in Latin, so it is most probable that it was composed by some member of the Latin Church, by that expression in it: 'Spiritus Sanctus a Patre et Filio, non factus, nec creatus, nec genitus, sed procedens.' *Inter Op. Athanas.* Vol. II. p. 728 D.

¹ The ancient Greek Fathers, speaking of this procession, mention the Father only, and never, I think, express the Son, as sticking constantly in this to the language of the Scriptures. Thus Gregory Nazianzen distinguisheth the three persons: 'Ἐν τῶν ἡμετέρων ὄντων ἰστάμενοι, τὸ ἀγεννητὸν ἐλατόμεν, καὶ τὸ γεννητὸν, καὶ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον. *Orat.* i. *de Filio*, [*Orat.* 29. § 2. Tom. I. p. 524 c.] And the three properties attributed to the three persons are these, ἀγεννησία to the Father, γέννησις to the Son, and ἐκπόρευσις to the Holy

Ghost. But this word ἐκπόρευσις or the verb ἐκπορεύεσθαι was not used by the Greeks in reference to the Son, but only as the Scriptures speak, in relation to the Father.

² As Epiphanius: Καὶ γὰρ καὶ περὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος βλασφημοῦσι, καὶ τομῶσι λέγειν κεκτῆσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Τίτου, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀκρίστον, ἐκ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, καὶ τοῦ Τίτου λαμβάνον. *Hæc.* lxi. § 52. [Tom. I. p. 774 A.] Τὸ δὲ γινώσκειν Πνεῦμα, Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, Πνεῦμα Θεοῦ, δεῖ ἐν τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ Τίτῳ, οὐκ ἀλλότριον Θεοῦ, ἀπὸ δὲ Θεοῦ ὄν, ἀπὸ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, καὶ τοῦ Τίτου λαμβάνον. *Id. Ancor.* § 6. [Tom. II. p. 11 B.] Ἄξιον γὰρ τὸ Πνεῦμα σὺν Πατρὶ καὶ Τίτῳ, οὐ συνδύνατον Πατρί, οὐ γυνήτιον, οὐ κτιστόν, οὐκ ἀδελφόν Τίτου, οὐκ ἔργον Πατρὸς, ἐκ Πατρὸς δὲ ἐκπορευόμενον, καὶ τοῦ Τίτου λαμβάνον. *Id. Hæc.* lxii. § 4. [Tom. I. p. 515 c.]

³ 'A Filio accipit, qui et ab eo mittitur, et a Patre procedit: et interrogo, utrum id ipsum sit a Filio accipere, quod a Patre procedere. Quod si differre credetur inter accipere a Filio, et a Patre procedere, certe id ipsum atque unum esse existimabitur, a Filio accipere, quod sit accipere a Patre. Ipse enim Dominus ait, Quoniam de meo accipiet, et annuntiabit vobis.' *S. Hil.* l. viii. *de Trin.* § 20. [p. 959 B.] So St Cyril: 'Ἐπειδὴ (τὸ Πνεῦμα) ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρί, καὶ πρῶτοι θεοπρεπῶς ἐξ αὐτοῦ, πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐφ' ἡμῶν τελειωτάτην ἔχον ἐνέργειαν τε καὶ δύναμιν, διὰ τοῦτο φησιν, ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ

the Greeks did understand thereby, was the same which the Latins meant by the procession from the Son, that is, the receiving of his essence from him. That as the Son is God of God by being of the Father, so the *Holy Ghost* is God of God by being of the Father and the Son¹, as receiving that infinite and eternal essence from them both.

This being thus the general doctrine of the eastern and 325 the western Church, differing only in the manner of expression, and that without any opposition; Theodoret gave the first occasion of a difference, making use of the Greeks' expression against the doctrine both of Greeks and Latins²;

ἐμοῦ λήψεται. *Com. in Ioan.* l. xi. c. i. [Tom. IV. p. 929 E.] 'De Filio ergo accepit, et omnia quæ habet Pater Filii sunt, quæ Spiritus Sanctus accepit; quia non de solo Filio, sed simul de utroque procedit.' *Fulg.* l. vii. *contra Fab. Fragm. apud Theodulph. de Sp.* S. [p. 190 H.]

¹ That this was the sense of the Greek Fathers anciently, who used those two Scriptures of the Holy Ghost, appeareth by Epiphanius, who frequently declares so much; as in *Anchorato*: Πνεῦμα γὰρ Θεοῦ καὶ Πνεῦμα Πατρὸς καὶ Πνεῦμα Υἱοῦ,—ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, τριτὸν τῇ ὁμοουσίᾳ. § 8. [Tom. II. p. 13 A.] And speaking of Ananias who lied unto the Spirit: Ἄρα Θεὸς ἐκ Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ, τὸ Πνεῦμα, ᾧ ἐψεύσαστο οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ τιμήματος νοσφισμένοι. § 9. [p. 14 A.] Οὐκ ἀλόγιστον Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ, ἀλλὰ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς οὐσίας, ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς θεότητος, ἐκ Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ, σὺν Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ ἐνυπόστατον ἀεὶ Πνεῦμα ὄντων. *Id. Heres.* lxii. § 4. [Tom. I. p. 515 C.] In these words is plainly contained this truth, That the Spirit is God of God the Father, and of God the Son. And that they did conclude this truth from those two scriptures, *he proceedeth from the Father*, John xv. 26. and *receiveth of the Son*, John xv. 15. as is also evident by these and the like passages: Εἰ δὲ Χριστὸς ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς πιστεύεται Θεὸς ἐκ Θεοῦ, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἢ παρ' ἀμφοτέρων, ὡς φησιν ὁ Χριστός, ὁ παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται, καὶ οὗτος ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ λήψεται.

Epiph. Ancor. § 67. [Tom. II. p. 70 D.] Εἰ τοίνυν παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ, φησὶν ὁ Κύριος, λήψεται. Ὅν γὰρ τρόπον οὐδεὶς ἔγνω τὸν Πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ Υἱός, οὐδὲ τὸν Υἱὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ Πατήρ, οὕτω τολμῶ λέγειν, ἐτι οὐδὲ τὸ Πνεῦμα εἰ μὴ ὁ Πατήρ, καὶ ὁ Υἱός, παρ' οὗ ἐκπορεύεται, καὶ παρ' οὗ λαμβάνει, καὶ οὐδὲ τὸν Υἱὸν καὶ τὸν Πατέρα, εἰ μὴ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ὄντων,—ὁ παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ. *Ibid.* § 73. [p. 78 B.] *Non loquetur a semetipso*, hoc est, non sine me et sine meo et Patris arbitrio, qui inseparabilis a mea et Patris est voluntate; quia non ex se, sed ex Patre et me est; hoc enim ipsum quod subsistit et loquitur, a Patre et me illi est.' *Didymus de Spiritu Sancto.* [c. 34. p. 276 B.] *Et paulo post*: 'Ille me clarificabit, id est Paracletus, quia de meo accipiet. Rursum hoc accipere ut divinæ naturæ conveniat intelligendum—Spiritum Sanctum a Filio accipere id quod suæ naturæ fuerat, cognoscendum est.—Neque enim quid aliud est Filius, exceptis his quæ ei dantur a Patre, neque alia substantia est Spiritus Sanctus præter id quod datur ei a Filio.' [c. 36, 37.]

² St Cyril having set forth anathematisms against the heresy of Nestorius, in the ninth anathematism condemned all who did not speak of the Holy Ghost as ὁἰον αὐτοῦ (τοῦ Χριστοῦ) τὸ Πνεῦμα. To which Theodoret returned this answer: Ἵδιον δὲ τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Υἱοῦ, εἰ μὲν ὡς ὁμοφύεως καὶ ἐκ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον ἔφη, συνομολογήσομεν, καὶ ὡς εὐσεβῆ δεξιόμεθα τῇ

denying that the *Holy Ghost* receiveth his essence from the Son, because the Scripture saith he proceedeth from the Father, and is the Spirit which is of God. But St Cyril, against whom he wrote, taking small notice of this objection; and the writings of Theodoret, in which this was contained, being condemned; there was no sensible difference in the Church, for many years, concerning this particular. Afterwards divers of the Greeks expressly denied the procession from the Son, and several disputations did arise in the western Church, till at last the Latins put it into the Constantinopolitan Creed¹; and being admonished by the Greeks

φωνήν· εἰ δ' ὡς ἐξ τοῦ ἡ δι' τοῦ τὴν ὑπαρξιν ἔχον, ὡς βλάσφημον τοῦτο, καὶ ὡς δυσσεβές, ἀπορρίψομεν. Πιστεύομεν γὰρ τῷ Κυρίῳ λέγοντι, Τὸ Πνεῦμα δ' ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται· καὶ τῷ θεοτάτῳ δὲ Παύλῳ ὁμολογῶντι· Ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ κόσμου ἐλάβομεν, ἀλλὰ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ. *Reprehens. Anath. Cyril.* [Tom. IV. p. 717 c.] St Cyril in his reply takes no great notice of this high charge of impiety and blasphemy, and only answers the argument so far as it concerned his expression, viz. That the Spirit is τῶν τοῦ τοῦ Πνεύμα, but in this answer makes use of that Scripture which he and others used to prove that the Spirit had his essence from the Son: Ἐκπορεύεται μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Σωτῆρος φωνήν, ἀλλὰ οὐκ ἀλλοτρίον ἐστι τοῦ τοῦ Πνεύματος· Πάντα ὅσα ἔχει ὁ Πατήρ, ἐμὰ ἐστι· διὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ ὑμῶν, ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ λήψεται, καὶ ἀναγγελεῖ ὑμῶν. Vol. VI. p. 229. Although therefore St Cyril doth not go to maintain that which Theodoret denied, and St Cyril elsewhere teacheth, viz. that the Holy Ghost is from the Son, yet he justified his own position by that Scripture which by himself and the rest of the Fathers is thought to teach as much.

¹ The second general Council held at Constantinople, finding it necessary to make an addition to the Nicene

Creed in the Article concerning the Holy Ghost, of which that Council had said no more than this, *I believe in the Holy Ghost*, framed this accession against Macedonius: Εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον, τὸ Κύριον, τὸ ζωοποιόν, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον· *Concil. Gen. T. I. par. I. p. 536. [Labbé, Tom. II. p. 954 A.]* in which they spake most warily, using the words of the Scripture, and the language of the Church which was so known and public, that it is recorded even by Lucian in his dialogue called *Philopatris*. § 12. [Tom. II. p. 770.]

KPI. Καὶ τίνα ἐπομόσομαι γε;

TPI. Ὑψιμέδοντα Θεόν, μέγαν, ἀμβροτον, οὐρανίωνα,
Υἱὸν Πατρὸς, Πνεῦμα ἐκ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον,
Ἐν ἐκ τριῶν, καὶ ἐξ ἑνὸς τρία·
Ταῦτα νόμιζε Ζήνα, τόνδ' ἄγῳ Θεόν.

This Creed being received by the whole Church of God, and it being added also by the next general Council at Ephesus, that it should not be lawful to make any addition to it: notwithstanding, the question being agitated in the West: 'Utrum Spiritus S. sicut procedit a Patre, ita et procedat a Filio;' and it being concluded in the affirmative, they did not only declare the doctrine to be true, but also added the same to the Constantinopolitan Creed, and sang it publicly in their Liturgy: 'Credimus et in Spiritum S., Dominum et vivificatorem, ex Patre Filioque procedentem.' This being first done in the Spanish and French churches, and the matter being referred

of that, as of an unlawful addition, and refusing to rase it out of the Creed again, it became an occasion of the vast schism between the eastern and western churches.

to Leo the third bishop of Rome, he absolutely concluded that no such addition ought to be tolerated: for in the acts of the Synod held at Aquisgranum, we find it so determined by the pope, upon the conference with the legates: 'Ergo, ut video, illud a vestra Paternitate decernitur, ut primo illud de quo quæstio agitur, de sæpe facto Symbolo tollatur; et tunc demum a quolibet licite ac libere, sive cantando sive tradendo, discatur et doceatur.' so one of the legates. To which Leo answered thus: 'Ita proculdubio a nostra parte decernitur: ita quoque ut a vestra assentiatur, a nobis omnibus modis suadetur.' Beside, lest the Roman church might be accused to join with the Spanish and French churches in this addition, the same pope caused the Creed publicly to be set forth in the Church, graven in silver plates, one in Latin and another in Greek, in the same words in which the Council of Constantinople had first penned it. 'Hic, pro amore et cautela Orthodoxæ Fidei, fecit ubi supra, in B. Petri Basilica, scuta argentea duo scripta utraque Symbolo, unum quidem literis Græcis, et alium Latinis, sedentia dextra lævaque super ingressum corporis.' *Anastasius in vita Leonis III. De Vit. Pontif. Rom. xcvi. [p. 75.]* 'Leo tertius Romæ (Symboli) transcriptum in tabula argentea, post altare B. Pauli posita, posteris reliquit, pro amore, ut ipse ait, et cautela Fidei orthodoxæ. In quo quidem Symbolo in processione Spiritus Sancti solus commemoratur Pater his verbis. *Et in Spiritum Sanctum, Dominum, et vivificantem, ex Patre procedentem, cum Patre et Filio co-adorandum, et glorificandum.*' *P. Lombardus, l. i. distinct, 11. § 2. [p. 40.]* These were taken out of the *archiva* at Rome, saith Photius, and so placed by Leo, that they might be acknowledged and perpetuated as the true copies of that Creed not to be altered. 'Ο θεσπέσιος

Λέων καὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς θησαυροφυλακίοις τῶν κορυφαίων Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου ἐκ παλαιωτάτων χρόνων ἀποτεθησαυρισμένας τοῖς ἱεροῖς κειμηλίοις δύο δσπίδας, αὶ γράμμασι καὶ ῥήμασι ἑλληνικοῖς ἔλεγον τὴν ἱερὰν τῆς ἡμῶν πίστεως ἔκθεσιν, ταύτας καταναγρῶσθαι κατενώπιον τοῦ Ῥωμαϊκοῦ πλῆθους καὶ εἰς ψὺν ἀπάντων ἐλθεῖν ἐδικαίωσε' καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν θεασαμένων τηλικαῦτα καὶ ἀνεγνώσκων ἔτι τῷ βίῳ παραμένονσι. *Photius apud Nicetan. Thes. Orthod. Fid. t. 21. ut exscripsit Archiep. Ar-machanus.* Οὗτος ὁ Λέων καὶ τὸ θησαυροφυλάκιον τῆς Ἀποστολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας Ῥωμαίων ἀνέλεας δσπίδας δύο τοῖς ἱεροῖς κειμηλίοις ἀποτεθησαυρισμένας ἐξήνεγκεν ἑλληνικοῖς καὶ γράμμασι καὶ ῥήμασι ἐχούσας τὴν εὐσεβῆ τῆς πίστεως ἔκθεσιν. *Idem apud Euthymium, Panopl. Dom. Tit. 12. ad eodem Archiep. exscript.* This was the great and prudent care of Leo the Third, that there should be no addition made to the ancient Creed authorized by a general Council, and received by the whole Church; and by this means he quieted all distempers for his time. But not long after, the following popes, more in love with their own authority than desirous of the peace and unity of the Church, neglected the tables of Leo, and admitted the addition *Filiusque*. This was first done in the time and by the power of Pope Nicolaus the First, who by the activity of Photius was condemned for it. 'Tunc inter alias accusationes hoc principaliter posuit Photius ipsum (Nicolaum) fore excommunicatum, quod apposuerat ad Symbolum Spiritum S. a Filio procedere. Similiter et depositum, quod ipse Nicolaus Pápa incidisset in sententiam tertii Concilii.' *Antonin. Part. 3. tit. 22. c. 13.* This was it which Photius complained of so highly in his Encyclic Epistle to the Archiepiscopal Sees of the Eastern Church: 'Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐχὶ μόνον εἰς ταῦτα παρανορεῖν ἐξηρέχησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰ τις κακῶν ἐστὶ

326 Now although the addition of the words to the formal Creed without the consent, and against the protestation of the

κοινωνίᾳ, εἰς ταύτην ἀνέδραμον· πρὸς γὰρ τοὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἀποτήμασι καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἄγιον σύμβολον, ὃ πᾶσι τοῖς συνοδικαῖς καὶ οἰκουμενικαῖς ψηφίσμασιν ἑμᾶχον ἔχει τὴν ἰσχύν, νόθοις λογισμοῖς καὶ παρεγγράφτοις λόγοσι καὶ θράσους ὑπερβολῇ κιβδηλεύειν ἐπεχείρησαν (ὥ τῶν τοῦ ποτηροῦ μηχανημάτων) τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς μόνον, ἀλλὰ γε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Τιοῦ ἐκπορεύεσθαι καινολογήσαντες. Phot. Epist. ii. § 8. [p. 51.] ‘Hugo Etherianus legit κενολογήσαντες, dum vertit frustra profectur.’ Thus far Photius against Nicolaus before he was deposed. After he was restored again, in the time of Pope John the Eighth, in the eighth general Council, as the Greeks call it, it was declared that the addition of *Filioque*, made in the Creed, should be taken away. ‘Ἐξήτησεν δὲ ἡ Σύνοδος αὕτη καὶ περὶ τῆς προσθήκης τοῦ Συμβόλου, καὶ ἔκρινεν ἄξιον ἵνα ἐξαίρηθῃ παντελῶς, says Marcus bishop of Ephesus, in the Council of Florence. After this the same complaint was continued by Michael Cerularius, and Theophylact, in as high a manner as by Photius. Ἔστω οὖν τὸ μέγιστον ἐκεῖνο σφάλμα, καὶ τοῦτο δὲ τοῦ Σολομῶντος ἄδου πεταύρους ποιοῦν συναντᾶν, ἡ ἐν τῷ τῆς πίστεως Συμβόλῳ καινοτομία, ἣν ἐποίησαντο ἀνακηρύττοντες τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Τιοῦ ἐκπορεύεσθαι. Theophyl. ad Ioan. c. 3. Καὶ τοῖς Δυτικοῖς τοῖνυν εἴ τι μὲν περὶ τὸ δόγμα διαμαρτάνεται τὴν πατρικὴν πίστιν σαλεύον, οἷον δὴ τὸ ἐν τῷ Συμβόλῳ περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος προστιθέμενον, ἔνθα ὁ κίνδυνος μέγιστος, τοῦτο μὴ διορθώσεως ἀξιούμενον ὁ συγχωρῶν ἀσυνχώρητος. Ibid.* [Οἱ γὰρ Λατῖνοι κακῶς ταῦτα (Gal. iv. 6; Rom. viii. 9.) ἐκδεχόμενοι καὶ παρανοοῦντες φασίν, ὅτι τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ υἱοῦ ἐκπορεύεται. Theophylact in Joh. iii. 31. p. 602 A.] Thus did the Oriental Church accuse the Occidental for adding *Filioque* to the Creed, contrary to a general Council, which had pro-

hibited all additions, and that without the least pretence of the authority of another Council; and so the schism between the Latin and the Greek Church began and was continued, never to be ended until those words καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Τιοῦ, or *Filioque*, are taken out of the Creed. The one relying upon the truth of the doctrine contained in those words, and the authority of the pope to alter any thing; the other either denying or suspecting the truth of the doctrine, and being very zealous for the authority of the ancient Councils. This therefore is much to be lamented, that the Greeks should not acknowledge the truth which was acknowledged by their ancestors, in the substance of it; and that the Latins should force the Greeks to make an addition to the Creed, without as great an authority as hath prohibited it, and to use that language in the expression of this doctrine which never was used by any of the Greek Fathers. [Χρὴ δὲ γνώσκειν, ὅτι ὡς ἱστορεῖ ὁ θεοφιλέστατος διάκονος καὶ μέγας οἰκονόμος τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας κύριος Ἀλέξιος ὁ Ἀριστῆνός ἐν τῷ συνοπτικῷ τῶν ὁλῶν κανόνων τῶν ἐκτεθέντων παρὰ τῶν οἰκουμενικῶν ἁγίων ἐξ Συνόδων, ναὶ μὴν καὶ τῶν μεταξὺ τῶν αὐτῶν τοπικῶν, μετὰ τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ Συνόδῳ ἡ τῆς οἰκατορίας αἰρέσεως ἀνεφάνη. Ἐλεγον γάρ τιτες ὅτι ὡσπερ ὁ υἱὸς ἐκ πατρὸς, οὕτω καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα γεγέννηται ἐξ υἱοῦ· καὶ οὕτω τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον υἱὸν υἱοῦ ἐδογματίστην, υἱὸν δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς. Τοῖνυν εἰς ἀφανισμόν τῆς τοιαύτης αἰρέσεως, βεβαίωσαν δὲ τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως Δάμασος ὁ ἀγώτατος Πάπας, πρὸ τῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἁγίας δευτέρας Συνόδου, συνεκρότησεν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ συνόδῳ μετὰ τῶν ὑπ’ αὐτὸν τῆς καθολικῆς πίστεως Ἐπισκόπων, οἱ καὶ προσέθηκαν ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ τῶν ἐν Νικαίᾳ Συμβόλῳ, τὸ πνεῦμα παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ ἐκπορεύεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας αὐτὸ γεγενῆσθαι ἐκ τοῦ υἱοῦ, ἀναθεματισμῷ ὑπέβαλον. Ὡσαύτως

* These passages are not in Theophylact on John iii.

Oriental Church, be not justifiable; yet that which was added is nevertheless a certain truth, and may be so used in that Creed by them who believe the same to be a truth; so long as they pretend it not to be a definition of that Council, but an addition or explication inserted, and condemn not those who, out of a greater respect to such synodical determinations, will admit of no such insertions, nor speak any other language than the Scriptures and their fathers spake.

Howsoever, we have sufficiently in our assertions declared the nature of the *Holy Ghost*, distinguishing him from all qualities, energies, or operations, in that he is truly and properly a person; differencing him from all creatures and finite things, as he is not a created person; shewing him to be of an infinite and eternal essence, as he is truly and properly God; distinguishing him from the Father and the Son, as being not the Father, though the same God with the Father, not the Son, though the same God with him; demonstrating his order in the blessed Trinity, as being not the first or second, but the third person, and therefore the third, because as the Son receiveth his essence communicated to him by the Father, and is therefore second to the Father, so the *Holy Ghost* receiveth the same essence communicated to him by the Father and the Son, and so proceedeth from them both, and is truly and properly the Spirit of the Father, and as truly and properly the Spirit of the Son.

Thus far have we declared the nature of the *Holy Ghost*, what he is in himself, as the *Spirit of God*: it remaineth that we declare what is the office of the same, what he is unto us as the *Holy Spirit*: for although the Spirit of God be of infinite, essential, and original holiness, as God, and so may be called *Holy* in himself; though other spirits, which were created, be either actually now unholy, or of defectible sanctity at the first, and so having the name of Spirit com-

ἀναθεμάτισαν τοὺς μὴ μετὰ πάσης παύσεως κηρύττοντας αὐτὸ μετὰ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ μᾶς ἐξουσίας καὶ οὐσίας ὑπάρχειν. καὶ πλείους ἄλλους ἀναθεματισμοὺς κατὰ πλείωνων αἰρέσεων ἐξέθεντο. Simon Constantinopolitanus, Epistola ad Joannem Nomophylacem, in qua quicquid ex antiquis scriptoribus affertur, si longam ῥῆσιν ejus jam-

dudum ab Allatio ex MSto Vaticano editum spectes, fideliter descriptum est. Inspice libellum Leonis Allatii, ab eo Romæ anno 1661 typis impressum [8vo] cui titulus, [Johannes Henricus] Hottingerus fraudis et imposturæ manifeste convictus, p. 340. Simonis C. P. excerptum in pp. 339—382 exstat. M. J. Routh.]

mon unto them, he may be termed *Holy*, that he may be distinguished from them; yet I conceive he is rather called the *Holy Spirit*, or *the Spirit of holiness*, because, of the three Rom. I. 4. persons in the blessed Trinity, it is his particular office to sanctify or make us holy.

Now when I speak of the office of the *Holy Ghost*, I do not understand any ministerial office or function, such as that of the created angels is, who are *all ministering spirits sent* Heb. I. 14. **327** *forth to minister for them who shall be heirs of salvation*; for I have already proved this Spirit to be a person properly divine, and consequently above all ministration. But I intend thereby whatsoever is attributed unto him peculiarly in the salvation of man, as the work wrought by him, for which he is sent by the Father and the Son. For all the persons in the Godhead are represented unto us as concurring unto our salvation: *God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son, and through that Son we have an access by one Spirit* John III. 16. Ephes. II. 18. *unto the Father.* As therefore what our Saviour did and suffered for us belonged to that office of a Redeemer, which he took upon him; so whatsoever the *Holy Ghost* worketh in order to the same salvation, we look upon as belonging to his office. And because without holiness it is impossible to please God, because we are all impure and unholy, and the purity and holiness which is required in us to appear in the presence of God, whose eyes are pure, must be wrought in us by the Spirit of God, who is called *Holy* because he is the cause of this holiness in us, therefore we acknowledge the office of the Spirit of God to consist in the sanctifying of the servants of God, and the declaration of this office, added to the description of his nature, to be a sufficient explication of the object of faith contained in this Article, *I believe in the Holy Ghost.*

Now this sanctification being opposed to our impurity and corruption, and answering fully to the latitude of it, whatsoever is wanting in our nature of that holiness and perfection, must be supplied by the Spirit of God. Wherefore, being by nature we are totally void of all saving truth, and under an impossibility of knowing the will of God; being, *as no man* 1 Cor. II. 10. *knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of man which* ^{11.} *is in him; even so none knoweth the things of God, but the Spirit of God: this Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God, and revealeth them unto the sons of men; so*

- that thereby the darkness of their understanding is expelled, and they are enlightened with the knowledge of their God. This work of the Spirit is double, either external and general, or internal and particular. The external and general work of the Spirit, as to the whole Church of God, is the revelation of the will of God, by which so much in all ages hath been propounded as was sufficient to instruct men unto eternal life.
- Luke i. 70. For there have been *holy prophets ever since the world began,*
 2 Pet. i. 21. and prophecy came not at any time by the will of man; but *holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.*
- Heb. i. 2. When it pleased God *in the last days to speak unto us by his*
 John xvi. 13; *Son, even that Son sent his Spirit into the apostles, the Spirit*
 xiv. 26. *of truth, that he might guide them into all truth, teaching them*
 2 Tim. iii. 16. *all things, and bringing all things to their remembrance, whatsoever Christ had said unto them.* By this means it came to pass, that *all Scripture was given by inspiration of God*, that is, by the motion and operation of the Spirit of God; and so whatsoever is necessary for us to know and believe, was delivered by revelation. Again, the same Spirit which revealeth the object of faith generally to the universal Church of God, which object is propounded externally by the Church to every particular believer, doth also illuminate the understanding of such as believe, that they may receive the truth: for faith is the gift of God, not only in the object, but also in the act; Christ is not only given unto us, in whom we believe, but it is also *given us in the behalf of Christ to believe on him*; and this gift is a gift of the *Holy Ghost*, working within us an assent unto that which by the word is propounded to us: by this *the Lord opened the heart of Lydia, that she attended unto the things which were spoken of Paul*; by this the word preached profiteth, being *mixed with faith in them that hear it*. Thus *by grace are we saved through faith; and that not of ourselves: it is the gift of God*. As the increase and perfection, so the original, or initiation of faith is from the Spirit of God¹, not 328

¹ This is the ancient determination of the second Arausican Council: 'Si quis sicut augmentum, ita etiam initium fidei, ipsumque credulitatis affectum, quo in eum credimus, qui justificat impium, et ad regenerationem'

sacri baptismatis pervenimus, non per gratias donum, id est, per inspirationem Spiritus Sancti corrigentis voluntatem nostram ab infidelitate ad fidem, ab impietate ad pietatem, sed naturaliter nobis inesse dicit, Apostolicis dogma-

[* Labbé here has "generationem."]

only by an external proposal in the word, but by an internal illumination in the soul; by which we are inclined to the obedience of faith, in assenting to those truths, which unto a natural and carnal man are foolishness. And thus we affirm not only the revelation of the will of God, but also the illumination of the soul of man, to be part of the office of the Spirit of God, against the old and new Pelagians¹.

The second part of the office of the *Holy Ghost*, in the sanctification of man, is the regeneration and renovation of him. For our natural corruption consisting in an aversion of our wills, and a deprivation of our affections, an inclination of them to the will of God is wrought within us by the Spirit of God. For *according to his mercy he saveth us, by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost.* So that *except a man be born again of water and of the Holy Ghost, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.* We are all at first defiled by the corruption of our nature, and the pollution of our sins, *but we are washed, but we are sanctified, but we are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God.* The second part then of the office of the *Holy Ghost* is the renewing of man in all the parts and faculties of his soul.

The third part of this office is to lead, direct, and govern us in our actions and conversations, that we may actually do and perform those things which are acceptable and well-pleasing

tibus adversarius approbatur, beato apostolo Paulo dicente, *Confidimus, quia qui cepit in vobis bonum opus, perficiet usque in diem Domini nostri Jesu Christi; et illud, Vobis datum est pro Christo, non solum ut in eum credatis, sed etiam ut pro illo patiamini.* Et, *Gratia salvi facti estis per fidem, non ex vobis, Dei enim donum est.* Can. 5. Concil. Araus. [Labbe, Tom. iv. p. 1667 x.] and Gennad. Eccl. Dogm. c. 42.

¹ It was the known opinion of the Pelagians, That it is in the power of man to believe the Gospel without any internal operation of the grace of God; and St Augustin was once of that opinion: 'Neque enim fidem putabam,' says he, 'Dei gratia praeveniri, ut per illam nobis daretur quod posceremus utiliter, nisi quia credere non possemus, si non praeccederet præco-

nium veritatis. Ut autem prædicato nobis Evangelio consentiremus nostrum esse proprium, et nobis ex nobis esse arbitrabar. Quem meum errorem nonnulla opuscula mea satis indicant ante Episcopatum meum scripta.' *De Prædest. Sanct.* l. i. c. 3. [Tom. x. p. 524 D.] (p. 793.) But whatsoever he had so written before he was made a bishop, he recalled and reversed in his *Retractions*, l. i. c. 23, and disputed earnestly against it as a part of the Pelagian heresy. This, as the rest of Pelagianism, is renewed by the Socinians, who in the Racovian Catechism deliver it in this manner: 'Nonne ad credendum Evangelio Spiritus Sancti interiore dono opus est? Nullo modo: neque enim in Scripturis legimus cuiquam id conferri donum, nisi credenti Evangelio.'

- Gal. v. 25. in the sight of God. *If we live in the Spirit*, quickened by his renovation, we must *also walk in the Spirit*, following
- Gal. v. 16. his direction, led by his manuduction. And if we *walk in the Spirit*, we shall not fulfil the lusts of the flesh; for we are not only directed but animated and acted in those operations by
- Phil. ii. 13. the Spirit of God, *who giveth both to will and to do*; and as
- Rom. viii. 14. *many as are thus led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God*. Moreover that this direction may prove more effectual, we are also guided in our prayers, and acted in our devotions
- Zech. xii. 10. by the same Spirit, according to the promise, *I will pour upon the house of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the spirit of grace and of supplications*. Whereas then *this is the confidence that we have in him, that if we ask any thing according to his will, he heareth us*; and whereas *we know not what we should pray for as we ought, the Spirit itself maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered*; and *he that searcheth the hearts, knoweth what is the mind of the Spirit, because he maketh intercession for the saints according to the will of God*. From which intercession especially I conceive he hath the name of the *Paraclete* given him by Christ, who
- John xiv. 16. said, *I will pray unto the Father, and he shall give you another*
- 1 John ii. 1. *Paraclete*. For if any man sin, we have a *Paraclete with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous*, saith St John; *who also maketh intercession for us*, saith St Paul: and we have another
- Rom. viii. 24. *Paraclete*, saith our Saviour; which also *maketh intercession for us*, saith St Paul. A *Paraclete* then, in the notion of the Scriptures, is an intercessor¹. 329

¹ Παράκλητος is five times used in the Scriptures, and that by St John alone: four times in his Gospel, attributed to the Holy Ghost, once in his First Epistle, spoken of Christ. [xiv. 16. 26; xv. 26; xvi. 7; 1 Ep. ii. 1.] When it relates to the Holy Ghost, we translate it always *Comforter*; when to Christ, we render it *Advocate*: of which diversity there can be no reason, because Christ, who is a *Paraclete*, said, that he would send another *Paraclete*; and therefore the notion must be the same in both: "Ἄλλον παράκλητον δώσει ὑμῖν, τοντέστω, ἄλλον ὡς ἐμέ. S. Chrysost. ad Joan. xiv. 16. (Hom. 75. § 1. Tom. VIII. p. 439 A.) If therefore in the language of St John παρά-

κλητος be a *comforter*, then Christ is a *comforter*; if παράκλητος be an *advocate*, the Holy Ghost is the *advocate*. The Vulgar Latin keeps the Greek word in the Gospels *Paracletus*, but in the Epistle renders it *Advocatus*. The Syriac keepeth the original altogether ܡܫܠܝܚܬܐ as being of ordinary use in the writers of that and the Chaldee language; and therefore was not well translated *Paracletus* in the Gospels, and *Advocatus* in the Epistle, by Tremellius. That the Latins did use generally the word *Paracletus* for the Holy Ghost, as it is now in the Vulgar Latin, appeareth by the description of the heresy of Montanus, which Tertullian calls 'novam prophe-

Fourthly, The office of the same Spirit is to join us unto Christ, and make us members of that one body of which our

tiam de Paraceto inundantem.' *De Resur. Carn.* c. 63. [p. 430 A.] and 'spiritalem rationem, Paraceto auctore.' *Cont. Marc.* l. i. c. 29. [p. 452 B.] [Nubendi jam modus ponitur, quem quidem spiritalis ratio, Paraceto auctore, defendit.] And yet the ancientest Latin translators rendered it *Advocatus* even in the Gospels, in reference to the Spirit; as we read it in Tertullian: 'Bene quod et Dominus usus hoc verbo in persona Paracleti, non divisionem significavit, sed dispositionem, *Rogabo enim*, inquit, *Patrem, et alium Advocatum mittet vobis Spiritum veritatis.*' *Adv. Praz.* c. 9. [p. 640 C.] So Novatianus; '*Ego rogabo Patrem, et alium Advocatum dabit vobis.* Necnon etiam subdidit illud quoque, *Advocatus autem Spiritus Sanctus quem missurus est Pater, ille vos docebit.*' *De Trin.* c. 28. '*Cum venerit Advocatus ille, quem ego mittam.*' *Apud S. Hilary.* *de Trin.* l. viii. § 19. [p. 958 C.] Notwithstanding *Consolator* also is of good antiquity: as we read in the same St Hilary: 'Sumus nunc quidem consolati, quia Dominus ait, *Mittet vobis Pater et alium Consolatorem.*' *Enarr. in Psal.* cxv. § 7. [p. 410 B.] And it is possible that some which used *Advocatus*, might understand so much: for in the ancient Christian Latin, *Advocare* signifieth to comfort, and *Advocatio*, consolation; as being the bare interpretation of *παράκλησις* and *παράκλησις*. As Tertullian translates *παράκλησαι περὸ ὅντας*, *Isai.* lxi. 2. '*Advocare languentes.*' *Adv. Marc.* l. iv. c. 14. So when we read: 'Væ vobis divitibus, quia habetis consolationem vestram:' Tertullian read it: 'Væ vobis divitibus, quoniam receptistis advocacionem vestram.' *Adv. Marc.* l. iv. c. 15. [p. 523 D.] And speaking in his own language: '*Beati*, inquit, *mentes aque lugentes.* Quis talia sine patientia tolerat? Itaque talibus et advocatio et risus promittitur.' *De Patient.* c. 11. [p. 166 C.] And as St Hilary read it, so did St Augustin ex-

pound it: '*Consolabuntur Spiritu Sancto, qui maxime propterea Paracletus nominatur, id est, Consolator.*' *De Sermon. Dom. in Monte*, l. i. c. 2. [§ 5. *Tom. III.* p. 120 A.] (p. 167.) '*Cum Christus promiserit suis missurum se Paracletum, id est, Consolatorem vel Advocatum.*' *Contra Faust.* l. xiii. c. 17. [*Tom. VIII.* p. 187 B.] (p. 262.) '*Consolator ergo ille, vel Advocatus, utrumque enim interpretatur quod est Græce Paracletus.*' *Expos. in Joan. Tract.* 94 § 2. (p. 728.) [*Tom. III.* par. 2. p. 530 F.] And as they read or expound it, so did the Arabic translator render it by two several words, one in the Gospel, another in the Epistle, both signifying *Consolator*. Now what they meant by *Advocatus* is evident, that is, one which should plead the cause of Christians against their adversaries which accused and persecuted them; that as there is an accuser which is a Spirit, even Satan; so there should be an advocate to plead against that accuser, even the Holy Spirit. '*Necessarius nobis est ros Dei, ut non comburamur, neque infructuosi efficiamur; et ubi accusatorem habemus, illic habeamus et Paracletum.*' *Iren.* l. iii. c. 19. [p. 244 B.] '*Hic ipse (Spiritus) et in Prophetis populum accusavit, et in Apostolis advocacionem gentibus præstitit.* Nam illi ut accusarentur merebantur, quia contempserant legem, et qui ex Gentibus credunt ut patrocinio Spiritus adjuventur, merentur, quia ad Evangelicam pervenire gestiunt legem.' *Novat. de Trin.* c. 29. [p. 311. col. 1 B.] And again: '*Quoniam Dominus in cælos esset abiturus, Paracletum discipulis necessario dabat, ne illos quodammodo pupillos, quod minime decebat, relinqueret, et sine Advocato et quodam Tutore desereret.*' *Ibid.* [p. 311. col. 1 D.] In this sense it was, that when Vettius pleaded for the Gallican martyrs before their persecutors: *ἤξλου καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀκουσθῆναι ἀπολογούμενος ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδελφῶν* endeavouring to clear them, he was

the Holy Ghost which is given unto us. For as many as are Rom. viii. 14.
led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God. And
because we are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son Gal. iv. 6.
into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father. For we have not received Rom. viii. 15,
the spirit of bondage again to fear; but we have received the 16.
Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father. The Spirit
itself bearing witness with our spirit, that we are the children of
God. As therefore we are born again by the Spirit, and re-
ceive from him our regeneration, so we are also assured by the
same Spirit of our adoption; and, because being sons we are Rom. viii. 17.
also heirs, heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ, by the
same Spirit we have the pledge, or rather the earnest of our
inheritance. For he which stablisheth us in Christ, and hath 2 Cor. i. 21,
anointed us, is God, who hath also sealed us, and hath given the 22
earnest of his Spirit in our hearts; so that we are sealed with Eph. i. 13, 14.
that Holy Spirit of promise, which is the earnest of our inher-
itance until the redemption of the purchased possession. The
Spirit of God as given unto us in this life, though it have not
the proper nature of a pledge; as in the gifts received here
being no way equivalent to the promised reward, nor given in
the stead of any thing already due; yet it is to be looked upon
as an earnest¹, being part of that reward which is promised,

¹ The word ἀρραβών, which the apostle only useth in this particular, is of a Hebrew extraction; ערבו from ערר a word of promise and engagement in commerce, bargains, and agreements; and being but in one particular affair used in the Old Testament is taken for a pledge, Gen. xxxviii. 17, 18. 20. and translated ἀρραβών by the LXX. as well as שטחבו by the Chaldee; yet the Greek word otherwise, consonantly enough to the origination, signifieth rather an earnest than a pledge, as the Greeks and Latins generally agree: *Henych.* Ἀρραβών, ἡ ἐστὶν ἀρραβία. *Etyim.* Ἀρραβών, ἡ ἐστὶν ταῖς ὥραις παρὰ τῶν ὠνομένων διδομένη προκαταβολὴ ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας. Which words are also extant in Suidas, but corruptly. To this purpose is cited that of Menander:

— Μικρού

Μὲν ἀρραβῶν' εὐθύς μ' ἔπεισε καταβαλεῖν.
So Aristotle speaking of Thales: εὐπο-

ῥοσάντα χρημάτων ὀλίγων ἀρραβῶνας
 διαδοῦναι τῶν ἑκαυοργίων. *Polit.* l. i.
 c. ii. [§ 9.] So the Latins: 'Arrhabo
 scilicet dicta, ut reliquum reddatur. Hoc
 verbum a Græco ἀρραβών. Reliquum
 ex eo quod debitum reliquit.' *Varrō*
de L. L. l. iv. p. 41. 'In terrenis ne-
 gotiis arrhab quantitas, contractus illius
 pro quo intercesserit quædam portio
 est; pignoris vero ratio, meritum rei
 pro qua poni videtur excedit.' *Paschas*.
Diac. l. i. *de Sp. S.* c. ii. (p. 738 F.).
 'Pignus Latinus interpres pro arrha-
 bone posuit.' Non idipsum autem ar-
 rabo quod pignus sonat. Arrhabo
 enim futuræ emptiōni quasi quoddam
 testimonium et obligamentum datur.
 Pignus vero, hoc est, *πῆχυρον*, pro
 multa pecunia opponitur, ut quum
 illa reddita fuerit, reddenti debitum
 pignus a creditore reddatur.' *S. Hier.*
ad Ephes. i. 14. [Tom. vii. p. 560 E.]
 There is such another observation in
 A. Gellius, upon these words of Q.

and, upon the condition of performance of the covenant which God hath made with us, certainly to be received.

Sixthly, For the effecting of all these and the like particulars, it is the office of the same Spirit to sanctify and set apart persons for the duty of the ministry, ordaining them to intercede between God and his people, to send up prayers to God for them, to bless them in the name of God, to teach the doctrine of the Gospel, to administer the sacraments instituted by Christ, to perform all things necessary *for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ.* The same Spirit which illuminated the apostles, and endued them with power from above to perform personally their apostolical functions, fitted them also for the 331
ordination of others, and the committing of a standing power to a successive ministry unto the end of the world; who are thereby obliged to *take heed unto their selves, and to all the*

Eph. iv. 12.

Acts xx. 28.

Claudius: 'Cum tantus arrhabo penes Samnites Populi Romani esset: Arrhabonem dixit sexcentos obsides, et id maluit quam pignus dicere, quoniam vis hujus vocabuli in ea sententia gravior acriorque est.' *Noct. Att.* l. xvii. c. 2. [p. 926.] The sense and use of this word is evident in Plautus:

'Eas quanti destinat?

Te. Talentis magnis totidem quot ego et tu sumus.

Sed arrhaboni has dedit quadraginta minas.' *Mosell.* A. ii. Sc. i. 113.

The sum was £120. of which he gave £40. in part of payment, and this was the *arrhabo*. So the Greek fathers interpret St Paul. Διὰ μέντοι τοῦ ἀρραβῶνος ἠνέχετο τῶν δοθησομένων τὸ μέγεθος· ὁ γὰρ ἀρραβῶν μικρὸν τι μέρος ἐστὶ τοῦ παντός. *Theodoret.* ad 2 Cor. i. 22. [Tom. III. p. 217 A.] Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἀρραβῶν τὸ νῦν δοθὲν ὀνομάζεται, ὡς πολλαπλασίας ἐκεῖ δοθησομένης τῆς χάριτος. *Id.* ad 1 Cor. xv. 44. [p. 205 D.] Οὐδὲ Πνεῦμα εἶπεν ἀπλῶς, ἀλλ' ἀρραβῶνα ὠνόμασεν, ἵνα ἀπὸ τούτου καὶ περὶ τοῦ παντός θαρρήσῃ. *S. Chrysost.* *Hom.* ad 2 Cor. i. 22. [*Hom.* 3. § 4. Tom. x. p. 447 E.] In this manner speaks Eusebius: Τὰ πρωτόλεια τῶν ἐσθλῶν ἐνθένδε προαρραβωίζονται. *De Vita Constant.* l. i. c. 3. [p. 334 A.] Οὕτε γὰρ πᾶν κεκοιμήμεθα, οὕτε πάντες

ὑστεροῦμεν' ἀλλ' ὅταν ἀρραβῶνα τῶν αἰώνιων ἀγαθῶν καὶ τοῦ πατρῶος πλοῦτος προσεληθῶμεν. *Theodor.* in *Clem. Alex.* 802. So Tertullian: 'Hic sequester Dei atque hominum appellatus ex utriusque partis deposito commisso sibi, carnis quoque depositum servat in semetipso, arrhabonem summæ totius. Quemadmodum enim nobis arrhabonem Spiritus reliquit, ita et a nobis arrhabonem carnis accepit, et vexit in cælum pignus totius summæ illuc quandoque redigendæ.' *De Resur. Carn.* c. 51. [p. 419 C.] 'Plane accepit et hic Spiritum caro, sed arrhabonem; animæ autem non arrhabonem sed plenitudinem.' *Ibid.* c. 53. [p. 423 A.] So though the translator of Irenæus render ἀρραβῶν *pignus*, yet it is evident that Irenæus did understand by ἀρραβῶν an *earnest*: 'Quod et pignus, dixit Apostolus, hoc est, partem ejus honoris qui a Deo nobis promissus est, in Epistola quæ ad Ephesios est.' l. v. c. 8. § 1. [p. 409, 25.] And a little after: 'Si enim pignus complectens hominem in semetipsum jam facit dicere, Abba, Pater; quid faciet universa Spiritus gratia, quæ hominibus dabitur a Deo, cum similes nos ei efficiet, et perficiet voluntate Patris!' *Ibid.* [p. 410. 4.]

flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made them overseers, to feed the Church of God.

By these and the like means doth the Spirit of God sanctify the sons of men, and by virtue of this sanctification, proceeding immediately from his office, he is properly called the Holy Spirit. And thus have I sufficiently described the object of our faith contained in this Article, What is the *Holy Ghost* in whom we believe, both in relation to his nature¹; as he is the Spirit of God, and, in reference to his office, as he is the Holy Spirit.

The necessity of the belief of this Article appeareth, first, from the nature and condition of the CREED, whereof it is an essential part, as without which it could not be looked upon as a Creed. For being the CREED is a profession of that faith into which we are baptized; being the first rule of faith was derived from the sacred form of baptism; being we are baptized *in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*, we are obliged to profess faith in them three; that as they are distinguished in the institution, so they may be distinguished in our profession. And therefore the briefest comprehensions of faith have always included the *Holy Ghost*, and some concluded with it².

Matt. xxviii.
19.

¹ In respect of the nature of the Holy Ghost, I have endeavoured the same which Faustus Rhegiensis did, of whom Gennadius relates thus much: 'Faustus ex Abbate Lirinensis Monasterii apud regnum Gallie Episcopus factus, vir in divinis Scripturis satis intentus, ex traditione Symboli occasione accepta, composuit librum de Spiritu Sancto, in quo ostendit eum juxta fidem patrum et consubstantialem et coeternalem esse Patri et Filio, ac plenitudinem Trinitatis obtinentem.' *Illustr. Vir. Cat.* 87.

² I have formerly shewn at large how the CREED did first arise from the baptismal institution, pp. 57, 58. And therefore as the name of the Holy Ghost is an essential part of that form, so must the belief in him be as essential to the CREED, which was at first nothing else but an explication of that form. The first enlargement and explication we find in Justin Martyr

thus expressed: 'Ἐν ὀνόματος τοῦ Πατρὸς τῶν δυν καὶ δεσπότου Θεοῦ—καὶ ἐν ὀνόματος δὲ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ σταυρωθέντος ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, καὶ ἐν ὀνόματος Πνεύματος ἁγίου δὲ διὰ τῶν προφητῶν προεκήρυξε τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἰησοῦν πάντα, ὁ φωτισόμενος λούεται. *Apol.* i. § 61. [pp. 89, 7. 90, 20, Thirlby.] And the rule of faith delivered soon after by Irenæus, is very consonant to it: *Eis ἓνα Θεὸν Πατέρα παντοκράτορα, τὸν πεποιηκότα τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὰς θαλάσσας καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς—καὶ εἰς ἓνα Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸν σαρκωθέντα ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας σωτηρίας, καὶ εἰς Πνεῦμα ἄγιον τὸ διὰ τῶν προφητῶν κεκηρυγμένον τὰς οἰκονομίας καὶ τὰς ἀεὶσεις. *Adv. Hær.* l. i. c. 2. [p. 45, 4.] As that delivered soon after him by Tertullian: 'Unicum quidem Deum credimus, sub hac tamen dispensatione (quam οἰκονομίας dicimus) ut unici Dei sit et Filius Sermo ipsius, qui ex ipso*

Secondly, It is necessary to believe in the *Holy Ghost*, not only for the acknowledgment of the eminency of his person, but also for a desire of the excellency of his graces, 332 and the abundance of his gifts. What the apostle wished to the Corinthians, ought to be the earnest petition of every Christian, that *the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love*

processerit, per quem omnia facta sunt, et sine quo factum est nihil. Hunc missum a Patre in virginem, et ex ea natum hominem et Deum, filium hominis et Filium Dei, et cognominatum Jesum Christum; Hunc passum, hunc mortuum, et sepultum secundum Scripturas, et resuscitatum a Patre, et in ocelos resumptum, sedere ad dextram Patris, venturum judicare vivos et mortuos. Qui exinde miserit, secundum promissionem suam, a Patre Spiritum Sanctum Paracletum, Sanctificatorem fidei eorum qui credunt in Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum.' *Adv. Prax.* c. 2. [p. 635 A.] Indeed there is an objection made against this truth by the Socinians, who would have us believe that in the first creeds or rules of faith the Holy Ghost was not included. Thus Schlichtingius writing against Meisner: 'Porro observatum est a quibusdam tertiam hanc Symboli istius partem quæ a Spiritu Sancto incipit, ab initio defuisse, seu in Symbolo non fuisse additam; idque non immerito, cum non personas ullas, in quas credendum sit (quas solas, ut apparet, auctoribus Symboli commemorare propositum fuit), sed res tantum credendas complectatur, quæ implicite fide in Deum et in Jesum Christum omnes continentur. Hoc si ita est, sane deficit tertia Persona, quæ Deum illum unum nobis declararet. Tertullianus (*de Virg. veland.* § 1.) sane Auctor antiquissimus et temporibus Apostolorum proximus, hanc tertiam Symboli istius partem non tantum ita non apposuit, ut omitteret; sed ita ut excluderet.' *In 4. Socin. Rat. de Trin. Quod Symbolo Apostolico non respondeat.* Art. 1. § 3. But as he argues very warily with his *Hoc si ita est*, so he disputes most fal-

laciouly: for first he makes Tertullian the most ancient and next to the apostles, and so would bring an example of the first creed from him; whereas Justin Martyr and Irenæus were both before him, and they both mention expressly the Holy Ghost in their rules of faith. Secondly, he makes Tertullian exclude the Holy Ghost from the rule of faith, which he clearly expresseth in the place forecited; and therefore that place by him mentioned, cannot be an exclusion, but an omission only; and the cause of that omission in that place is evident, that he might bring in his opinion of the *Paracletus* with the better advantage. Thus when Eusebius Cæsariensis gave in a copy of the CREED (by which he was catechized, baptized, and consecrated) to the Council of Nice, it runs thus: Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν Πατέρα, &c. καὶ εἰς ἕνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, &c. πιστεύομεν καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα δ' ὕιον, and there concludes. *Socrat. Hist. Eccles.* l. i. c. 8. [p. 20 D.] In conformity whereunto, the Nicene Council, altering some things, and adding others against the Arians, concludeth in the same manner, καὶ εἰς τὸ δ' ὕιον Πνεῦμα. *Ibid.* [p. 19 D.] And the Arian bishops in the Synod in Antioch not long after: Πιστεύομεν καὶ εἰς τὸ δ' ὕιον Πνεῦμα, εἰ δὲ δεῖ προσθεῖναι, πιστεύομεν καὶ περὶ σαρκὸς ἀναστάσεως, καὶ ζωῆς αἰωνίου. [*Socrates, H. E.* l. i. c. 10. p. 87 A.] From whence it appeareth that the profession of faith in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, was counted essential to the CREED; the rest which followeth was looked upon as a προσθήκη. 'Quid nunc de Spiritu Sancto dicemus, quem credere consequente Symboli parte in Trinitate præcipimur?' *Al. Avit. Serm. de Symb.*

of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with us all. For if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his; Rom. viii. 9. if he have not that which maketh the union, he cannot be united to him; if he acknowledgeth him not to be his Lord, he cannot be his servant; and no man can say that Jesus 1 Cor. xii. 3. is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost. That which is born of the Spirit is spirit; such is their felicity which have it: That John iii. 6. which is born of the flesh is flesh; such is their infelicity which want it. What then is to be desired in comparison of the Phil. i. 19. supply of the Spirit of Jesus Christ; especially considering the encouragement we receive from Christ, who said, *If ye* Luke xi. 13. *being evil know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him?*

Thirdly, It is necessary to profess faith in the Holy Ghost, that the will of God may be effectual in us, even our sancti- 1 Thess. iv. 3. fication. For if God hath from the beginning chosen us to 2 Thess. ii. 13. salvation through sanctification of the Spirit; if we be elected 1 Pet. i. 2. according to the foreknowledge of God the Father through sanctification of the Spirit unto obedience; if the office of the Spirit doth consist in this, and he be therefore called holy, because he is to sanctify us, how should we follow peace with Heb. xii. 14. all men, and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord? How should we endeavour to cleanse ourselves from all filthi- 2 Cor. vii. 1. ness of the flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God? The temple of God is holy, which temple we are, if 1 Cor. iii. 16, 17. the Spirit of God dwelleth in us; for the inhabitation of God is a consecration, and that place must be a temple, where his honour dwelleth. Now if we know that our body is the temple of the Holy Ghost within us, which we have of God; if we know that we are not our own, for that we are bought with a price; we must also know that we ought therefore to glorify 1 Cor. vi. 19, 20. God in our body, and in our spirit, which are God's: thus it is necessary to believe in the Spirit of sanctification, that our 1 Thess. iii. 12. hearts may be established unblameable in holiness before God, even our Father, at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ with all his saints.

Fourthly, it is necessary to believe in the Holy Ghost, that in all our weaknesses we may be strengthened, in all our infirmities we may be supported, in all our discouragements we may be comforted, in the midst of miseries we may be

Rom. xiv. 17. filled with peace and inward joy. *For the kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.* We read of the disciples at first, that they
 Acts xiii. 52. *were filled with joy and with the Holy Ghost;* and those which
 1 Thes. i. 6. *afterwards became followers of them and of the Lord, received the word in much affliction, but with joy of the Holy Ghost.*
 John vii. 83. *These are the rivers of living water flowing out of his belly that believeth:* this is the oil of gladness, wherewith the Son of
 Psal. xiv. 7. *God was anointed above his fellows;* but yet with the same
 Heb. i. 9. *oil his fellows are anointed also: for we have an unction from the Holy One, and the anointing which we receive of him abideth in us.*

Lastly, The belief of the *Holy Ghost* is necessary for the continuation of a successive ministry, and a Christian submission to the acts of their function, unto the end of the world.
 Luke iv. 18. *For as God the Father sent the Son, and the Spirit of the Lord was upon him, because he had anointed him to preach the gospel;* so the Son sent the apostles, saying, *As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you; and when he had said this, he breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive the Holy Ghost:* and as the Son sent the apostles, so did they send others by virtue of the same Spirit, as St Paul sent Timothy and Titus, and gave them power to send others, saying to
 John xx. 21, 22. *Timothy, Lay hands suddenly on no man; and to Titus, For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain elders in every city, as I had appointed thee.* Thus, by virtue of an apostolical ordination, there is for ever to be continued a ministerial succession. Those which are thus separated by ordination to the work of
 1 Tim. v. 22. *the Lord, are to feed the flock of God which is among them, taking the oversight thereof;* and those which are committed to
 Tit. i. 5. *their care, are to remember and obey them that have the rule over them, and submit themselves; for that they watch for their souls, as they that must give account.*

Having thus at large asserted the verity contained in this Article, and declared the necessity of believing it, we may easily give a brief exposition, by which every Christian may know what he ought to profess, and how he is to be understood, when he saith, *I believe in the Holy Ghost.* For thereby he is conceived to declare thus much:

I freely and resolvedly assent unto this as unto a certain

and infallible truth, that beside all other whatsoever, to whom the name of Spirit is or may be given, there is one particular and peculiar Spirit, who is truly and properly a person, of a true, real, and personal subsistence, not a created but uncreated person, and so the true and one eternal God; that though he be that God, yet he is not the Father nor the Son, but the Spirit of the Father and the Son, the third person in the blessed Trinity, proceeding from the Father and the Son: I believe this infinite and eternal Spirit to be not only of perfect and indefectible holiness in himself; but also to be the immediate cause of all holiness in us, revealing the pure and undefiled will of God, inspiring the blessed apostles, and enabling them to lay the foundation, and by a perpetual succession to continue the edification of the Church, illuminating the understandings of particular persons, rectifying their wills and affections, renovating their natures, uniting their persons unto Christ, assuring them of the adoption of sons, leading them in their actions, directing them in their devotions, by all ways and means purifying and sanctifying their souls and bodies, to a full and eternal acceptation in the sight of God. This is the eternal Spirit of God; in this manner is that Spirit holy; and thus I BELIEVE IN THE HOLY GHOST.

THE HOLY CATHOLICK CHURCH, THE COMMUNION
OF SAINTS.

IN this ninth Article we meet with some variety of position, and with much addition; for whereas it is here the ninth, in some Creeds we find it the last¹; and whereas it

¹ Although generally the Article of the *holy Church* did immediately follow the Article of the *Holy Ghost*, as Tertullian well observeth: 'Cum—sub tribus et testatio fidei et sponsio salutis pignerentur, necessario adjicitur ecclesie mentio, quoniam ubi tres, id est, Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus, ibi ecclesia quæ trium corpus est.' *De Baptis.* c. 6. [p. 258 c.] And St Augustin: 'Spiritus Sanctus si creatura non Creator esset, profecto creatura rationalis esset. Ipse enim esset summa creatura; et ideo in Regula fidei non poneretur ante ecclesiam, quia et ipse ad ecclesiam pertineret.' *Enchir.* c. 56. And the author of the first book *De Symb. ad Catech.* 'Sequitur post Trinitatis commendationem, sanctam ecclesiam.' [§ 14. Tom. vi. p. 404 D.] (p. 554.) And St Jerome cited in the next note. Yet notwithstanding this order was not always observed, but sometimes this Article was reserved to the end of the CREED. As first appeareth in that remarkable place of St Cyprian: 'Quod si aliquis illud opponit, ut dicat eandem Novatianum legem tenere quam catholica ecclesia teneat, eodem symbolo quo et nos baptizare, eundem nosse Deum Patrem, eundem Filium Christum, eundem Spiritum Sanctum, ac propter hoc usurpare eum potestatem baptizandi posse, quod videatur in interrogatione baptismi a nobis non discrepare; sciat quisquis hoc opponendum putat, primum non esse unam nobis et schismaticis symboli legem, neque eandem interrogationem. Nam cum dicunt, *Credo remissionem peccatorum, et vitam æternam per sanctam ecclesiam*! mentiuntur in interrogatione, cum non habent ecclesiam. Tunc deinde voce sua ipsi confitentur remissionem peccatorum non dari, nisi per sanctam

ecclesiam posse.' *Ep. ad Magn.* l. i. ep. 6. § 6. al. ep. 76. (p. 154.) [69. p. 183.] Thus Arius and Euzoius, in the words hereafter cited, place the Church in the conclusion of their creed. And the author of the second book *de Symb. ad Catech.* placeth the remission of sins after the Holy Ghost: 'Noli injuriam facere illi qui fecit te, ut consequaris ab illo, quod in isto sancto symbolo sequitur, *Remissionem omnium peccatorum*.' § 21. [*Augustin. Op.* Tom. vi. p. 415 E.] (p. 566.) and after he hath spoken of the resurrection and life everlasting, proceedeth thus to speak of the Church: '*Sancta ecclesia*, in qua omnis hujus sacramenti terminatur auctoritas,' &c. § 24. [p. 417 D.] (p. 568.) And the author of the third: 'Ideo sacramenti hujus conclusio, per ecclesiam terminatur, quia ipsa est mater fecunda.' § 13. [p. 424 C.] And the author of the fourth: '*Sanctam ecclesiam*. Propterea hujus conclusio sacramenti per sanctam ecclesiam terminatur, quoniam si quis absque ea inventus fuerit, alienus erit a numero filiorum; nec habebit Deum Patrem qui ecclesiam noluert habere matrem.' § 13. [p. 431 A.] (p. 582.) Thus therefore they disposed the last part of the CREED: 'Credo in Spiritum Sanctum, peccatorum remissionem, carnis resurrectionem, et vitam æternam per *sanctam ecclesiam*.' And the design of this transposition, was to signify, that remission of sins and resurrection to eternal life, are to be obtained in and by the Church: as the Creed in the first homily under the name of St Chrysostom: 'Credo in Spiritum Sanctum. Iste Spiritus perducit ad *sanctam ecclesiam*; ipsa est quæ dimittit peccata, promittit carnis resurrectionem, promittit vitam æternam.'

consisteth of two distinct parts, the latter is wholly added, and the former partly augmented; the most ancient professing no more than to believe *the holy Church*¹: and the Greeks having added, by way of explication or determination, the word *catholick*, it was at last received into the Latin Creed.

To begin then with the first part of the Article, I shall endeavour so to expound it, as to shew what is the meaning of the *Church*, which Christ hath propounded to us; how

¹ Tertullian: 'Quæ est mater nostra, in quam repromissus *sanctam ecclesiam*.' *Adv. Marcion*. l. v. c. 4. [p. 582 B.] So Rufinus: *sanctam ecclesiam*. § 35. For *catholicam* is added by Pamelius. So St Jerome: 'Præterea quum solenne sit in lavaero post Trinitatis confessionem interrogare, Credis *sanctam ecclesiam*? Credis *remissionem peccatorum*? Quam *ecclesiam* credidisse eum dicis? Arianorum? sed non habent. Nostram? sed extra hanc baptizatus non potuit eam credere, quam nescivit.' *Cont. Lucif.* col. 297. [Tom. II. p. 184 D.] And St Augustin: 'Credimus *et sanctam ecclesiam*,' with this declaration, 'utique *catholicam*.' *De Fid. et Symb.* c. 10. [§ 21. Tom. VI. p. 119 B.] (p. 161.) So Maximus Taurin. [*Homil. in Expos. Symb.* p. 40 E.] Chrysologus, and Venantius Fortunatus. [*Expos. Symb.* p. 382 E.] The author of the first book *De Symb. ad Catech.* [§ 14. *Augustin.* Tom. VI. p. 404 D.] (p. 554.) 'Sequitur post Trinitatis commendationem, *sanctam ecclesiam*.' The author of the other three who placeth this Article last of all: '*sancta ecclesia*, in qua omnis hujus sacramenti terminatur auctoritas.' l. ii. c. 13. [§ 24. p. 417 D.] and iv. c. 13. [§ 13. p. 431 A.] expressly *per sanctam ecclesiam*, as the words of the Creed, with the explication before mentioned. As also the interrogation of the Novatians ending with *per sanctam ecclesiam*, cited before out of St Cyprian. So likewise of those two homilies on the Creed, which are falsely attributed to St Chrysostom, the first hath *sanctam ecclesiam* after the belief in the Holy Ghost; the second concludeth the Creed with *per sanctam*

ecclesiam. 'In carnis resurrectione fides, in vita æterna spes, in sancta ecclesia caritas.' Thus the ancient Saxon Creed set forth by Freherus, 'Tha halgan zelaðinge,' i.e. *the holy Church*; the Greek Creed in Saxon letters in Sir Robert Cotton's library, and the old Latin Creed in the Oxford library. 'Deus qui in coelis habitat, et condidit ex nihilo ea quæ sunt, et multiplicavit propter sanctam ecclesiam suam, irascitur tibi.' *Herm.* l. i. *Visione* 1. [c. i. p. 75. col. 2.] 'Virtute sua potenti condidit sanctam ecclesiam suam.' *Ibid.* [c. 3. p. 76. col. 2.] 'Rogaham Dominum, ut revelationes ejus, quas mihi ostendit per sanctam ecclesiam suam, confirmaret.' *Idem, Vis.* 4. [c. 1. p. 82. col. 1.] But though it were not in the Roman or Occidental Creeds, yet it was anciently in the Oriental, particularly in that of Jerusalem, and that of Alexandria. In the Creed at Jerusalem it was certainly very ancient; for it is expounded by St Cyril, archbishop of that place: *ἐς μίαν ἀγίαν καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Catech.* xviii. [init. p. 470.] And in the Alexandrian it was as ancient; for Alexander, archbishop of that place, inserts it in his confession, in his Epistle *ad Alexandrum*: *μίαν καὶ μόνην καθολικὴν τὴν ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Theodoret. Hist.* l. i. c. 3. And Arius and Euzoius, in their confession of faith given in to Constantine, thus concludes: *Καὶ ἐς μίαν καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὴν ἀπὸ περάτων ἕως περάτων. Socrat. Hist. Eccl.* l. i. c. 26. The same is also expressed in both the Creeds, the lesser and the greater, delivered by Epiphanius in *Ancorato*, § 120, 121; the words are repeated in the next observation.

that Church is *holy*, as the apostle hath assured us; how that holy Church is *catholick*, as the fathers have taught us. For 335 when I say, *I believe in the holy catholick Church*, I mean that there is a Church which is holy¹, and which is catholick; and I understand that Church alone, which is both catholick and holy: and being this holiness and catholicism are but affections of this Church which I believe, I must first declare what is the nature and notion of the Church; how I am assured of the existence of that Church; and then how it is the subject of those two affections.

For the understanding of the true notion of the *Church*, first we must observe, that the nominal definition or derivation of the word is not sufficient to describe the nature of it. If we look upon the old English word now in use, *Church* or *Kirk*²,

¹ 'Credo sanctam Ecclesiam,' *I believe there is an holy Church*; or, 'Credo in sanctam Ecclesiam,' is the same: nor does the particle *in* added or subtracted make any difference. For although some of the Latin and Greek fathers press the force of that preposition, as is before observed, though Rufinus urge it far in this particular: 'Ut autem una eademque in Trinitate divinitas doceatur, sicut dictum est in Deum Patrem credi adjecta prepositione *in*; ita et in Christum Filium ejus, ita et in Spiritum Sanctum memoratur. Sed ut manifestius fiat quod dicimus, ex consequentibus approbabitur. Sequitur namque post hunc sermonem, *sanctam ecclesiam, remissionem peccatorum, hujus carnis resurrectionem*. Non dixit, *in sanctam ecclesiam*, nec *in remissionem peccatorum*, nec *in carnis resurrectionem*; si enim addidisset *in* prepositionem, una eademque vis fuisset cum superioribus. Ne autem (*f. Nunc autem*) in illis quidem vocabulis, ubi de divinitate fides ordinatur, in Deum Patrem dicitur, et in Jesum Christum Filium ejus, et in Spiritum Sanctum; in cæteris vero, ubi non de divinitate, sed de creaturis ac mysticis sermo est, *in* prepositio non additur, ut dicatur in sanctam ecclesiam, sed sanctam ecclesiam credendam esse; non ut in Deum, sed ut ecclesiam Deo congregatam; et remissionem peccatorum credendam

esse, non *in remissionem peccatorum*; et resurrectionem carnis, non *in resurrectionem carnis*. Hac itaque prepositionis syllaba creator a creaturis discernitur, et divina separantur ab humanis.' *Ruff. in Symb.* § 34, 35. [p. 26.] Though I say this expression be thus pressed, yet we are sure that the Fathers did use *els* and *in* for the rest of the Creed as well as for the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. We have already produced the authorities of St Cyril, Arius, and Euzoius, pp. 18, 19, and that of Epiphanius in *Ancorato*. Thus also the Latins, as St Cyprian: 'In eternam poenam sero credent, qui in vitam eternam credere noluerunt.' *Ad Demetrianum*, § 21. [p. 195.] So *Interpres Irenæi*: 'Quotquot autem timent Deum, et credunt in adventum Filii ejus,' etc. So Chrysologus: 'In sanctam ecclesiam. Quia ecclesia in Christo, et in ecclesia Christus est; qui ergo ecclesiam facietur, in ecclesiam se confessus est credidisse.' *Serm.* 62. [p. 708 A.] And in the ancient edition of St Jerome, in the place before cited, it was read: 'Credis in sanctam ecclesiam:' *contr. Lucif.* col. 297. [Tom. II. p. 184 D.] and the word *in* was left out by Victorius.

² *Kύριος*, the Lord, and that properly Christ; from whence *Κυριακός*, belonging to the Lord Christ; *οἶκος Κυριακός*, the Lord's house, from thence *Kyriac*, *Kyrk*, and *Church*.

it is derived from the Greek, and first signified, the house of the Lord, that is, of Christ, and from thence was taken to signify the people of God, meeting in the house of God. The Greek word used by the apostles to express the Church, signifieth a *calling forth*¹, if we look upon the origination; a congregation of men, or a company assembled, if we consider the use of it. But neither of these doth fully express the nature of the Church, what it is in itself, and as it is propounded to our belief.

Our second observation is, That the *Church* hath been taken for the whole complex of men and angels worshipping the same God; and again, the angels being not considered, it hath been taken as comprehending all the sons of men believing in God ever since the foundation of the world². But being

¹ The word used by the apostle is ἐκκλησία, from ἐκκαλεῖν *evocare*. From ἐκκέκλησαι ἐκκλησις, from ἐκκλησις ἐκκλησία, of the same notation with the Hebrew קהל: 'Ecclesia quippe ex vocatione appellata est.' *St August. Exp. ad Rom.* § 2. [Tom. III. par. 2. p. 673 o.] And though they ordinarily take it primarily to signify *convocatio*, as St Augustin: 'Inter congregationem, unde synagoga, et convocacionem, unde ecclesia nomen accepit, distat aliquid.' *Enar. in Psal.* 81. § 1. [Tom. IV. p. 653 A.] (p. 870.) yet the origination speaks only of evocation, without any intimation of congregation or meeting together, as there is in σύγκλητος. From whence arose that definition of Methodius, 'Ὅτι ἐκκλησία παρὰ τὸ ἐκκεκληκεῖν τὰς ἡδονὰς λέγεσθαι φησιν.' *Photius Biblioth. Cod.* ccxxxv. col. 937. [50.] Whereas ἐκκαλεῖν is no more here than καλεῖν, ἐκκλησις no more than κλήσις, as κλητεύειν and ἐκκλητεύειν with the Attics were the same: from whence it came to pass, that the same preposition hath been twice added in the composition of the same word; from ἐκκαλεῖν ἐκκλησία, from thence ἐκκλησιάζειν; and because the preposition had no signification in the use of that word, from thence ἐξεκκλησιάζειν, to *convocate*, or *call together*. But yet ἐκκλησία is not the same with ἐκκλησις, not the *evocation* or the *action of calling*, but the

κλητοί, or the *company called*, and that (according to the use) *gathered together*; from whence ἐκκλησιάζειν is to *gather together*, or to *be gathered*. Hence St Cyril: 'Εκκλησία δὲ καλεῖται φερονόμω, διὰ τὸ πᾶντας ἐκκαλεῖσθαι καὶ ὁμοῦ συνάγειν.' *Catech.* xviii. § 11. [p. 493.] So Ammonius: 'Εκκλησίαν ἐλεγον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν σύνοδον τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν. To this purpose do the LXX. use ἐκκλησιάζειν actively, to *convocate* or *call together* an assembly; as ἐκκλησιάζειν λαόν, and ἐκκλησιάζειν συναγωγὴν, and ἐκκλησιάζεσθαι passively; as ἐξεκκλησιάσθη πᾶσα ἡ συναγωγή, *Jos.* xviii. 1. which the Attic writers would have expressed by ἐκκλησίαζε, as Aristophanes, *Vesp.* 31.

² Εδοξέ μοι περὶ πρώτων ὕπνου ἐν τῇ Πεντέκῃ
'Εκκλησιάζειν πρόβατα συγκληθῆμενα.

Where, though the scholiast hath rendered ἐκκλησιάζειν, *els ἐκκλησίαν συναγειν*, whereby the lexicographers have been deceived; yet the word is even there taken as a neuter, in the passive sense, as generally the Attics use it. Howsoever, from the notation of the word we cannot conclude that it signifies a number of men called together into one assembly out of the mass or generality of mankind: first, because the preposition ἐκ hath no such force in the use of the word; secondly, because the collection or coming together is not specified in the origination.

³ 'Translatius in Paradisum, jam

Christ took not upon him the nature of angels, and consequently did not properly purchase them with his blood, or call them by his word; being they are not in the scriptures³³⁶ mentioned as parts or members of the Church, nor can be imagined to be built upon the prophets or apostles; being we are at this time to speak of the proper notion of the Church; therefore I shall not look upon it as comprehending any more than the sons of men. Again, being though Christ was the Lamb slain before the foundation of the world, and whosoever from the beginning pleased God were saved by his blood: yet because there was a vast difference between the several dispensations of the Law and Gospel; because our Saviour spake expressly of building himself a Church, when the Jewish synagogue was about to fail; because catholicism, which is here attributed unto the Church, must be understood in opposition to the legal singularity of the Jewish nation; because the ancient fathers were generally wont to distinguish between the Synagogue and the Church¹; therefore I think it necessary to restrain this notion to Christianity.

Thirdly, Therefore I observe that the only way to attain unto the knowledge of the true notion of the Church, is to search into the New Testament, and from the places there which mention it, to conclude what is the nature of it. To which purpose it will be necessary to take notice, that our Saviour first speaking of it, mentioneth it as that which then was not, but afterwards was to be²; as when he spake unto

tunc de mundo in ecclesiam.' *Tertull.* l. ii. *adv. Marcion.* c. 4. [p. 456 A.]

¹ Thus St Ignatius speaking of Christ: Αὐτὸς ὢν θύρα τοῦ Πατρὸς, δι' ἧς εἰσερχομαι Ἀβραάμ, καὶ Ἰσαάκ, καὶ Ἰακώβ, καὶ οἱ Προφῆται, καὶ οἱ Ἀπόστολοι, καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία. *Ep. ad Philad.* § 9. Where ἡ ἐκκλησία is plainly taken for the multitude of Christians, who were converted to the faith by the apostles, and those who were afterwards joined to them in the profession of the same faith. 'Sacrificia in populo, sacrificia in ecclesia.' *Iren. adv. Hæres.* l. iv. c. 34. [p. 325. 13.] 'Disseminaverunt sermonem de Christo Patriarchæ et Prophetæ; demessa est autem ecclesia, hoc est, fructum percipit.' *Id.* l. iv. c. 25. 'Quid? Judaicus

populus circa beneficia divina perfidus et ingratus, nonne quod a Deo primum recessit, impatientiæ crimen fuit?—Impatientia etiam in ecclesia hæreticos facit.' *S. Cyprian. de Bono Patient.* § 11. [p. 218.] (p. 253.) 'Quis non agnoscat Christum—reliquisse etiam matrem Synagogam Judeorum, Veteri Testamento carnaliter inhaerentem, et adhæsisse uxori suæ, sanctæ ecclesiæ?' *S. August. contra Faust.* l. xii. c. 8. [Tom. viii. p. 165 A.] (p. 230.) 'Mater Sponsi Domini nostri Jesu Christi Synagoga est; proinde nurus ejus ecclesia.' *Idem, Enarr. in Psal.* 44. § 12. [Tom. iv. p. 290 A.] (p. 387.)

² 'In quem enim tingeret—in ecclesiam? quam nondum Apostoli struxerant.' *Tertull. de Bapt.* c. 11. [p. 260 D.]

the great apostle, *Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church*; but when he ascended into heaven, and the Holy Ghost came down, when Peter had converted *three thousand souls*, which were added to the *hundred and twenty* disciples, then was there a Church (and that built upon Peter¹, according to our Saviour's promise); for after that we read, *the Lord added to the Church daily such as should be saved*. A Church then our Saviour promised should be built, and by a promise made before his death: after his ascension, and upon the preaching of St Peter, we find a Church built or constituted, and that of a nature capable of a daily increase. We cannot then take a better occasion to search into the true notion of the Church of Christ, than by looking into the origination and increase thereof; without which it is impossible to have a right conception of it².

Now what we are infallibly assured of the first actual existence of a Church of Christ, is only this: there were twelve apostles with the disciples before the descent of the Holy Ghost, and the *number of the names together were about an hundred and twenty*. When the Holy Ghost came after a powerful and miraculous manner upon the blessed apostles, and St Peter preached unto the Jews that they should *repent and be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins*; they that gladly received his word were baptized, and the same day there were added unto them about *three thousand souls*. These being thus added to the rest, continued steadfastly in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers; and all these

¹ 'Qualis es evertens atque commutans manifestam Domini intentionem personaliter hoc Petro conferentem. Super te, inquit, ædificabo ecclesiam meam, et dabo tibi claves, non ecclesiæ.—Sic enim et exitus docet: in ipso ecclesia exstructa est, id est, per ipsum, ipse clavem imbuat; vides quam; Viri Israelitæ, auribus mandate quæ dico: Jesum Nazarenum, virum a Deo vobis destinatum, et reliqua.' Tertull. de Pudicitia, c. 21. [p. 743 O.] So St Basil: Εὐθὺς γὰρ ἐκ τῆς φωνῆς ταύτης νοοῦμεν Πέτρον—τὸν διὰ τῆς πλοῦτος ὑπεροχῆν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας δεξιμενον. Adv.

Bunom. l. ii. § 4. [Tom. I. p. 240 D.] St Peter took upon himself the building of the Church, that is, to build the Church, which he then performed, when he preached the Gospel by which the Church was first gathered.

² Tertullian, mentioning the Acts of the Apostles, addeth these words: 'Quam Scripturam qui non recipiunt, nec Spiritus Sancti esse possunt, qui necdum Spiritum possint agnoscere discentibus missum: sed nec ecclesiam defendere, qui quando et quibus incubulis institutum est hoc corpus, probare non habent.' De Præscr. Hæret. c. 22. [p. 239 A.]

persons so continuing are called the *Church*¹. What this Church was is easily determined; for it was a certain number of men, of which some were apostles, some the former disciples, others were persons which repented, and believed, and were baptized in the name of Jesus Christ, and continued hearing the word preached, receiving the sacraments administered, joining in the public prayers presented unto God. This was then the Church, which was daily increased by the addition of other persons received into it upon the same conditions, making up *the multitude of them that believed, who were of one heart and one soul...believers added to the Lord, multitudes both of men and women.*

Acts iv. 32.

Acts v. 14.

But though the *Church* was thus begun, and represented unto us as one in the beginning, though that Church which we profess to believe in the CREED, be also propounded unto us as one; and so the notion of the Church in the Acts of the Apostles might seem sufficient to express the nature of that Church which we believe: yet because that Church which was one by way of origination², was afterwards divided into many, the actual members of that one becoming the members of several Churches; and that church which we believe, is otherwise one by way of complexion, receiving the members of all Churches into it; it will be necessary to consider, how at the first those several Churches were constituted, that we may understand how in this one Church they were all united. To which purpose it will be farther fit to examine the several acceptations of this word, as it is diversely used by the Holy Ghost in the New Testament; that, if it be possible, nothing may escape our search, but that all things may be weighed, before we collect and conclude the full notion of the *Church* from thence.

First, then, that word which signifies the *Church* in the original Greek, is sometimes used in the vulgar sense according as the native Greeks did use the same to express their conventions, without any relation to the worship of God or Christ, and therefore is translated by the word *assembly*, of as great a latitude. Secondly, It is sometimes used in the same notion in which the Greek translators of the Old Testa-

Acts xix. 32.
41.

¹ 'Cum remisissent summi Sacerdotes Petrum et Ioannem, et reversi essent ad reliquos co-apostolos et discipulos Domini, id est, in ecclesiam.'

Iren. adv. Hær. l. iii. c. 12. § 5. [p. 226. 36.]

² 'Hæ voces ecclesias, ex qua habuit omnis ecclesia initium.' *Iren. ibid.* [p. 226. 45.]

ment made use of it, for the assembly of the people of God under the Law, and therefore might be most fitly translated the *congregation*, as it is in the Old Testament. Thirdly, It hath been conceived that even in the scriptures it is sometimes taken for the place in which the members of the Church did meet to perform their solemn and public services unto God; and some passages there are which seem to speak no less¹, but yet are not so certainly to be understood of the place, but that they may as well be spoken of the people congregated in a certain place. Besides these few different acceptions, the *Church* in the language of the New Testament doth always signify a company of persons professing the Christian faith, but not always in the same latitude. Sometimes it admitteth of distinction and plurality; sometimes it reduceth all into

Acts ix. 39.

Acts vii. 38.
Heb. ii. 12.Acts xi. 26
1 Cor. xi. 18,
22.

¹ From these places St Augustin did collect that *ἐκκλησία* was taken in the Scriptures for the place of meeting, or the house of God, and came so to be frequently used in the language of the Christians in his time: 'Sicut ecclesia dicitur locus, quo ecclesia congregatur. Nam ecclesia homines sunt de quibus dicitur, *Ut exhiberet sibi gloriosam ecclesiam*. Hoc tamen vocari etiam ipsam domum orationum, idem Apostolus testis est, ubi ait, *Nunquid domos non habetis ad manducandum et bibendum, an ecclesiam Dei contemnitis?* Et hoc quotidianus loquendi usus obtinuit, ut, in ecclesiam prodire, aut ad ecclesiam confugere, non dicatur, nisi qui ad locum ipsum parietesque prodierit, vel confugerit, quibus ecclesie congregatio continetur.' *Quæst. super Levit.* l. iii. c. 57. [§ 3. Tom. III. p. 386 A.] (p. 516.) By these words it is certain, that in St Augustin's time they used the word *ecclesia*, as we do now the Church, for a place set apart for the worship of God; and it is also certain that those of the Greek Church did use *ἐκκλησία* in the same sense, as Eusebius speaking of the flourishing times of the Church, before the persecution under Dioclesian, says, the Christians *μηδαμῶς ἐτι τοῖς παλαιαῖς οἰκοδομημασιν ἀρκούμενοι εὐρείας εἰς πλάτος ἀνὰ πάσας τὰς πόλεις ἐκ θεμελίων ἀνίστων ἐκκλησίας*. *Hist.* l.

viii. c. i. [p. 239 A.] And St Chrysostom: *Εἰ γὰρ ἐκκλησίαν κατασκάψαι χαλεπὸν καὶ ἀνόσιον, πολλῶ μᾶλλον ναὸν πνευματικόν· καὶ γὰρ ἀνθρώπος ἐκκλησίας σεμνότερον*. *Hom.* 26 *ad Epist. in Rom.* [§ 3. Tom. ix. p. 715 B.] But it is not so certain that the apostle used *ἐκκλησία* in that sense; nor is it certain that there were any houses set apart for the worship of God in the apostles' times, which then could be called by that name. For Isidorus Pelusiota expressly denies it, and distinguishes between *ἐκκλησία* and *ἐκκλησιαστήριον*, after this manner: 'Ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἐκκλησία καὶ ἄλλο ἐκκλησιαστήριον· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἀμύμων ψυχῶν συνέστηκε, τὸ δ' ἀπὸ λίθων καὶ ξύλων οἰκοδομεῖται. And thus he proveth this distinction: 'Ὅσπερ γὰρ ἄλλο ἐστὶ θυσιαστήριον καὶ ἄλλο θυσία, καὶ ἄλλο θυμιατήριον καὶ ἄλλο θυμίαμα, καὶ ἄλλο βουλευτήριον καὶ ἄλλο βουλή· τὸ μὲν γὰρ τῶν τόπων ἐν ᾧ συνεδρεῖν οὐ μὴν, ἡ δὲ τοῦ βουλευομένου ἀνδρα, οὗ καὶ ὁ κίνδυνος καὶ ἡ σωτηρία ἀνήκει· οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστήριου καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Then he concludes, that in the apostles' times there were no *ἐκκλησιαστήρια*: 'Ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν Ἀποστόλων, οὗτε ἡ ἐκκλησία ἐκείνα μὲν χαρισμασι πνευματικοῖς, ἐβρνε δὲ πολιτεῖα λαμπρῇ, ἐκκλησιαστήρια οὐκ ἦν. *Εἰρήμ.* 246. l. ii. [p. 236.]

conjunction and unity. Sometimes the Churches of God are diversified as many; sometimes, as many as they are, they are all comprehended in one.

Acts xvi. 5.
1 Cor. xiv. 24.
2 Cor. viii. 19.
23, 24.
xi. 8, 28.
xii. 13.
Rev. xxii. 16.
[2 Thess. i. 4.]
1 Thess. ii. 14.
1 Cor. xi. 16.
Rom. xvi. 4.
1 Cor. xiv. 33.
Rom. xvi. 5.
1 Cor. xvi. 19.
Col. iv. 15.
Philem. 2.

For, first, in general there are often mentioned *the* 338
Churches, by way of plurality, *the Churches of God, the Churches of the gentiles, the Churches of the saints*¹. In particular, we find a few believers gathered together in the house of one single person, called a *Church*, as the Church in the house of Priscilla and Aquila², the Church in the house of Nymphas, the Church in the house of Philemon; which Churches were nothing else but the believing and baptized persons of each family, with such as they admitted and received into their house to join in the worship of the same God.

Again, When the Scripture speaketh of any country where the Gospel had been preached, it nameth always by way of plurality the Churches of that country, as the Churches of Judea, of Samaria and Galilee, the Churches of Syria and of Cilicia, the Churches of Galatia, the Churches of Asia, the Churches of Macedonia³. But notwithstanding there were several such Churches or congregations of believers in great and populous cities, yet the Scriptures always speak of such congregations in the notion of one Church: as when St Paul wrote to the Corinthians, *Let your women keep silence in the Churches*, yet the dedication of his Epistle is, *Unto the Church of God which is at Corinth*. So we read not of the Churches, but the Church at Jerusalem, the Church at Antioch, the Church at Cæsarea, the Church at Ephesus, the Church of the Thessalonians, the Church of Laodicea, the Church of Smyrna, the Church of Pergamus, the Church of Thyatira, the Church of Sardis, the Church of Philadelphia⁴.

1 Cor. xiv. 34.

1 Cor. i. 2.

¹ Thus Origen for the most part speaks of the Church in the plural number, *αἱ ἐκκλησίαι*.

² St Chrysostom observeth of Priscilla and Aquila: *Ὁὕτω γὰρ ἦσαν εὐ-δοκίμοι, ὥς καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐκκλησίαν ποιῆσαι, διὰ τε τοῦ πάντας ποιῆσαι πιστοῦς, καὶ διὰ τοῦ τοῖς ξένοις αὐτὴν ἀνοῖξαι πᾶσι. Homil. 30. in Epist. ad Romanos. [§ 3. Tom. ix. p. 741 O.]*

³ Gal. i. 22. Acts ix. 31. 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 19. Rev. i. 11. 1 Thess. ii: 14. 2 Cor. viii. 1. Gal. i. 2.

⁴ Acts viii. 1. xi. 22. xiii. 1. xv. 3. xviii. 22. xx. 17. 2 Thess. i. 1. Col. iv. 16. Rev. ii. 8, 12, 18. iii. 1, 7, 14. And thus after they grew yet far more numerous in the time of Clemens bishop of Rome: *Ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ παροικοῦσα Ῥώμην, τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ παροικοῦσῃ Κόρινθον. Proœm. Ep. 1.* So after him Ignatius: *Τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἀξιωμακαρίστῃ τῇ ὁσῇ ἐν Ἐφέσῃ τῇ Ἀσίᾳ. Proœm. Epist. ad Ephes. and ἐκκλησία ἀγία τῇ ὁσῇ ἐν Τρόλλεσσιν. Proœm. Epist. ad Trall. And so therest.*

From whence it appeareth that a collection of several congregations, every one of which is in some sense a Church, and may be called so, is properly one Church by virtue of the subordination of them all in one government under one ruler. For thus in those great and populous cities where Christians were very numerous, not only all the several Churches within the cities, but those also in the adjacent parts, were united under the care and the inspection of one bishop, and therefore was accounted one Church; the number of the Churches following the number of the angels, that is, the rulers of them, as is evident in the Revelation.

Now as several Churches are reduced to the denomination of one Church, in relation to the single governor of those many Churches; so all the Churches of all cities and all nations in the world may be reduced to the same single denomination, in relation to one supreme governor of them all, and that one governor is Christ, the Bishop of our souls. Wherefore the apostle, speaking of that in which all Churches do agree, comprehendeth them all under the same appellation of one Church; and therefore often by the name of Church¹ are understood all Christians whatsoever belonging to any of the Churches dispersed through the distant and divided parts of the world. For the single persons professing faith in Christ are members of the particular Churches in which they live, and all those particular Churches are members of the general and universal Church, which is one by unity of aggregation; and this is the Church in the CREED which we believe, and which is in other Creeds expressly termed *one*², *I believe in one holy catholic Church*.

It will therefore be farther necessary, for the understanding of the nature of the *Church* which is thus *one*, to consider in what that unity doth consist. And being it is an aggregation not only of many persons, but also of many congregations, the unity thereof must consist in some agreement of

¹ Matt. xvi. 18. 1 Cor. xii. 28. xv. 9. Gal. i. 13. Ephes. i. 22. iii. 10, 21. v. 23, 25, 27, 29, 32. Phil. iii. 6. Col. i. 18, 24. Heb. xii. 23. Of this, as of one Church, Celsus calls the Christians: *τοὺς ἀπὸ μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας*. *Arud Orig.* l. v. § 59. [Tom. I. p. 623 B.]

² So the Creeds of Epiphanius, in *Anchorato*: *Πιστεύομεν εἰς μίαν ἁγίαν*

καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν. § 120, 121. So the Jerusalem Creed in St Cyril. Thus the Nicene, with the additions of the Council of Constantinople: *μὴν ἁγίαν καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν*. Thus also the Alexandrian, as appeareth by those already quoted of Alexander, Arius, and Euzoius.

them all, and adhesion to something which is one. If then we reflect upon the first Church again, which we found constituted in the Acts, and to which all other since have been in a manner added and conjoined, we may collect from their union and agreement how all other Churches are united and agree. Now they were described to be believing and baptized persons, converted to the faith by St Peter, continuing steadfastly in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and prayers. These then were all built upon the same rock, all professed the same faith, all received the same sacraments, all performed the same devotions, and thereby were all reputed members of the same Church. To this Church were added daily such as should be saved, who became members of the same Church by being built upon the same foundation, by adhering to the same doctrine, by receiving the same sacraments, by performing the same devotions.

Acts ii. 41, 42,
44, 47.

From whence it appeareth that the first unity of the Church considered in itself, beside that of the Head, which is one Christ, and the life communicated from that Head, which is one Spirit, relieth upon the original of it, which is one; even as an house built upon one foundation, though consisting of many rooms, and every room of many stones, is not yet many, but one house. Now there is but one foundation upon which the Church is built, and that is Christ. *For other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ.* And though the apostles and the prophets be also termed the foundation, yet even then the unity is preserved, because as they are stones in the foundation, so are they united by one corner-stone; whereby it comes to pass, that such persons as are of the Church, being *fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God, are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone, in whom all the building fitly framed together, groweth unto a holy temple in the Lord.* This stone was laid in Zion for a foundation, a tried stone, a precious corner-stone, a sure foundation: there was the first Church built: and whosoever have been, or ever shall be, converted to the true Christian faith, are and shall be added to that Church, and laid upon the same foundation, which is the unity of origination¹. Our

1 Cor. iii. 11.

Ephes. ii. 19
—21.

Isai. xxviii.
16.

¹ Tertullian speaking of the apostles: 'Ecclesias apud unamquamque

civitatem condiderunt, a quibus traducem fidei et semina doctrinae cæteris

Saviour gave the same power to all the apostles, which was to found the Church; but he gave that power to Peter, to shew the unity of the same Church.

- 340 Secondly, the *Church* is therefore one, though the members be many, because they all agree in one faith. There is *one Lord, and one faith*, and that *faith once delivered to the saints*, which whosoever shall receive, embrace, and profess, must necessarily be accounted one in reference to that profession. For if a company of believers become a Church by believing, they must also become one Church by believing one truth. If they be one in respect of the foundation, which is ultimately one; if we look upon Christ, which is mediately one; if we look upon the apostles, united in one corner-stone; if those which believe be therefore said to be built upon the

Ephes. iv. 5.
Jude 3.

exinde ecclesiæ mutuatae sunt, et quotidie mutantur, ut ecclesiæ fiant: ac per hoc et ipsæ Apostolicæ deputantur, ut soboles Apostolicarum ecclesiarum. Omne genus ad originem suam censeatur necesse est. Itaque tot et tantæ ecclesiæ, una est illa ab Apostolis prima, ex qua omnes. Sic omnes primæ, et Apostolicæ, dum una omnes probant unitatem: dum est illis communicatio pacis, et appellatio fraternitatis, et contesseratio hospitalitatis: quæ jura non alia ratio regit quam ejusdem sacramenti una traditio.' *De Præscript. Hæret.* c. 20. [p. 237 D.] This is the *Unitas Originis* which St Cyprian so much insists upon: 'Ecclesia una est, quæ in multitudinem latius incremento fecunditatis extenditur: quomodo solis multi radii, sed lumen unum; et rami arboris multi, sed robur unum tenaci radice fundatum. Et cum de fonte uno rivi plurimi defluunt, numerositas licet diffusa videatur exundantis copię largitate, unitas tamen servatur in origine, &c.' *S. Cyprian. de Unitate Eccl.* § 4. [p. 108.] 'Loquitur Dominus ad Petrum: *Ego tibi dico*, inquit, *quia tu es Petrus, et super istam Petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam*, &c. Et idem [iterum eidem] post resurrectionem suam dicit, *Pasce oves meas*. [Super unum ædificat ecclesiam suam.] Et quamvis Apostolis omnibus post

resurrectionem suam parem potestatem tribuat, et dicat, *Sicut misit me Pater, et ego mitto vos*, &c. tamen ut unitatem manifestaret,—unitatis ejusdem originem ab uno incipientem sua auctoritate disposuit. Hoc erant utique et cæteri Apostoli, quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio præditi, et honoris et potestatis, sed exordium ab unitate proficiscitur, ut ecclesia una monstretur.' *Ibid.* § 3. [p. 106.] (p. 194.) 'Ἐνὸς ὄντος τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἐνὸς τοῦ Κυρίου, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ ἀποστολικὸν κατὰ τὴν μὲνσιν ἐκείνην, μὴ μὴ ὅτι ἀρχὴς τῆς μῆς. *Clem. Alex. Stromat.* l. vii. c. 17. [p. 899, 8.] This is very much to be observed, because that place of St Cyprian is produced by the Romanists to prove the necessity of one head of the Church upon earth, and to shew that the bishop of Rome is that one head by virtue of his succession to St Peter; whereas St Cyprian speaketh nothing of any such one head, nor of any such succession, but only of the origination of the Church, which was so disposed by Christ, that the unity might be expressed. For whereas all the rest of the apostles had equal power and honour with St Peter; yet Christ did particularly give that power to St Peter, to shew the unity of the Church which he intended to build upon the foundation of the apostles.

foundation of the apostles, because they believe the doctrine which the apostles preached, and the apostles be therefore said to be of the same foundation, and united to the corner-stone, because they all taught the same doctrine which they received from Christ; then they which believe the same doctrine delivered by Christ to all the apostles, delivered by all the apostles to believers, being all professors of the same faith, must be members of the same Church. And this is the unity of faith¹.

Thirdly, Many persons and Churches, howsoever distinguished by time or place, are considered as one *Church*, because they acknowledge and receive the same sacraments, the signs and badges of the people of God. When the apostles were sent to found and build the Church, they received this commission, *Go and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*. Now as there is but *one Lord*, and *one faith*, so also is there but *one baptism*; and consequently they which are admitted to it, in receiving it are one. Again, at the institution of the Lord's supper Christ commanded, saying, *Eat ye all of this, Drink ye all of this*; and all by communicating of one, become as to that communication one. *For we being*

Matt. xxviii.
19.

Ephes. iv. 5.

1 Cor. x. 17.

¹ Of this doth Irenæus speak, delivering the sum or brief abstract of the material object of faith: Τοῦτο τὸ κήρυγμα παρεληφύα, καὶ ταύτην τὴν πίστιν,—ἡ ἐκκλησία, καίπερ ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ διεσπαρμένη, ἐπιμελῶς φυλάσσει, ὡς ἓνα οἶκον οἰκοῦσα, καὶ ὁμοίως πιστεύει τοῖτοις, ὡς μίαν ψυχὴν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐχούσα καρδίαν, καὶ συμφώνως ταῦτα κηρύσσει, καὶ διδάσκει, καὶ παρὰ διδῶσιν ὡς ἐν στόμα κεκτημένη. *Advers. Hæc.* l. i. c. 10. § 2. [c. 3. p. 46. 1.] Κατὰ τε οὖν ὑπόστασιν, κατὰ τε ἐπίνοιαν, κατὰ τε ἀρχήν, κατὰ τε ἐξοχήν, μόνῃ εἶναι φανέν τὴν ἀρχαίαν καὶ καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν εἰς ἐνότητά πιστεως μίας τῆς κατὰ τὰς οἰκίας διαθήκας, μᾶλλον δὲ κατὰ τὴν διαθήκην τὴν μίαν διαφόροις τοῖς χρόνοις, ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῷ βουλευματι, δι' ἐνὸς τοῦ Κυρίου συνάγουσαν τοὺς ἤδη κατατεταγμένους, οὓς προώρισεν ὁ Θεός, δικαίους ἐσόμενους πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου ἐργακῶς. *Clem. Alex. Stromat.* l. vii. c. 17. [p. 899.

12.] This unity of faith followeth the unity of origination, because the true faith is the true foundation. 'Si qua est ecclesia, quæ fidem respuat, nec Apostolicæ prædicationis fundamenta possideat, deserenda est. (Petra tua Christus est.)' *S. Ambros. in Luc. lib. vi. cap. 9.* [Tom. III. p. 111, 1.] [The last clause is not in this passage of St Ambrose.] 'Ἡ τοίνυν συνέχουσα τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ὡς φησὶν ὁ Ποιητὴς, ἀρετὴ ἡ πλειότης ἐστίν. *Clem. Alex. Stromat.* l. ii. c. 12. [p. 458. 20.] St Jerome on those words of the Psalm xxiv. 6. *Hæc est generatio quærentium Dominum*, hath this observation: 'Superius singulariter dixit, *Hic accipiet benedictionem*; modo pluraliter; quia ecclesia ex pluribus personis congregatur, et tamen una dicitur, propter unitatem fidei.' [This Breviarium is not St Jerome's. Tom. vii. Appendix, p. 59.]

many are one bread, and one body; for we are all partakers of that one bread. As therefore the Israelites were all baptized ^{1 Cor. x. 2—4} unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea, and did all eat the same spiritual meat, and did all drink the same spiritual drink, and thereby appeared to be the one people of God; so all believing
 341 persons, and all Churches congregated in the name of Christ, washed in the same laver of regeneration, eating of the same bread, and drinking of the same cup, are united in the same cognizance, and so known to be the same Church. And this is the unity of the sacraments.

Fourthly, Whosoever belongeth to any Church is some way called; and all which are so, are called in one hope of their ^{Ephes. iv. 4} calling: the same reward of eternal life is promised unto every person, and we all *through the Spirit wait for the hope of* ^{Gal. v. 5} righteousness by faith. They therefore which depend upon the same God, and worship him all for the same end, the hope of ^{Tit. i. 2} eternal life, which God, that cannot lie, promised before the world began, having all the same expectation, may well be reputed the same Church. And this is the unity of hope.

Fifthly, They which are all of one mind, whatsoever the number of their persons be, they are in reference to that mind but one; as all the members, howsoever different, yet being animated by one soul, become one body. Charity is of a fastening and uniting nature; nor can we call those many, who endeavour to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of ^{Ephes. iv. 3} peace. By this, said our Saviour, shall all men know that ye ^{John xiii. 35} are my disciples, if ye have love one to another. And this is the unity of charity¹.

Lastly, All the Churches of God are united into one by the unity of discipline and government, by virtue whereof the same Christ ruleth in them all. For they have all the same pastoral guides appointed, authorized, sanctified, and set apart, by the appointment of God, by the direction of the Spirit, to direct and lead the people of God in the same way of eternal salvation: as therefore there is no Church where there is no order, no ministry²; so where the same order and

¹ 'Deus unus est et Christus unus, et una ecclesia ejus et fides una, et plebs una in solidam corporis unitatem concordie glutino copulata.' S. Cyprian. de Unitate Eccles. § 21. [p. 119.] (p. 102.)

² 'Ecclesia non est, quæ non habet Sacerdotes.' S. Hier. adv. Lucifer. col. 302. [Tom. II. p. 194 D.] Πάντες ἐν-
 τρεπέσθωσαν τοὺς διακόνους ὡς Ἰησοῦν
 Χριστόν, καὶ τοὺς ἐπισκόπους ὡς Πατέρα,
 τοὺς δὲ πρεσβυτέρους ὡς συνέδριον Θεοῦ

ministry is, there is the same Church. And this is the unity of regiment and discipline¹.

By these means, and for these reasons², millions of persons and multitudes of congregations are united into one body, and become one *Church*. And thus under the name of *Church*, expressed in this Article, I understand a body, or collection, of human persons professing faith in Christ, gathered together in several places of the world for the worship of the same God, and united into the same corporation by the means aforesaid. And this I conceive sufficient to declare the true notion of the Church as such, which is here the object of our faith. It remaineth therefore that we next consider the existence of the Church, which is acknowledged in the act of faith applied to this object: for when I profess and say, *I believe a Church*, it is not only an acknowledgment of a Church which hath been, or of a Church which shall be, but also of that which is. When I say, *I believe in Christ dead*, I acknowledge that death which once was, and now is not: for Christ once died, but now is not dead: when I say, *I believe the resurrection of the body*, I acknowledge that which never yet was, and is not now, but shall hereafter be. Thus the act of faith is applicated to the object according to the nature of it; to what is already past, as past; to what is to come, as still to come; to that which is present, as it is still present. Now that which was then past, when the CREED was made, must necessarily be always past, and so believed for ever; that which shall never come to pass until 342 the end of the world, when this public profession of faith

καὶ ὡς σύνδεσμον Ἀποστόλων. χωρὶς τούτων ἐκκλησία οὐ καλεῖται. *S. Ignat. ad Trall.* § 3. Τὸ γε μὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὄνομα τὴν τῶν εἰς Χριστὸν πιστευσάντων ὑφαίνει πλῆθος, λειτουργοῦς τε καὶ λαοὺς, ποιμένας καὶ διδασκάλους, καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ χεῖρα κατενεγμένους. *S. Cyril. ad Is.* c. xlv. 17. [Tom. II. p. 616 c.] 'ubi interpres ὑφαίνει, male transtulit declarat, quod est ὑποφαίνει; cum reddere oportuerit, connectit, aut contextit.'

¹ 'Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur: ecclesia quoque una est, quæ in multitudinem latius incremento fecunditatis extenditur.' *S. Cyprian. de Unit. Eccles.* § 4. [p. 108.] (p. 195.) So he

joins these two together: 'Cum sit a Christo una ecclesia per totum mundum in multa membra divisa, item episcopatus unus episcoporum multorum concordi numerositate diffusus.' *Ep. ad Antonianum*, l. iv. ep. 2. § 16. al. ep. 52. [55. p. 112.] (p. 73.)

² These are all expressed by Tertullian: 'Una nobis et illis fides, unus Deus, idem Christus, eadem spes, eadem lavacri sacramenta, semel dixerim, una ecclesia sumus.' *De Virg. veland.* c. 2. [p. 143 B.] 'Corpus sumus de conscientia religionis et disciplinæ unitate et spei fœdere.' *Apolog.* c. 39. [p. 34 c.]

shall cease, that must for ever be believed as still to come. But that which was when the CREED began, and was to continue till that CREED shall end, is proposed to our belief in every age as being; and thus ever since the first Church was constituted, the Church itself, as being, was the object of the faith of the Church believing.

The existence therefore of the *Church* of Christ (as that Church before is understood by us), is the continuation of it in an actual being, from the first collection in the apostles' times unto the consummation of all things. And therefore, to make good this explication of the Article, it will be necessary to prove, that the Church which our Saviour founded and the apostles gathered, was to receive a constant and perpetual accession, and by a successive augmentation be uninterruptedly continued in an actual existence of believing persons and congregations in all ages unto the end of the world.

Now this indeed is a proper object of faith, because it is grounded only upon the promise of God; there can be no other assurance of the perpetuity of this *Church*, but what we have from him that built it. The Church is not of such a nature as would necessarily, once begun, preserve itself for ever. Many thousand persons have fallen totally and finally from the faith professed, and so apostatized from the Church. Many particular Churches have been wholly lost, many candlesticks have been removed; neither is there any particular Church which hath any power to continue itself more or longer than others; and consequently, if all particulars be defectible, the universal Church must also be subject of itself unto the same defectibility.

But though the providence of God doth suffer many particular Churches to cease, yet the promise of the same God will never permit, that all of them at once shall perish. When Christ spake first particularly to St Peter, he sealed his speech with a powerful promise of perpetuity, saying, *Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my Church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.* When he spake generally to all the rest of the apostles to the same purpose, *Go teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; he added a promise to the same effect, and lo, I am with you alway, even to the end of the world.* The first of these promises assureth us of the continuance of the Church, because

Matt. xvi. 18.

Matt. xxviii.
19.

Matt. xxviii.
20.

it is built upon a rock; for our Saviour had expressed this before, *Whosoever heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them, I will liken him unto a wise man, which built his house upon a rock: and the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house; and it fell not, for it was founded upon a rock.* The Church of Christ is the House of Christ; for he hath *builded the house*, and is as a son over his own house, whose house are we; and as a wise man, he hath built his house upon a rock, and what is so built shall not fall. The latter of these promises giveth not only an assurance of the continuance of the Church¹, but also the cause of that continuance, which is the presence of Christ: *Where two or three are gathered together in the name of Christ, there he is in the midst of them*, and thereby they become a Church; for they are as a builded house, and the son within that house. Wherefore being Christ doth promise his presence unto the Church, even to the end of the world, he doth thereby assure us of the existence of the Church, until that time, of which his presence is the cause. Indeed, this is *the city of the Lord of Hosts, the city of our God: God will establish it for ever*², as the great prophet of the Church hath said.

Upon the certainty of this truth, the existence of the **343** Church hath been propounded as an object of our faith in every age of Christianity; and so it shall be still unto the end of the world. For those which are believers are the Church;

¹ 'Non deserit ecclesiam suam divina protectio, dicente Domino, Ecce ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus, &c.' *Leo Epist.* 31. [p. 889 B.] St Augustin upon these words of Psal. ci. *Exiguitatem dierum meorum annuncia mihi*, maketh the Church to speak these words: 'Quid est, quod nescio qui recedentes a me murmurant contra me! Quid est, quod periti me perisse contendunt? Certe enim hoc dicunt, Quia fui et non sum. *Annuncia mihi exiguitatem dierum meorum.* Non a te quero illos dies æternos; illi sine fine sunt ubi ero; non ipsos quero; temporales quero, temporales dies mihi annuncia. *Exiguitatem dierum meorum*, non æternitatem dierum meorum annuncia mihi. Quamdiu ero in isto

seculo, annuncia mihi propter illos qui dicunt, Fuit, et jam non est: propter illos qui dicunt, Impletæ sunt Scripturæ, crediderunt omnes gentes, sed apostatavit, et periit ecclesia de omnibus gentibus. Quid est hoc, *Exiguitatem dierum meorum annuncia mihi?* Et annuntiavit, nec vacavit ista vox. Quis annuntiavit mihi, nisi ipsa via? Quomodo annuntiavit? *Ecce ego vobiscum sum usque in consummationem sæculi.*' *Serm.* ii. § 8. [Tom. iv. p. 829 B.] (p. 1105.)

² 'Forte ista Civitas, quæ mundum tenuit, aliquando evertetur. Absit. *Deus fundavit eam in æternum.* Si ergo eam Deus fundavit in æternum, quid times ne cadat firmamentum?' *S. August.* in *Psal.* 47. § 7. [Tom. iv. p. 314 C.] (p. 420.)

and therefore, if they do believe, they must believe there is a Church. And thus having shewed in what the nature of a Church consisteth, and proved that a Church of that nature is of perpetual and indefectible existence by virtue of the promises of Christ, I have done all which can be necessary for the explication of this part of the Article, *I believe the Church*.

After the consideration of that which is the subject in this Article, followeth the explication of the affections thereof, which are two, sanctity and universality; the one attributed unto it by the Apostles, the other by the Fathers of the Church: by the first the Church is denominated *holy*, by the second *catholick*. Now the Church which we have described may be called holy in several respects, and for several reasons: first, In reference to the vocation by which all the members thereof are called and separated from the rest of the world to God; which separation in the language of the Scriptures is a sanctification: and so the calling being holy, (for *God hath* ^{2 Tim. i. 9} *called us with an holy calling*,) the body which is separated and congregated thereby, may well be termed *holy*. Secondly, In relation to the offices appointed and the powers exercised in the Church, which by their institution and operation are holy; that Church, for which they were appointed and in which they are exercised, may be called *holy*. Thirdly, Because whosoever is called to profess faith in Christ, is thereby engaged to holiness of life, according to the words of the Apostle, *Let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart* ^{2 Tim. ii. 19.} *from iniquity*: for those namers of the name, or named by the name, of Christ, are such as called on his name; and that was the description of the Church: as when Saul did persecute the Church, it is said he had *authority from the chief priests* ^{Acts ix. 14.} *to bind all that called upon the name of Christ*; and when he ^{Acts ix. 20, 21.} *preached Christ in the synagogues, all that heard him said, Is not this he who destroyed them which called on this name in Jerusalem?* Being then all within the Church are by their profession obliged to such holiness of life, in respect of this obligation, the whole Church may be termed *holy*. Fourthly, In regard the end of constituting a Church in God was for the purchasing a holy and a precious people; and the great

¹ See 1 Cor. i. 2. Ὅτι γὰρ τὸ ἄβρυσμα τῶν ἁγίων τὸ ἐξ ὀρθῆς πίστεως καὶ πολιτείας ἀρίστης συγκεκροτημένων

Ἐκκλησία ἐστὶ, δῆλόν ἐστι τοῖς σοφίας γενομένοις. *Ibid.* *Pelus. Epist.* 246. l. ii. [p. 236 B.]

Heb. xii. 14.

design thereof was for the begetting and increasing holiness, that as God is originally holy in himself, so he might communicate his sanctity to the sons of men, whom he intended to bring unto the fruition of himself, unto which, without a previous sanctification, they can never approach, because without holiness no man shall ever see God.

Ephes. v. 25
—27.

For these four reasons the whole *Church of God*, as it containeth in it all the persons which were called to the profession of the faith of Christ, or were baptized in his name, may well be termed and believed *holy*. But the apostle hath delivered another kind of holiness, which cannot belong unto the Church taken in so great a latitude. *For (saith he) Christ loved the Church, and gave himself for it, that he might sanctify and cleanse it by the washing of water by the Word, that he might present it to himself a glorious Church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing; but that it should be holy and without blemish.* Now though it may be 344 conceived that Christ did love the whole Church, as it did any way contain all such as ever called upon his name, and did give himself for all of them: yet we cannot imagine that the whole body of all men could ever be so holy, as to be without spot, wrinkle, blemish, or any such thing. It will be therefore necessary, within the great complex body of the universal Church, to find that Church to which this absolute holiness doth belong: and to this purpose it will be fit to consider both the difference of the persons contained in the Church, as it hath been hitherto described, while they continue in this life, and their different conditions after death; whereby we shall at last discover in what persons this holiness is inherent really, in what condition it is inherent perfectly, and consequently in what other sense it may be truly and properly affirmed that the Church is *holy*.

Where first we must observe that the Church, as it embraceth all the professors of the true faith of Christ, containeth in it not only such as do truly believe and are obedient to the Word, but those also which are hypocrites, and profane. Many profess the faith, which have no true belief: many have some kind of faith, which live with no correspondence to the Gospel preached. Within therefore the notion of the Church are comprehended good and bad, being both externally called, and both professing the same faith. For *the kingdom of*

heaven is like unto a field in which wheat and tares grow together into [until] the harvest; like unto a net that was cast into the sea, and gathered of every kind; like unto a floor in which is laid up wheat and chaff; like unto a marriage-feast, in which some have on the wedding-garment, and some not. This is that ark of Noah in which were preserved beasts clean and unclean. This is that great house in which there are not only vessels of gold and of silver, but also of wood, and of earth, and some to honour, and some to dishonour¹. There are many called of all which the Church consisteth, but there are few chosen of those which are called, and thereby within the Church. I conclude therefore, as the ancient Catholicks did against the Donatists², That within the Church, in the public profession and external communion thereof, are contained persons truly good and sanctified, and hereafter saved, and together with them other persons void of all saving grace, and hereafter to be damned: and that Church containing these of both kinds may well be called *holy*; as St Matthew called Jerusalem the *holy city*, even at that time when our Saviour did but begin to preach, when we know there was in that city a general corruption in manners and worship.

Matt. xlii. 24.
80, 47; lli. 12;
xxlii. 11.

Gen. vii. 2.
2 Tim. ii. 20.

Matt. xx. 16;
xxlii. 14.

Matt. iv. 5;
xxvii. 53.

¹ 'Firmissime tene et nullatenus dubites, aream Dei esse ecclesiam catholicam, et intra eam usque in finem seculi frumento mixtas paleas contineri, hoc est, bonis malos sacramentorum communione misceri.' *Fulgent. ad Petrum*, c. 43. [p. 104 H.] St Jerome joins these two together: 'Arca Noë ecclesiæ typus:—ut in illa omnium animalium genera, ita et in hac universarum et gentium et morum homines sunt; ut ubi pardus et hœdi, lupus et agni, ita et hic justī et peccatores, id est, vasa aurea et argentea cum ligneis et fictilibus commorantur.' *Dial. contra Lucif.* col. 302. [Tom. II. p. 495 A.]

² The opinion of the Donatists confuted by the Catholicks is to be seen in St Augustin's book, intituled, *Breviculus Collationum*. Upon which reflection in his book, *Post Collationem*, he observes how they were forced by the testimony of those Scriptures which we have produced, to acknowledge that there were mingled with the good such as were evidently bad: 'Ecce

etiam ipsi veritate evangelica non aliud coacti sunt confiteri qui malos occultos nunc ei permixtos esse dixerunt,' as the good and bad fish are taken in the same net, because it could not discern the bad from the good. And from thence he enforceth from their acknowledgment, that those which are apparently evil, are contained in the same Church: 'Si enim Dominus propterea retibus bonos et malos pisces pariter congregantibus ecclesiam comparavit; quia malos in ecclesia non manifestos sed latentes intelligi voluit, quos ita nesciunt sacerdotes, quemadmodum sub fluctibus quid ceperint retia nesciunt piscatores. Propterea ergo et areæ comparata est, ut etiam manifeste mali bonis in ea permixte prænunciarentur futuri. Neque enim palea quæ in area est permixta frumentis, etiam ipsa sub fluctibus latet, quæ sic omnium oculis est conspicua, ut potius occulta sint in ea frumenta, cum sit ipsa manifesta.' *Lib. Post. Collat.* c. 9, 10. [Tom. IX. p. 399 F. 400 A, B.] (p. 588.)

Of these promiscuously contained in the Church, such as are void of all saving grace while they live, and communicate with the rest of the Church, and when they pass out of this life, die in their sins, and remain under the eternal wrath of God; as they were not in their persons holy while they lived, so are they no way of the Church after their death, neither as members of it, nor as contained in it. Through their own demerit they fall short of the glory unto which they were 345 called; and being by death separated from the external communion of the Church, and having no true internal communion with the members and the Head thereof, are totally and finally cut off from the Church of Christ. On the contrary, such as are efficaciously called, justified, and sanctified, while they live are truly holy, and when they die are perfectly holy; nor are they by their death separated from the Church, but remain united still by virtue of that internal union, by which they were before conjoined both to the members and the Head. As therefore the Church is truly holy, not only by an holiness of institution, but also by a personal sanctity in reference to these saints while they live, so is it also perfectly holy, in relation to the same saints glorified in heaven. And at the end of the world, when all the wicked shall be turned into hell, and consequently all cut off from the communion of the Church; when the members of the Church remaining being perfectly sanctified, shall be eternally glorified, then shall the whole Church be truly and perfectly holy.

Ephes. v. 27.

Then shall be completely fulfilled, that Christ shall *present unto himself a glorious Church, which shall be holy and without blemish*. Not that there are two Churches of Christ: one, in which good and bad are mingled together; another, in which they are good alone: one, in which the saints are imperfectly holy; another, in which they are perfectly such: but one and the same Church, in relation to different times¹,

¹ This was it which the Catholics answered to the Donatists, objecting that they made two distinct churches: 'De duabus etiam ecclesiis calumniam eorum catholici refutarunt, identidem expressius ostendentes quid dixerint, id est, non eam ecclesiam, quæ nunc habet permixtos malos, alienam se dixisse a regno Dei, ubi non erunt

mali commixti; sed eandem ipsam unam et sanctam ecclesiam nunc esse aliter, tunc autem aliter futuram; nunc habere malos mixtos, tunc non habituram; sicut nunc mortalem, quod ex mortalibus constaret hominibus, tunc autem immortalem, quod in ea nullus esset vel corpore moriturus: sicut non ideo duo Christi, quia prior mortuus

admitteth or not admitteth the permixtion of the wicked, or the imperfection of the godly. To conclude, the Church of God is universally holy in respect of all, by institutions and administrations of sanctity; the same Church is really holy in this world, in relation to all godly persons contained in it, by a real infused sanctity; the same is farther yet at the same time perfectly holy, in reference to the saints departed and admitted to the presence of God; and the same Church shall hereafter be most completely holy in the world to come, when all the members actually belonging to it shall be at once perfected in holiness and completed in happiness. And thus I conceive the affection of sanctity sufficiently explicated.

The next affection of the Church is that of universality, *I believe the holy CATHOLICK Church*. Now the word *catholic*, as it is not read in the Scriptures, so was it not anciently in the CREED (as we have already shewn), but being inserted by the Church, must necessarily be interpreted by the sense which the most ancient fathers had of it; and that sense must be confirmed, so far as it is consentient with the Scriptures. To grant then that the word was not used by the apostles¹, we must also acknowledge that it was most anciently in use among the primitive fathers, and that as to several intents. For, first, they called the Epistles of St James, St Peter, St John, St Jude, the *catholic* Epistles², because when the

postea non moriturus.' *S. August. Brevicul. Collat. tertii diei*, c. 10. [§ 20. Tom. ix. p. 384 c.] (p. 564.)

¹ It was the ordinary objection of the schismatical Novatians, that the very name of Catholics was never used by the apostles, and the answer to it by the Catholics was by way of concession: 'Sed sub Apostolis, inquit, nemo Catholicus vocabatur; Esto, sic fuerit, vel illud indulge,' &c. *Pacian. ad Sympronianum, Epist.* 1. c. 3. [p. 257 c.]

² So St Jerome of St James: [De Viris Illustribus, c. ii. Tom. II. p. 815.] 'Unam tantum scripsit epistolam, quæ de septem catholicis est:' of St Peter: [c. i. p. 813.] 'Scripsit duas epistolas, quæ catholicæ nominantur:' of St Jude: [c. iv. p. 819.] 'Judas frater Jacobi parvam, quæ de septem catholicis est, epistolam reliquit.' This therefore was

the common title of these epistles in St Jerome's time among the Latins, and before among the Greeks, as appeareth by Eusebius: *Τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἰάκωβον, οὗ ἡ πρώτη τῶν ὀνομαζομένων καθολικῶν ἐπιστολῶν εἶναι λέγεται· ἰστέον δὲ ὡς νοθεύεται μὲν· οὐ πολλοὶ γοῦν τῶν παλαιῶν αὐτῆς ἐμνημόνευσαν, ὡς οὐδὲ τῆς λεγομένης Ἰουδα μίας καὶ αὐτῆς ὁσῆς τῶν ἐπτά λεγομένων Καθολικῶν.* *Hist.* 1. ii. c. 23. [p. 52 D.] The same was in use before the time of Eusebius, as appeareth by Dionysius bishop of Alexandria: 'Ὁ δὲ εὐαγγελιστῆς οὐδὲ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐπιστολῆς προέγραψεν αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα. *Euseb. Hist.* 1. vii. c. 25. [p. 224 A.] and before him, as appeareth by Origen: *Δεύτερον δὲ τὸ κατὰ Μάρκον, ὡς Πέτρος ὁφειλήσατο αὐτῷ ποιήσαντα, θν καὶ υἱὸν ἐν τῇ καθολικῇ ἐπιστολῇ διὰ τούτων ὀμολόγησε.* *Euseb. Hist.* 1. vi. c. 25. [p.

Epistles written by St Paul were directed to particular Churches congregated in particular cities, these were either sent to the Churches dispersed through a great part of the world, or directed to the whole church of God upon the face of the whole earth. Again, we observe the fathers to use the word *catholick* for nothing else but general or universal, in the 346 ordinary or vulgar sense: as the catholick resurrection is, the resurrection of all men; the catholick opinion, the opinion of all men¹. Sometimes it was used as a word of state, signifying an officer which collected the emperor's revenue in several provinces, united into one diocess; who, because there were particular officers belonging to the particular provinces, and all under him, was therefore called the *Catholicus*², as general

184 B.] Thus anciently *epistola catholica* was used for a general epistle: Καθολικαὶ δὲ ἐκλήθησαν, ἐπειδὴν οὐ πρὸς ἓν ἔθνος ἐγράφησαν, ὡς αἱ τοῦ Παύλου, ἀλλὰ καθόλου πρὸς πάντα. *Leontius de Sectis*, Act. 2. and so continued, not only in relation to the Scriptures, but to the epistles of others, as Eusebius of Dionysius, bishop of Corinth: Χρησιμώτατον ἀπασιν ἐαυτὸν καθιστὰς ἐν αἷς ὑπερυπούτο καθολικαῖς πρὸς τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἐπιστολαῖς. *Hist. Eccl.* l. iv. c. 23. (p. 116 C.)

¹ So Justin Martyr: Μετὰ ταῦτα τὴν καθολικὴν καὶ (συνελόντι φάναι) αἰωνίαν ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἅμα πάντων ἀνάστασιν γενήσεσθαι καὶ κρίσιν. *Dial. adv. Tryph.* p. 308. [315. 20. Thirlby.] and *Theophilus Antiochenus*: Ὅτι δυνατός ἐστιν ὁ Θεὸς ποιῆσαι τὴν καθολικὴν ἀνάστασιν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων. *Ad Autol.* l. i. c. 13. p. 78 B. So Tertullian uses *catholice* for *ex toto*: 'Ab eo permittatur vel imperetur necesse est, catholice fieri hæc, a quo et ex parte.' *De Fuga in Pers.* c. 3. [p. 691 C.] And for *generaliter*: 'Etsi quædam inter domesticos—disserebant, nontamen ea fuisse credendum est, quæ aliam regulam fidei superducerent, diversam et contrariam illi quam catholice in medium proferebant.' *De Præscr. adv. Hær.* c. 26. [p. 241 A.] 'Hæc itaque dispecta totum ordinem Dei Judicis operarium et (ut dignius dixerim) protectorem catholicæ et summæ illius bo-

nitatis ostendunt.' l. ii. *adv. Marcion.* c. 17. [p. 466 C.] So he calleth Christ, 'catholicum patris sacerdotem.' l. iv. c. 9. Origen against Celsus: Καθολικῶς ἀποφηνάμενος Θεὸν οὐδένα πρὸς ἀνθρώπους κατεληλυθέναι, ἢ Θεοῦ παῖδα, l. v. § 2. [Tom. I. p. 579 E.] which he expounds immediately by καθόλου λελεγμένον. So he speaks of καθολικὸν Κέλσου ψεῦδος, and ἐν τῷ καθολικῷ περὶ πάντων τῶν τὰ πάτρια τηρούντων ἐπαίνῳ. l. v. § 26. [p. 598 E.] So Justin Martyr: Ἀμνηστίας τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ τῆς καθολικῆς δόξης ἐρέβαλον. *De Monarch. Dei*, p. 103 D.

² We read in the old Glossary, καθολικός *rationalis*, that is, the receiver of the imperial revenue; not that it signifies so much of itself, but because he was the general receiver, and so not for receiving or accounting, but for the generality of his accounts in respect of others who were inferior, and whose receipts and accounts were more particular; therefore he was called *Catholicus*, who by the Latins was properly styled *Procurator summæ rei*, or *Rationalis summarum*. Thus Constantine signified to Cæcilianus bishop of Carthage, that he had written to his Procurator-general to deliver him monies: Ἐδωκα γράμματα πρὸς Οὐρσῶ τὸν διασημώτατον καθολικὸν τῆς Ἀφρικῆς, καὶ ἐδήλωσα αὐτῷ, ὅπως τρισχιλίους φόλλαις τῇ σὴ στερόβότητι ἀπαριθμῆσαι φροντιστῷ. *Euseb. Hist.* l. x. c. 6.

Procurator of them all, from whence that title was by some transferred upon the Christian patriarchs.

When this title is attributed to the Church, it hath not always the same notion or signification: for when by the Church, is understood the house of God, or place in which the worship of God is performed, then by the *catholick Church* is meant no more than the common Church, into which all such persons as belonged to that parish in which it was built were wont to congregate. For where monasteries were in use, as there were separate habitations for men, and distinct for women, so were there also Churches for each distinct; and in the parishes, where there was no distinction of sexes, as to habitation, there was a common Church which received them both, and therefore called *catholick*¹.

347 Again, When the Church is taken for the persons making

[p. 321 c.] And in the same manner to Eusebius: 'Ἀπεστᾶλη δὲ γράμματα παρὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἡμερότης πρὸς τὸν τῆς διοικήσεως καθολικὸν, ὅπως ἅπαντα τὰ πρὸς ἐπισκευὴν αὐτῶν ἐπιτήδεια παρασχεῖν φροντίσειεν. *Idem, de Vita Constant.* l. iv. c. 36. (p. 449 c.) and *Socr. Hist. Eccl.* l. i. c. 9. (p. 30 c.) So Suidas: 'Ἐπιστολὴ Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ παραβάτου πρὸς Πορφύριον καθολικόν' which is the thirty-sixth of his epistles extant. This *Rationalis summæ* was by the Greeks expressed thus either by one word, καθολικός, or by more to the same purpose. So Dio Cocceianus speaking of Aurelius Eubulus: Τοὺς γὰρ δὴ καθόλου λόγους ἐπιτετραμμένους, οὐδὲν δ, τι οὐκ ἐδήμυνσε. *in Excerpt. [Hist. Rom.* c. 21. p. 916 B.] So Porphyrius: Ὅστε καὶ θαυμασίον τινὸς τοῦτομα ἐπεισελθόντος τοῦ καθόλου λόγους πρᾶττοντος. *in Vita Plotin.* [c. 13. *Fabricius Bibliotheca Græca*, Tom. iv. par. 2. p. 115.] So Dionysius of Alexandria speaketh of Macrianus, who was *Procurator summæ rei* to the emperor Valerianus; Ὅς πρότερον μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν καθόλου λόγων λεγόμενος εἶναι βασιλέως, οὐδὲν εὐλογον (alluding to λόγων) οὐδὲ καθολικόν (alluding to καθόλου) ἐφῆρνήσεν, ἀλλ' ὑποπέπτωκεν ἀρᾷ προφητικῇ τῇ λεγούσῃ· οὐαὶ τοῖς προφητεύουσιν ἀπὸ καρδίας αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ καθόλου μὴ βλέπουσιν·

οὐ γὰρ συνῆκε τὴν καθόλου πρόνοιαν, οὐδὲ τὴν κρίσιν ὑπέιδετο τοῦ πρὸ πάντων καὶ διὰ πάντων καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι· διὸ καὶ τῆς μὲν καθολικῆς αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίας γέγονε πολέμιος. *Euseb. Hist.* l. vii. c. 10. (p. 209 B.)

¹ Thus ἐκκλησία καθολική is often to be understood, especially in the latter Greeks, for the common or parochial Church. As we read in *Codinus de Officiis Constant.* c. 1. [*Hist. Byzant.* Tom. xix. p. 4 B.] Ὁ Σακελλίου τὴν ἐνοχὴν ἔχων τῶν καθολικῶν ἐκκλησιῶν. And again: Ὁ Ἀρχων τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἔχων τὴν ἐνοχὴν τῶν καθολικῶν ἐκκλησιῶν μετὰ προτροπῆς τοῦ Σακελλίου. *Ibid.* So likewise Balsamon: Λέγεται Σακελλάριος ὁ τῶν μοναστηρίων διοικητής, ὡς ὁ Σακελλίου ὑποκοριστικῶς ὁ τῶν καθολικῶν ἐκκλησιῶν φροντιστής. *lib. vii. Juris Græcorum.* Where appeareth a manifest distinction of the monastic and the catholic Churches. Hence Alexius, patriarch of Constantinople, complaineth of such as frequented the private Chapels, and avoided the common Churches, describing those persons in this manner: Πατριαρχικοῖς σταυροπηγίοις ἢ καὶ ἐπισκοπικοῖς θαρροῦντες, τὰς καθολικὰς παρατιθέμενοι, καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ ταῦταις συνάξεων καταφρονοῦντες. l. iv. *Juris Græcorum, [Monumentum Synodale* 1, p. 753 A.]

profession of the Christian faith, the *catholick* is often added in opposition to heretics and schismatics, expressing a particular Church continuing in the true faith with the rest of the Church of God¹, as the catholick Church in Smyrna, the catholick Church in Alexandria.

¹ As the Smyrneans spake in Eusebius of Polycarpus: Γερόμενος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς ἐν Σμύρνῃ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας. l. iv. c. 15. [p. 108 D.] So καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία ἡ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, in Epiphanius, *Hær.* lxi. § 1. Thus Gregory Nazianzen begins his own last will: [*Inter Gregorii Op.* Tom. II. pp. 203, 204.] Γρηγόριος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἐν Κωνσταντίνου πόλει, in which he bequeaths his estate, τῇ ἁγίᾳ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἐν Ναζιανζῷ, and subscribes it after the same manner of words in which he began it, and so the rest of the bishops which subscribed as witnesses, Ἀμφιλόχιος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἐν Ἰκονίῳ. Ὀπτιμος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς κατὰ Ἀντιόχειαν καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας. Θεόδωσιος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἐν Ἰδῇ. Θεόδουλος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς ἁγίας καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς κατὰ Ἀπάμειαν. Θεμεστιος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς κατὰ Ἀδριανούπολιν. In the same manner speak the Latins: 'Eodem itaque tempore in ecclesia Hipponensi catholica Valerius Sanctus episcopatum gerebat.' *Possidius de Vita August.* c. 4. Thus any particular true Church is called the catholick Church of the place in which it is; and all Churches which retain the catholick faith, are called catholick Churches. As when the Synod of Antioch concluded their sentence against the Samosatenians thus: καὶ πάσαι αἱ καθολικαὶ ἐκκλησίαι συμφωνοῦσιν ἡμῶν. According to which notion we read in Leo the Great: 'Ad venerationem Pentecostes unanimiter incitemur exsultantes in honorem Sancti Spiritus, per quem omnis ecclesia catholica sanctificatur, omnis anima rationalis imbuitur.' *Serm.* i. *de Pentec.* [c. 4. p. 853 A.] Whence where we read in the Synod of Ariminium: Εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ πᾶντες οἱ ἐπίσκοποι συνήλ-

θομεν, ὡς καὶ ἡ πᾶσις τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας γνωρισθῇ, καὶ οἱ πάντας φρονοῦντες ἐκδηλοῖ γένησθαι. *Epist. ad Constant. Imp.* although in Athanasius, [*De Synodis Arimini et Seleucias*, § 10. Tom. i. p. 723 B.] Theodoret, *Hist. Eccl.* l. ii. c. 15. and Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* l. ii. c. 37, [p. 113 A.] it be constantly written, τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, yet St Hilary did certainly read it, ταῖς καθολικαῖς ἐκκλησίαις, for it is thus translated in his *Fragments*: 'Ut fides claresceret omnibus ecclesiis catholicis, et hæretici noscerentur.' *Frag.* viii. From whence it came to pass, that in the same city heretics and catholicks having their several congregations, each of which was called the Church, the congregation of the catholicks was by way of distinction called the *Catholic Church*. Of which this was the old advice of St Cyril of Jerusalem: "Ἄν ποτε ἐπιδημῆς ἐν πόλει, μὴ ἀπλῶς ἐξέταξε τοῦ τὸ Κυριακὸν ἐστὶ καὶ γὰρ αἱ λοιπαὶ τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἀλφείεις Κυριακὰ τὰ ταυτῶν στήλαις καλεῖν ἐπιχειροῦσι· μὴδὲ τοῦ ἐστὶν ἀπλῶς ἐκκλησία, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία. *Catech.* xviii. § 12. (p. 496.) 'Ego forte ingressus populosum urbem hodie, cum Marcionitas, cum Apollinarianos, Cataphrygas, Novatianos, et cæteros ejusmodi comperissem, qui se Christianos vocarent, quo cognomine congregationem meæ plebis agnoscerem, nisi catholica diceretur!' *Pacian.* *ad Symp. Ep.* i. 'Tenet postremo ipsum Catholicæ nomen, quod non sine causa inter tam multas hæreses ista ecclesia sola obtinuit, ut cum omnes hæretici se catholicos dici velint, querenti tamen peregrino alicui, ubi ad catholicam conveniatur, nullus hæreticorum vel Basilicam suam vel domum audeat ostendere.' *S. August. cont. Epist. Fundamenti*, c. 4. [5. Tom. viii. p. 110 D.] (p. 153.)

Now being these particular Churches could not be named *catholick* as they were particular, in reference to this or that city in which they were congregated, it followeth that they were called *catholick* by their coherence and conjunction with that Church, which was properly and originally called so¹; which is the Church taken in that acception, which we have already delivered. That Church which was built upon the apostles as upon the foundation, congregated by their preaching and by their baptizing, received continued accession, and disseminated in several parts of the earth, containing within it numerous congregations, all which were truly called Churches, as members of the same Church; that Church, I say, was after some time called the *catholick Church*, that is to say, the name *catholick* was used by the Greeks to signify the whole. For being every particular congregation professing the name of Christ, was from the beginning called a Church; being likewise all such congregations considered together were originally comprehended under the name of the Church; being these two notions of the word were different, it came to pass that for distinction-sake at first they called the Church, taken in the large and comprehensive sense, by as large and comprehensive a name, the *catholick Church*².

348 Although this seem the first intention of those which gave

¹ 'Nonne appellatione propria deicit caput principale signari?' *Pacianus, ad Sym. Ep. i.*

² I conceive at first there was no other meaning in the word *καθολική* than what the Greek language did signify thereby, that is, *total* or *universal*; as St Austin: 'Cum dixisset *desuper contexta*, addidit *per totum*. Quod si referamus ad id quod significat, nemo ejus est expertus qui pertinere invenitur ad totum: a quo toto, sicut Græca indicat lingua, catholica vocatur ecclesia.' *Tract. in Ioan.* 118. § 4. [Tom. III. par. 2. p. 583 F.] (p. 801.) The most ancient author that I find it in (except Ignatius: "Ὅπου ἂν φανῇ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ἐκεῖ τὸ πλῆθος ἔστω, ὥσπερ ὅπου ἂν ᾖ Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, ἐκεῖ ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία." *Ep. ad Smyrναeos*, § 8.) is Clemens Alexandrinus: *Μόνον εἶναι φάμεν τὴν ἀρχαίαν καὶ καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν.* *Strom.* l. vii. c. 17. [p. 899, 14.] But the

passion of Polycarpus, written in the name of the Church of Smyrna, may be much ancienter, in which the original notion seemeth most clear: 'Ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ παροικοῦσα Σμύρναν τῇ παροικίᾳ ἐν Φιλομυλίᾳ, καὶ πάσαις ταῖς κατὰ πάντα τόπον τῆς ἀγίας καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας παροικίαις, i.e. *omnibus totius ecclesie paræciis.* *Euseb. Hist. Eccl.* l. iv. c. 15. It was otherwise called in the same notion ἡ καθόλου. As Apollinarius bishop of Hierapolis: *Τὴν δὲ καθόλου καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐκκλησίαν βλασφημεῖν διδάσκοντος τοῦ ἀπηνυθαδιαμένου πνεύματος.* *Apuḍ Euseb. Hist. Eccl.* l. v. c. 16. [p. 181 A.] And Eusebius: *Προῆει δὲ εἰς ἀξίῃσιν καὶ μέγεθος, ἀεὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχουσα ἡ τῆς καθόλου καὶ μόνῃς ἀληθοῦς ἐκκλησίας λαμπρότης.* *Hist.* l. iv. c. 7. [p. 121 A.] *Καθολικὴ* then and ἡ καθόλου is the same, *the whole, general, or universal.*

the name *catholick* to the Church, to signify thereby nothing else but the whole or universal Church; yet those which followed, did signify by the same that affection of the Church, which floweth from the nature of it, and may be expressed by that word. At first they called the whole Church *catholick*, meaning no more than the universal Church; but having used that term some space of time, they considered how the nature of the Church was to be universal, and in what that universality did consist.

As far then as the ancient fathers have expressed themselves, and as far as their expressions are agreeable with the descriptions of the Church delivered in the Scriptures, so far, I conceive, we may safely conclude that the Church of Christ is truly *catholick*, and that the truly *catholick Church* is the true Church of Christ, which must necessarily be sufficient for the explication of this affection, which we acknowledge when we say, we *believe the Catholick Church*.

Matt. xxviii.
19.

The most obvious and most general notion of this catholicism consisteth in the diffusiveness of the Church, grounded upon the commission given to the builders of it, *Go, teach all nations*, whereby they and their successors were authorized and empowered to gather congregations of believers, and so to extend the borders of the Church unto the utmost parts of the earth. The synagogue of the Jews especially consisted of one nation, and the public worship of God was confined to one country, *In Judah was God known, and his name was great in Israel; in Salem was his tabernacle, and his dwelling-place in Zion...* He shewed his word unto Jacob, his statutes and his judgments unto Israel; he hath not dealt so with any nation. The temple was the only place in which the sacrifices could be offered, in which the priests could perform their office of ministration; and so under the Law there was an enclosure divided from all the world beside.

Psal. lxxvi.
1, 2.

Psal. cxlvii.
19.

Psal. li. 8.

Mark xvi. 15.

Luke xxiv.
47.

But God said unto his Son, *I will give the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession*. And Christ commanded the apostles, saying, *Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature: ... that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem*. Thus the Church of Christ, in its primary institution, was made to be of a diffusive nature, to spread and extend itself from the city

of Jerusalem, where it first began, to all the parts and corners of the earth. From whence we find them in the Revelation crying to the Lamb, *Thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood, out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation.* This reason did the ancient fathers render why the Church was called *catholick*¹: and the nature of the Church is so described in the Scriptures.

Secondly, They call the Church of Christ the *catholick* Church, because it teacheth all things which are necessary for a Christian to know, whether they be things in heaven or things in earth, whether they concern the condition of man in this life or in the life to come. As the Holy Ghost did lead the apostles *into all truth*, so did the apostles leave all truth unto the Church, which teaching all the same, may well be called *catholick*, from the universality of necessary and saving truths retained in it².

Thirdly, The Church hath been thought fit to be called *catholick* in reference to the universal obedience which it prescribeth; both in respect of the persons, obliging men of all

¹ We have before [p. 334] observed of Arius and Euzoius, that naming the catholic Church in their Creed, they gave withal the interpretation of it: *Eis μὴν καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὴν ἀπὸ περάτων ἕως περάτων.* [Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.* i. c. 26.] St Cyril of Jerusalem gives this as the first importance of the word: *Καθολικὴ μὲν οὖν καλεῖται διὰ τὸ κατὰ πάσης εἶναι τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπὸ περάτων γῆς ἕως περάτων.* *Catech.* xviii. § 11. [p. 493.] 'Ubi ergo erit proprietas catholici nominis, cum inde dicta sit catholica, quod sit rationabilis et ubique diffusa?' *Optatus, De Schism. Donatist.* l. ii. c. 1. [p. 26.] 'Ipsa est enim ecclesia catholica: unde καθολικὴ Græce appellatur, quod per totum orbem terrarum diffunditur.' *S. August. Epist.* 170. al. 52. § 1. [Tom. II. p. 90 A.] (p. 119.) 'Ecclesia illa est, quam modo dixi unicam suam: hæc est unica catholica, quæ toto orbe copiosa diffunditur, quæ usque ad ultimas gentes crescendo porrigitur.' *Idem, Epist.* 120. al. 140. § 43. [p. 332 c.] (p. 438.) 'Si

autem dubitas quod ecclesiam, quæ per omnes gentes numerositate copiosissima dilatatur, hæc Sancta Scriptura commendat,—multis te manifestissimis testimoniis ex eadem auctoritate prolati onerabo.' *Idem, contra Crescon.* l. i. c. 33. [Tom. IX. p. 278 A.] (p. 408.) 'Sancta ecclesia ideo dicitur catholica, pro eo quod universaliter per omnem mundum sit diffusa.' *Isidorus Hispal. de Eccles. et Hæres.* l. i. *Sentent.* c. 16.

² This is the second interpretation delivered by St Cyril: *Καὶ διὰ τὸ διδάσκειν καθολικῶς καὶ ἀνελλιπῶς ἀπαντα τὰ εἰς γινώσκων ἀνθρώπων εἶθεῖν ὀφελοντα ὁδογὰτα περὶ τε ὁρατῶν καὶ ἀοράτων πραγμάτων ἐπουρανίων τε καὶ ἐπιγείων.* *Catech.* xviii. § 11. (p. 493.) 'Ecclesia Græcum nomen est, quod in Latinum vertitur convocatio, propterea quod ad se omnes vocet. Catholica (id est, universalis) ideo dicitur, quia per universum mundum est constituta, vel quoniam catholica, hoc est, generalis in eadem doctrina est ad instructionem.' *In Decret. Ivo.* par. iii. *de Eccles.* c. 3.

conditions¹; and in relation to the precepts requiring performance of all the evangelical commands².

Fourthly, The Church hath been yet farther called or reputed *catholick*³ by reason of all graces given in it, whereby all diseases of the soul are healed, and spiritual virtues are disseminated, all the works and words and thoughts of men are regulated, till we become perfect men in Christ Jesus.

In all these four acceptions did some of the ancient Fathers understand the Church of Christ to be *catholick*, and every one of them doth certainly belong unto it. Wherefore I conclude that this catholicism, or second affection, of the Church, consisteth generally in universality, as embracing all sorts of persons, as to be disseminated through all nations, as comprehending all ages, as containing all necessary and saving

¹ This is the third interpretation of St Cyril: Καὶ διὰ τὸ τῶν γένος ἀνθρώπων εἰς εὐσέβειαν ὑποτάσσειν, ἀρχόντων τε καὶ ἀρχομένων, λογίων τε καὶ ἄλογων. *Catech.* xviii. § 11. [p. 493.]

² 'Si reddenda—catholici vocabuli ratio est, et exprimenda de Græco interpretatione Latina, catholicus ubique unum, vel (ut doctiores putant) obedientia omnium nuncupatur, mandatorum scilicet Dei. Unde Apostolus, *Si in omnibus obedientes estis*; et iterum, *Sicut enim per inobedientiam unus peccatores constituti sunt multi, sic per dicto-audientiam unus iusti constituntur multi.* Ergo qui catholicus, idem iusti obediens.' *Pacianus Epist. 1. ad Sympron.* [c. 4. p. 258 c.] [Christianus mihi nomen est, Catholicus vero cognomen: Illud me nuncupat, istud ostendit: hoc probor, inde significor. *Pacianus ad Sympronianum, Epist. i. c. 4.*] 'Acutum aliquid tibi-videris dicere, cum catholicus nomen non ex totius orbis communione interpretaris, sed ex observatione præceptorum omnium divinorum atque omnium sacramentorum: quasi nos etiam si forte hinc sit appellata catholica, quod totum veraciter teneat, cujus veritatis nonnullæ particulæ etiam in diversis inveniuntur hæresibus, hujus nominis testimonio nitamur ad demonstrandum ecclesiam in omnibus gentibus, et non

promissis Dei et tam multis tamque manifestis oraculis ipsius veritatis. Sed nempe hoc est totum, quod nobis persuadere conaris, solos remansisse Rogatistas, qui catholici recte appellandi sint ex observatione præceptorum omnium divinorum atque omnium sacramentorum.' *S. August. Vincentio, Epist. 48. al. 93. § 23.* [Tom. II. p. 182 B.] (p. 240.) Indeed this notion of the Catholick Church was urged by the Donatists as the only notion of it in opposition to the universality of place and communion. For when the Catholics answered for themselves: 'Quia ecclesiæ toto orbe diffusæ, cui testimonium perhibet Scriptura divina, ipsi, non Donatistæ, communicant, unde Catholici merito et sunt et vocantur: Donatistæ autem responderunt, Non Catholicum nomen ex universitate gentium, sed ex plenitudine sacramentorum institutum.' *Idem, Brevicul. collat. tertii diei, c. 3.* [Tom. IX. p. 377 D.] (p. 555.)

³ This is the fourth and last explanation given by St Cyril: Διὰ τὸ καθολικῶς λατρεῖν μὲν καὶ θεραπεῖν πᾶσι τὸ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν εἶδος, τῶν διὰ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος ἐπιτελουμένων, κερτῆσθαι δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ πᾶσαν ἰδέαν ὁμοαξομένης ἀρετῆς, ἐν ἔργοις τε καὶ λόγοις καὶ πνευματικοῖς παρτοῖς χαρῆμασι. *Catech.* xviii. § 11. [p. 493.]

truths, as obliging all conditions of men to all kind of obedience, as curing all diseases, and planting all graces in the souls of men.

The necessity of believing the *holy catholic Church*, appeareth first in this, that Christ hath appointed it as the only way unto eternal life. We read at the first, that *the Lord added to the Church daily such as should be saved*; and what was then daily done, hath been done since continually. Christ never appointed two ways to heaven; nor did he build a Church to save some, and make another institution for other men's salvation. *There is no other name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved, but the name of Jesus*¹; and that name is no otherwise given under heaven than in the Church. As none were saved from the deluge but such as were within the ark of Noah, framed for their reception by the command of God; as none of the first-born of Egypt lived, but such as were within those habitations whose door-posts were sprinkled with blood by the appointment of God for their preservation; as none of the inhabitants of Jericho could escape the fire or sword, but such as were within the house of Rahab, for whose protection a covenant was made: so none shall ever escape the eternal wrath of God, which belong not to the Church of God. This is the congregation of those persons here on earth, which shall hereafter meet in heaven. These are the vessels of the tabernacle carried up and down, at last to be translated into, and fixed in, the temple.

Secondly, It is necessary to believe the Church of Christ, which is but *one*, that being in it we may take care never to cast ourselves, or be ejected, out of it. There is a power within the Church to cast those out which do belong to it; for if any *neglect to hear the Church* (saith our Saviour), *let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican*.^{Matt. xviii. 17.} By great and scandalous offences, by incorrigible misdemeanours, we may incur the censure of the Church of God; and

¹ Καθ' ὅσον ἐν θαλάσῃ νῆσοι εἰσι αἱ μὲν οἰκῆται καὶ εὐθροὶ καὶ καρποφόροι, ἔχουσιν δὲ ὅμοιους καὶ λιμένας, πρὸς τὸ τοὺς χειμαζομένους ἔχειν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς καταφυγὰς· οὕτω δέδωκεν ὁ Θεὸς τῷ κόσμῳ κυμαινόμενῳ καὶ χειμαζομένῳ ὑπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων τὰς συναγωγὰς λεγομένας ἐκκλησίας, ἀγίας, ἐν αἷς, καθάπερ λιμέσιν εὐόροις ἐν νήσοις, αἱ

διδασκαλῖαι τῆς ἀληθείας εἰσὶ, πρὸς ἃς καταφεύγουσιν οἱ θέλοντες σώζεσθαι. *S. Theophil. Antioc. l. ii. p. 93 D.* Μὴ δὲ προσήκειν ἐκκλησίᾳ τὴν σωτηρίαν ταύτην ἐπιστάμεθα, καὶ μὴ δένα τῆς καθολικῆς ἐξῶθεν ἐκκλησίας καὶ πίστεως μετέχειν Χριστοῦ δυνάμενον μὴδὲ σώζεσθαι. *S. Chrysost. ἐν Pascha, Hom. i.*

while we are shut out by them, we stand excluded out of heaven. For our Saviour said to his apostles, upon whom he built his Church, *Whosoever sins ye remit they are remitted unto them, and whosoever sins ye retain they are retained.* Again, a man may not only passively and involuntarily be ejected¹, but also may by an act of his own cast out or eject¹ himself, not only by plain and complete apostacy, but by a defection from the unity of truth, falling into some damnable heresy; or by an active separation, deserting all which are in communion with the catholick Church, and falling into an irrecoverable schism.

Thirdly, It is necessary to believe the Church of Christ to be *holy*, lest we should presume to obtain any happiness by being of it, without that holiness which is required in it. It is not enough that the end, institution, and administration of the Church are holy: but, that there may be some real and permanent advantage received by it, it is necessary that the persons, abiding in the communion of it, should be really and effectually sanctified. Without which holiness the privileges of the Church prove the greatest disadvantages; and the means of salvation neglected, tend to a punishment with aggravation. It is not only vain, but pernicious to attend at the marriage-feast without a wedding-garment; and it is our Saviour's description of folly to cry, *Lord, Lord, open to us*, while we are without oil in our lamps. We must acknowledge a necessity of holiness, when we confess that Church alone which is holy can make us happy.

Fourthly, There is a necessity of believing the *catholick* Church, because except a man be of that, he can be of none. For being the Church which is truly catholick containeth within it all which are truly Churches, whosoever is not of the catholick Church, cannot be of the true Church². That Church alone which first began at Jerusalem on earth, will bring us to the Jerusalem in heaven; and that alone began there, which always embraceth *the faith once delivered to the saints*. Whatsoever Church pretendeth to a new beginning, pretendeth at the same time to a new Churchdom, and what-

¹ [In the third edition, "rejected" and "reject."]

² 'Sola catholica ecclesia est, quæ verum cultum retinet. Hic est fons veritatis, hoc est domicilium fidei, hoc

templum Dei: quo si quis non intraverit, vel a quo si quis exierit, a spe vitæ ac salutis æternæ alienus est.' *Lactant. de ver. Sap.* l. iv. c. 30. [Tom. i. p. 450.]

soever is so new is none. So necessary it is to believe the *holy Catholick Church*.

Having thus far explicated the first part of this Article, I conceive every person sufficiently furnished with means of instruction what they ought to intend, when they profess to believe *the holy Catholick Church*. For thereby every one is understood to declare thus much :

I am fully persuaded, and make a free confession of this, as of a necessary and infallible truth, that Christ, by the preaching of the apostles, did gather unto himself a Church, consisting of thousands of believing persons and numerous congregations, to which he daily added such as should be saved, and will successively and daily add to the same unto the end of the world: so that by the virtue of his all-sufficient promise, I am assured
 35^I that there was, hath been hitherto, and now is, and hereafter shall be, so long as the sun and moon endure, a Church of Christ one and the same. This Church I believe in general holy in respect of the author, end, institution, and administration of it; particularly in the members, here I acknowledge it really, and in the same hereafter perfectly, holy. I look upon this Church not like that of the Jews, limited to one people, confined to one nation, but by the appointment and command of Christ, and by the efficacy of his assisting power, to be disseminated through all nations, to be extended to all places, to be propagated to all ages, to contain in it all truths necessary to be known, to exact absolute obedience from all men to the commands of Christ, and to furnish us with all graces necessary to make our persons acceptable, and our actions well pleasing in the sight of God. And thus I believe THE HOLY CATHOLICK CHURCH.

THE COMMUNION OF SAINTS.

THIS part of the Article beareth something a later date than any of the rest¹, but yet is no way inferior to the other

¹ These words, *communione sanctorum*, were not in the Aquileian Creed expounded by Ruffinus: they were not mentioned by him, as being either in the Oriental or the Roman Creed. They were not in the African Creed expounded by St Austin *De Fide et Symbolo*; not in the Creed delivered by Maximus Taurinensis; not in any of the Sermons of Chrysologus; not

in any of the four books *De Symbolo ad Catechumenos* attributed to St Austin; not in the 119th sermon under his name *De Tempore*, c. 8. 'Cum dixerimus *sanctam ecclesiam*, adjungamus *remissionem peccatorum*.' They are not in the Greek Creed in Sir Robert Cotton's library; not in the old Latin Creed in the Oxford library; not in that produced by Elipandus. We find

in relation to the certainty of the truth thereof. And the late admission of it into the CREED will be thus far advantageous, that thereby we may be the better assured of the true intent of it, as it is placed in the CREED. For it will be no way fit to give any other explication of these words as the sense of the CREED, than what was then understood by the Church of God, when they were first inserted.

If we look upon the first institution of the Church, and the original condition of those persons which received the Gospel, how they *were all together, and had all things common; how they sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all men as every man had need; how St Paul urged an equality, that the abundance of some might supply the want of others, as it is written, He that had gathered much had nothing over, and he that had gathered little had no lack:* we might well conceive that the *communion* (which word might be taken for *communication*) of the *Saints*, may signify the great charity¹, bounty, and community among the people of God.

Acts II. 44, 45.

2 Cor. viii.
14, 15.

But being that community, precisely taken, was not of eternal obligation, nor actually long continued in the Church; being I conceive this Article doth not wholly look upon that which is already past; and especially, being I think neither that custom, nor that notion was then generally received in the Church, when this *communion of Saints* was first inserted: I shall therefore endeavour to shew that communion which is attributed to the Saints both according to the Fathers who have delivered it, and according to the Scriptures from whence they derived it.

Now all communion being between such as are some way different and distinct, the *communion of the Saints* may either

them not in the old Greek Creeds, not in that of Eusebius given in the Council of Nice, not in that of Marcellus delivered to the Bishop of Rome, not in that of Arius and Euzoius presented to Constantine, not in either of the Creeds preserved in the *Ancoratus* of Epiphanius, not in the Jerusalem Creed expounded by St Cyril, not in that of the Council of Constantinople, not in that of Charisius given into the Ephesine Council, not in either of the expositions under the name of St Chrysostom. It was therefore of a later

date, and is found in the Latin and Greek copy in Bene't-College Library, and is expressed and expounded in the 115th and 181st Sermon *De Tempore*, attributed to St Austin. [*Augustin. Opera, Serm. 241. Tom. v. Appendix, p. 279. et Sermo de Symbolo, Tom. vi. Appendix, p. 757.*] See *Paschani Symbolum*.

¹ Grotius, upon that place of the Corinthians, observes: '*Spectat et huc ea quam in Symbolo profiteamur Sanctorum communionem.*'

352 be conceived between them and others, or between themselves; between them and others, as differing from them either in their nature or their sanctity;—between themselves as distinct in person only, or condition also. Wherefore if we can first understand who, or what kind of persons these are which are called *Saints*, with whom beside themselves, and how among themselves, in this relation as they are the *Saints*, they have *communion*; and lastly, in what the nature of that *communion* in each respect consisteth; I know not what can be thought wanting to the perfect explication of *the communion of Saints*.

That we may understand what *communion* the *Saints* have with others, it would be necessary first to consider what it is to be a *Saint*, in what the true nature of Saintship doth consist, by what the *Saints* are distinguished from others. Again, that we may understand what *communion* the *Saints* have with or among themselves, it will be farther necessary to consider who are those persons to which that title doth belong, what are the various conditions of them, that we may be able to comprehend all such as are true *Saints*, and thence conclude the *communion* between them all.

I take it first for granted, that though the Greek word which we translate *Saints*, be in itself as applicable to things¹ as persons, yet in this Article it signifieth not holy things, but *holy ones*, that is, persons holy. Secondly, I take it also for granted, that the singular Holy One, the Holy One of Israel, the fountain of all sanctity, the sanctifier of all Saints, is not comprehended in the Article, though the communion of the holy ones with that singular, eminent, and transcendent Holy One², be contained in it. Thirdly, I take it farther for granted, that the word in this Article, which we translate *Saints*, is not taken in the original of the CREED, as it is often taken in the translation of the Old Testament, for the

notion afterwards.

¹ Κοινωνία ἁγίων may be as well understood in the neuter as the masculine, as Exod. xxviii. 38. Ἐξαιεῖ Ἀαρὼν τὰ ἁμαρτήματα τῶν ἁγίων, *that Aaron may bear the iniquity of the holy things*. So Lev. v. 15. Καὶ ἁμαρτίαν ἀκουσίως ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγίων Κυρίου xxii. 2. Καὶ προσέτεραν ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγίων τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ. 1 Chron. xxiv. 5. Ἀρχόντες τῶν ἁγίων, *the governors of the sanctuary*, of which

² This is one of the common names of God in the Old Testament, קדוש יישראל ἁγιος Ἰσραὴλ, which is also sometimes translated plurally by the LXX. as Isaiah xli. 16. בקדוש יישראל ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις Ἰσραὴλ, Jer. li. 5. מקדוש יישראל ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγίων Ἰσραὴλ and if it were so taken, then κοινωνία τῶν ἁγίων would be *the communion of God*, as τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰδευματος.

*sanctuary*¹, as if the communion were nothing else but a right of communicating or participating of the holy things of God. Lastly, I take it also for granted, that although the blessed and holy angels are sometimes called in the Scriptures by the name of *Saints*²; yet they are not those Saints who are here said to have the communion, though the Saints have communion with them.

For this part of the Article hath a manifest relation to the former, in which we profess to believe the *holy Church*; which Church is therefore holy, because those persons are such, or ought to be, which are within it, the Church itself being nothing but a collection of such persons. To that confession is added this communion; but because though the Church be holy, yet every person contained in it is not truly so, therefore is added this part of the Article which concerneth those who are truly such. There is therefore no doubt but the Saints mentioned here are members of the Church of Christ, as we have described it, built upon the Apostles, laid upon the foundation of their doctrine, who do not only profess 353 the Gospel, but also are sanctified thereby.

The only question then remaining is, in what their sanctity or saintship doth consist, and (because though they, which

¹ Τὰ ἅγια frequently used in the Scriptures for the *sanctuary*; and then κοινωρία τῶν ἁγίων might be taken for the communion in all those things which belonged to the worship of God, as ἀκοινωνητος was a man excluded from all such communion.

² The angels are not only called holy in the Scriptures by way of addition or epithet, as πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι ἄγγελοι, Matt. xxv. 31. μετὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων τῶν ἁγίων, Mark viii. 38; Luke ix. 26. ἐχρηματίσθη ὑπὸ ἀγγέλου ἁγίου, Acts x. 22. ἐνώπιον τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων, Rev. xiv. 10; but also the ἅγιοι, *holy ones*, or *Saints*, taken substantively or singly, signify sometimes the angels, as Deut. xxxiii. 2. ואחר מרבבת קדש he came with ten thousands of Saints; which the Jerusalem Targum renders ועמיה ריבון מלאכין קדישין and with him came ten thousands of holy angels; and Jonathan ריבון ריבון קדישין מלאכין and with him myriads of myriads of holy angels. And al-

though the LXX. keep the Hebrew קדש, yet they understood the angels in that place οὐν μυριάδες Κάδης, [Hesych. Κάδης ἁγιασμός] ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ ἄγγελοι μετ' αὐτοῦ. So Job v. 1. To which of the Saints will thou turn! εἰ τινα ἀγγέλων ἁγίων ἐψήη, LXX. Thus in the vision of Daniel, he heard one Saint speaking, and another Saint said unto that certain Saint which spake. Dan. viii. 13. So Zech. xiv. 5. And the Lord my God shall come, and all the Saints with thee. And thus it may very well be understood in the New Testament, 1 Thess. iii. 13. ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ Κυρίου—μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ, in correspondence to that, 2 Thess. i. 7. ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψει τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ μετ' ἀγγέλων δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ. These are the μυριάδες ἁγίων in St Jude, ver. 14. קדש ריבון the myriads of angels; and thus κοινωρία ἁγίων should be the communion of the angels.

are believers since our Saviour's death, be truly and more highly sanctified, yet such as lived before and under the Law, the patriarchs, the prophets, and the servants of God, were so called, and were truly named the Saints of God) who were the persons which are capable of that denomination?

Now being God himself hath given a rule unto his people, which is both in the nature of a precept and of a pattern:

Be ye holy as I the Lord your God am holy. Be ye holy, Lev. xi. 44; xix. 2; xx. 7; xxi. 8. there's the command; *as the Lord your God is holy,* there's the rule: being it is impossible that we should have the same sanctity which is in God, it will be necessary to declare what is this holiness which maketh men to be accounted holy ones, and to be called *Saints*.

The true notion of Saints is expressed by Moses, both as to the subject, and the affection or qualification of it; for they are called by him *men of holiness*¹; such are the persons understood in this Article, which is the communion of men of holiness. Now holiness in the first acception of it signifieth separation, and that with the relation of a double term, of one from which the separation is made, and of the other to which that which is separated is applied. Those things which were counted holy under the Law were separated from common use, and applied to the service of God; and their sanctity was nothing else but that separation from and to those terms; from an use and exercise profane and common to an use and exercise peculiar and divine. Thus all such persons as are called from the vulgar and common condition of the world unto any peculiar service or relation unto God, are thereby denominated *holy*, and in some sense receive the name of *Saints*. The penmen of the Old Testament do often speak of the people of Israel as of an holy nation, and God doth speak unto them as to a people holy unto himself; because he had chosen them out of all the nations of the world, and appropriated them to himself. Although therefore most of that nation were rebellious to him which called them, and void of all true inherent and actual sanctity; yet because they were all in that manner separated, they were all, as to the separation, called holy. In the like manner those of the New Testament writing to such as were called, and had received and were baptized in the faith, give unto them all the

¹ אֲנָשֵׁי קִדְשׁ

name of *Saints*, as being in some manner such, by being called and baptized. For being baptism is a washing away of sin, and the purification from sin is a proper sanctification; being every one who is so called and baptized is thereby separated from the rest of the world which are not so, and all such separation is some kind of sanctification; being, though the work of grace be not perfectly wrought, yet when the means are used, without something appearing to the contrary, we ought to presume of the good effect: therefore all such as have been received into the Church may be in some sense called holy.

But because there is more than an outward vocation, and a charitable presumption, necessary to make a man holy; therefore we must find some other qualification which must make him really and truly such, not only by an extrinsical denomination, but by a real and internal affection. What this sanctity is, and who are capable of this title properly, we must learn out of the Gospel of Christ; by which alone, ever since the Church of Christ was founded, any man can become a Saint. Now by the tenure of the Gospel we shall find that those are truly and properly Saints which are *sanctified in Christ Jesus*: first, In respect of their holy faith, by which they are regenerated; for *whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ, is born of God*; by which they are purged, God himself *purifying their hearts by faith*, whereby they are washed, 354 *sanctified, and justified, in the name of the Lord Jesus, . . . in whom also, after that they believe, they are sealed with the Holy Spirit of promise*. Secondly, In respect of their conversation; for, *as he which hath called them is holy, so are they holy in all manner of conversation: . . . adding to their faith virtue, and to virtue knowledge, and to knowledge temperance, and to temperance patience, and to patience godliness, and to godliness brotherly-kindness, and to brotherly-kindness charity, that they may neither be barren nor unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ*. Such persons then as are called by a holy calling, and not disobedient to it; such as are endued with a holy faith, and purified thereby; such as are sanctified by the Holy Spirit of God, and by virtue thereof do lead a holy life, *perfecting holiness in the fear of God*; such persons, I say, are really and truly *Saints*; and being of the Church of Christ (as all such now must of necessity be) are the proper subject

1 Cor. i. 2.

1 John v. 1.

Acts xv. 9.
1 Cor. vi. 11.
Ephes. i. 13.

1 Pet. i. 15.

2 Pet. i. 5—8.

2 Cor. vii. 1.

of this part of the Article *the Communion of Saints*, as it is added to the former, *the holy catholick Church*.

Now as these are the *Saints* of the Church of Christ, from whence they were called the *Churches of the Saints*; 1 Cor. xiv. 33. so there was never any Church of God but there were such persons in it as were Saints; we read in the Psalms of *the congregation*, and *the assembly of the Saints*¹; and Moses assured the people of Israel, that *all the Saints of God were in his hand*: we read in the prophets of *the Saints of the Most High*: and at our Saviour's death *the bodies of such Saints which slept arose*. Where again we may observe that they were Saints while their bodies were in the grave; as Aaron in the time of David kept the name of *the Saint of the Lord*. Such as are holy in their lives do not lose their sanctity, but improve it at their deaths; nor can they lose the honour of that appellation, while that which gives it doth acquire perfection.

Hence grows that necessary distinction of the Saints on earth, and the Saints in heaven; the first belonging to the militant, the second to the triumphant Church. Of the first the prophet David speaketh expressly, *Thou art my Lord; my goodness extendeth not to thee, but to the Saints that are in the earth*: of these do we read in the Acts of the Apostles; to these did St Paul direct his Epistles. Of the second doth the apostle make that question, *Do ye not know that the Saints shall judge the world?* 1 Cor. vi. 2. And all those which were spoken of as Saints then in earth, if truly such, and departed so, are now, and shall for ever continue, Saints in heaven.

Having thus declared what is the sanctity required to make a Saint, that is, a man of holiness; having also distinguished the Saints before and under the Gospel (which difference is only observable as to this exposition of the CREED), and again distinguishing the same Saints while they live here with men on earth, and when after death they live with God in heaven; having also shewed that of all these those Saints are here particularly understood who in all ages lived in the Church of Christ: we may now properly descend to the next

¹ קדוש בקהל LXX. & ἐκκλησία ἀγίων, קדוש בנסד & βουλῆ, Vulg. Latin. *in ecclesia et in concilio sanctorum*. 'Quis ignorat sub altera dis-

pensatione Dei omnes retro Sanctos ejusdem fuisse meriti cujus nunc Christiani sunt!' *S. Hier. adv. Jovinian.* l. ii. col. 197. [Tom. II. p. 327 D.]

consideration, which is, who are those persons with whom those Saints have this communion, and in what the communion which they have consists?

First then, The Saints of God living in the Church of Christ, have communion with God the Father; for the apostles did therefore write that they to whom they wrote might have communion with them, (*that which we have seen and heard declare we unto you, that ye also may have fellowship with us*, saith St John,) and did at the same time declare that their communion was *with the Father*¹. Wherefore being all the Saints of God under the Gospel receiving the doctrine of the apostles have communion with them; being the communion of the apostles was the communion with the Father: it followeth that all the Saints of God under the Gospel have a communion with God the Father. As we are the branches of the vine, so the Father is the husbandman; and thus the Saints partake of his care and inspection. As ³⁵⁵

1 John i. 3. *Abraham believed God, and it was imputed to him for righteousness; and he was called the friend of God;* so all which are heirs of the faith of Abraham are made partakers of the same relation. Nor are we only friends, but also sons; *for behold what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called the sons of God*. Thus must we acknowledge that the Saints of God have communion with the Father, because by the great and precious promises given unto them, they become *partakers of the divine nature*².

James ii. 22. 1 John iii. 1. 2 Pet. i. 4.

Secondly, the Saints of God living in the Church of God have communion with the Son of God: for, as the apostle said, *our communion is with the Father and the Son*; and this connexion is infallible, because *he that abideth in the doctrine of Christ, he hath both the Father and the Son*; and our Saviour prayed for all such as should believe on him *through the word of the apostles, that they might be one, as the Father is one in him, and he in the Father, that they also may be one in both: I in them* (saith Christ), *and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one*. This communion of the Saints with the Son of God, is, as most evident, so most remarkable. He hath taken unto him our nature and infirmities; he hath taken upon him our sins, and the curse due unto them; while we all have received of his fulness, *grace for grace*; and are

1 John i. 3. 2 John 9. John xvii. 20, 21, 22. John i. 16.

¹ Κοινωνία μετὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς.

² Θέλει κοινωνοὶ φύσεως.

all called to *the fellowship of his sufferings*, that we may Phil. III. 10, be conformable to his death. What is the fellowship of brethren and co-heirs, of the bridegroom and the spouse; what is the communion of members with the head, of branches with the vine; that is the *communion of Saints* with Christ. For God hath called us unto the fellowship of his Son Jesus 1 Cor. I. 9. Christ our Lord¹.

Thirdly, The Saints of God in the Church of Christ have communion with the Holy Ghost: and the apostle hath two ways assured us of the truth thereof, one rhetorically, by a seeming doubt, *if there be any fellowship of the Spirit*²; Phil. II. 1. the other devoutly, praying for it, *The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all.* The Saints are therefore such, because they partake of the Holy Ghost; for they are therefore holy because they are sanctified, and it is the Spirit alone which sanctifieth. Beside, the communion with the Father and the Son is wrought by the communication of the Spirit; for hereby do we become the sons of God, in that we have received the *Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba*, Rom. VIII. 15. Father; and thereby do we become co-heirs with Christ, in that *because we are sons God hath sent forth the Spirit of* Gal. IV. 6, 7. his Son into our hearts, crying, *Abba, Father*: so that we are no more servants, but sons: and if sons, then heirs of God through Christ. This is the communion which the Saints enjoy with the three persons of the blessed Trinity; this is the heavenly fellowship represented unto entertaining Abraham, when *the Lord appeared unto him, and three men* Gen. XVIII. 1, 2. stood by him: for our Saviour hath made us this most precious promise, *If any man love me, he will keep my words, and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him.* Here is the soul of man made the habitation of God the Father, and of God the Son; and the presence of the Spirit cannot be wanting where those two are inhabiting; for *if any man have not the Spirit of* Rom. VIII. 9. Christ, he is none of his. The Spirit therefore with the Father and the Son inhabiteth in the Saints; for *know ye* 1 Cor. III. 16, not (saith the apostle) *that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?*

Fourthly, The Saints of God in the Church of Christ

¹ Κοινωνία τοῦ Θεοῦ.

² Κοινωνία Πνεύματος.

have communion with the holy angels. They who did foretell the birth of John the forerunner of Christ, they who did annunciate unto the blessed Virgin the conception of the Saviour of the world, they who sung a glorious hymn at the nativity of the Son of God, they who carried the soul of Lazarus into Abraham's bosom, they who appeared unto Christ from heaven in his agony to strengthen him, they who opened the prison doors and brought the apostles forth, they who at the end of the world shall sever the wicked from among the just, and gather together the elect of God, certainly they have a constant and perpetual relation to the children of God. Nay, *are they not all ministering spirits, sent forth to minister for them who shall be heirs of salvation?* They have a particular sense of our condition, for Christ hath assured us that *there is joy in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth.* And upon this relation the angels, who are all the angels, that is, the messengers, of God, are yet called the angels of men, according to the admonition of Christ, *Take heed that ye despise not one of these little ones; for I say unto you, that in heaven their angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven.*

Heb. i. 14.

Luke xv. 10.

Matt. xviii.
10.

Thus far have we considered *the Communion of Saints* with such as are distinguished from them by nature as they are men; the fellowship which they have in heaven with God, and his holy angels, while they are on earth. Our next consideration will be, what is the communion which they have with those who are of the same nature, but not partakers of the same holiness with them.

Fifthly, therefore, The Saints of God, while they are of the Church of Christ on earth, have some kind of communion with those men which are not truly Saints. There were not hypocrites among the Jews alone, but in the Church of Christ many cry, *Lord, Lord*, whom he knoweth not. The tares have the privilege of the field, as well as the wheat; and the bad fish of the net, as well as the good. The Saints have communion with hypocrites in all things with which the distinction of a Saint and hypocrite can consist. They communicate in the same water, both externally baptized alike; they communicate in the same CREED, both make the same open profession of faith, both agree in the acknowledgment of the same principles of religion; they communicate in the same

word, both hear the same doctrine preached; they communicate at the same table, both eat the same bread, and drink the wine, which Christ hath appointed to be received. But the hypocrite doth not communicate with the Saint in the same saving grace, in the same true faith working by love, and in the same renovation of mind and spirit; for then he were not a hypocrite, but a Saint: a Saint doth not communicate with the hypocrite in the same sins, in the same lurking infidelity, in the same unfruitfulness under the means of grace, in the same false pretence and empty form of godliness; for then he were not a Saint, but an hypocrite. Thus the Saints may communicate with the wicked, so they communicate not with their wickedness; and may have fellowship with sinners, so they have no fellowship with that which makes them such, that is, their sins. The apostle's command runneth thus, *Have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness*¹; Eph. v. 11. and again, *Be not partaker of other men's sins*²: and a voice³ 1 Tim. v. 22. from heaven spake concerning Babylon, *Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins*⁴. To communicate with sin, is sin, but to communicate with a sinner in that which is not sin, can be no sin; because the one defileth, and the other cannot, and that which defileth not is no sin.

Having thus considered those who differ from the Saints of God; first, in respect of their humanity, as they are men; secondly, in reference to their sanctity, as they are men of holiness: we are now to consider such as differ either only in person, as the saints alive; or in present condition also, as the Saints departed.

357 Sixthly, therefore, The Saints of God living in the Church of Christ, have communion with all the Saints living in the same Church. *If we walk in the light we have fellowship one with another*⁴; we all have benefit of the same ordinances, all partake of the same promises, we are all endued with the graces of the same (Spirit, all united with the same⁵) mutual

¹ Μὴ συγκοινωνεῖτε τοῖς ἔργοις.

² Μὴ κοινωνεῖτε ἀμαρτίαις.

³ Ἴνα μὴ συγκοινωνήσῃτε ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις. 'Duobus modis non te maculat malus, si non consentias, et si redarguas.—Communicatur, quippe, quando facto ejus consortium voluntatis vel approbationis adjungitur. Hoc ergo

nos admonens Apostolus ait, *Nolite communicare operibus infructuosis tenebrarum—magis autem et redarguite.* S. August. de Verbis Dom. Serm. 18. al. 38. § 19. [Tom. v. p. 334 B.] (p. 479.)

⁴ Κοινωνία μετ' ἀλλήλων.

⁵ [These words are not in the 3rd edition.]

Eph. iv. 3.

Col. ii. 19.

love and affection, keeping *the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace*, all engrafted into the same stock, and so receiving¹ life from the same root, all *holding the same head, from which all the body by joints and bands having nourishment ministered, and knit together, increaseth with the increase of God*. For in the philosophy of the apostle, the nerves are not only the instruments of motion and sensation, but of nutrition also; so that every member receiveth nourishment by their intervention from the head; and being the head of the body is Christ, and all the Saints are members of that body, they all partake of the same nourishment, and so have all communion among themselves.

Heb. xii. 22.

Lastly, The Saints of God living in the Church of Christ, are in communion with all the Saints departed out of this life and admitted to the presence of God². Jerusalem is sometimes taken for the Church on earth, sometimes for that part of the Church which is in heaven, to shew that as both are represented by one, so both are but one city of God. Wherefore thus doth the apostle speak to such as are called to the Christian faith: *Ye are come unto Mount Sion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and an innumerable company of angels, to the general assembly and Church of the first-born, which are written in heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the Mediator of the new covenant*. Indeed the communion of Saints in the Church of Christ with those which are departed is demonstrated by their communion with the Saints alive. For if I have communion with a Saint of God, as such, while he liveth here, I must still have communion with him when he is departed hence; because the foundation of that communion cannot be removed by death. The mystical union between Christ and his Church, the spiritual conjunction of the members to the Head, is the true foundation of that com-

¹ ["For receiving," in the 3rd edition.]

² This is that part of the communion of saints which those of the ancients especially insisted upon, who first took notice of it in the Creed. '*Sanctorum communionem*, i.e. cum illis sanctis, qui in hac quam suscepimus fide defuncti sunt, societate et spei

communione teneamur.' *Serm. 181. de Tempore*, c. 13. [*Sermo de Symbolo*, inter Augustini Opera, Tom. VI. Appendix, p. 762 E.] 'Et qui nunc cognoscitis per auditum, communionem habeatis cum Sanctis martyribus, et per illos cum Domino Jesu Christo.' *Præf. Pass. S. Perpetuæ*.

munion which one member had with another, all the members living and increasing by the same influence which they receive from him. But death, which is nothing else but the separation of the soul from the body, maketh no separation in the mystical union, no breach of the spiritual conjunction; and consequently there must continue the same communion, because there remaineth the same foundation. Indeed, the Saint departed before his death had some communion with the hypocrite, as hearing the word, professing the faith, receiving the sacraments together; which being in things only external, as they were common to them both, and all such external actions ceasing in the person dead, the hypocrite remaining loseth all communion with the Saint departing, and the Saints surviving cease to have their farther fellowship with the hypocrite dying. But being the true and unfeigned holiness of man, wrought by the powerful influence of the Spirit of God, not only remaineth, but also is improved, after death; being the correspondence of the internal holiness was the communion between their persons in their life, they cannot be said to be divided by death, which had no power over that sanctity by which they were first conjoined.

This *communion of the Saints* in heaven and earth, upon the mystical union of Christ their Head, being fundamental and internal, what acts or external operations it produceth, is not so certain. That we communicate with them in hope of that happiness which they actually enjoy, is evident; that we have the Spirit of God given us as an earnest, and so a part
 358 of their felicity, is certain. But what they do in heaven in relation to us on earth particularly considered, or what we ought to perform in reference to them in heaven, beside a reverential respect and study of imitation, is not revealed unto us in the Scriptures, nor can be concluded by necessary deduction from any principles of Christianity. They which first found this part of the Article in the CREED, and delivered their exposition unto us, have made no greater enlargement of this communion, as to the Saints of heaven, than the society of hope, esteem, and imitation on our side, of desires and supplications on their side: and what is now taught by the Church of Rome, is, as unwarrantable, so a novitious interpretation¹.

¹ We have already produced the *porre* concerning hope. In the same words of the 181st Sermon *De Tem-* we find also that of imitation: 'Si

The necessity of the belief of this *communion of Saints* appeareth, first, In that it is proper to excite and encourage us to holiness of life. *If we walk in the light, as God is in the light, we have fellowship one with another. But if we say that we have fellowship with him, and walk in darkness, we lie, and do not the truth. . . . For what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? and what communion hath light with darkness? and what concord hath Christ with Belial?* When Christ sent St Paul to the Gentiles, it was *to open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they might receive forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among them which are sanctified by faith that is in Christ.* Except we be turned from darkness, except we be taken out of the power of Satan, which is the dominion of sin, we cannot receive the inheritance among them who are sanctified, we cannot be thought *meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the Saints in light.* Indeed there can be no communion where there is no similitude, no fellowship with God without some sanctity; because his nature is infinitely holy, and his actions are not subject to the least iniquity.

Secondly, The belief of *the communion of Saints* is neces-

igitur cum sanctis in æterna vita communionem habere volumus, de imitatione eorum cogitemus. Debent enim in nobis aliquid recognoscere de suis virtutibus, ut pro nobis dignentur Domino supplicare.' *Ibid.* c. 13. [p. 762 E.] 'Hæc sunt vestigia, quæ nobis sancti quique revertentes in patriam reliquerunt, ut illorum semitis inherentes sequeremur ad gaudia.' *Ibid.* [p. 762 G.] Beside this imitation, he addeth their desires and care for us below: 'Cur non properamus et currimus, ut patriam nostram videre possimus? Magnus illic carorum numerus expectat, parentum, fratrum, filiorum, frequens nos et copiosa turba desiderat, jam de sua incolumitate secure, adhuc de nostra salute sollicita.' *Ibid.* [p. 762 G.] Of the venerable esteem we ought to have of them, speaks Eusebius Gallicanus: 'Credamus et sanctorum communionem, sed sanctos non tam pro Dei parte, quam pro Dei honore veneremur.' *De Symb.* Hom. ii.

p. 555. And again: 'Digne nobis venerandi sunt, dum Dei cultum et futuræ vitæ desiderium contemptu mortis insinuant.' *Ibid.* Thus far anciently they which expounded this Article: but the late exposition of the Church of Rome runneth thus: 'Non solum Ecclesia, quæ est in terra, communicat bona sua cum omnibus membris sibi conjunctis, sed etiam communicat suffragia Ecclesiæ, quæ est in purgatorio, et Ecclesiæ, quæ est in cælis, communicat orationes, et merita sua cum Ecclesia, quæ est in terra.' *Belarm. in Symb.* [Tom. vii. p. 1227 B.] Where the communication of the suffrages of the Saints alive to the Church in purgatory, and the communication of the merits of the Saints in heaven to the Saints on earth, are novel expositions of this Article, not so much as acknowledged by Thomas Aquinas in his explication of the Creed, much less to be found in any of the ancient expositors of it.

sary to stir us up to a proportionate gratitude unto God, and an humble and cheerful acknowledgment of so great a benefit. We cannot but acknowledge that they are *exceeding great and* ^{2 Pet. i. 4.} *precious promises*, by which we become *partakers of the divine nature*. *What am I* (said David), *and what is my life, that I* ^{1 Sam. xviii. 18.} *should be son-in-law to the king?* Who are the sons of men, what are they which are called to be Saints, that they should have fellowship with God the Father? St Philip the apostle said unto our Saviour, *Lord, shew us the Father, and it suf-* ^{John xiv. 8.} *ficeth*; whereas he hath not only shewn us, but come unto us with the Father, and dwelt within us by his Holy Spirit; he hath called us to the fellowship of the angels and arch-angels, of the cherubins and seraphins, to the glorious company of the apostles, to the goodly fellowship of the prophets, to the noble army of martyrs, to the holy Church militant in earth, and triumphant in heaven.

359 Thirdly, The belief of *the communion of Saints* is necessary to inflame our hearts with an ardent affection towards those which live, and a reverent respect towards those which are departed, and are now with God. Nearness of relation requireth affection; and that man is unnatural who loveth not those persons which nature hath more immediately conjoined to him. Now no conjunction natural can be compared with that which is spiritual; no temporal relation with that which is eternal. If similitude of shape and feature will create a kindness, if congruity of manners and disposition will conjoin affections; what should be the mutual love of those who have the image of the same God renewed within them, of those who are endued with the gracious influences of the same Spirit? And if all the Saints of God living in communion of the Church deserve the best of our affections here on earth, certainly when they are dissolved and with Christ, when they have been blessed with a sight of God, and rewarded with a crown of glory, they may challenge some respect from us, who are here to wait upon the will of God, expecting when such a happy change shall come.

Fourthly, This tendeth to the directing and enlarging our acts of charity. We are obliged to be charitable unto all men, because the love of our brother is the foundation of our duty towards man, and in the language of the Scriptures, whosoever is another is our brother; but we are particularly directed to

them that are of the household of faith. And as there is a general reason calling for our mercy and kindness unto all men ; so there is a more special reason urging those who are truly sanctified by the Spirit of God to do good unto such as appear to be led by the same Spirit ; for if they communicate with them in the everlasting mercies of God, it is fit they should partake of the bowels of man's compassion ; if they communicate with them in things spiritual and eternal, can it be much that they should partake with them of such things as are temporal and carnal¹?

To conclude, Every one may learn from hence what he is to understand by this part of the Article, in which he professeth to believe the *communion of Saints*; for thereby he is conceived to express thus much :

I am fully persuaded of this as of a necessary and infallible truth, that such persons as are truly sanctified in the Church of Christ, while they live among the crooked generations of men, and struggle with all the miseries of this world, have fellowship with God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, as dwelling with them, and taking up their habitations in them : that they partake of the care and kindness of the blessed angels, who take delight in the ministration for their benefit : that beside the external fellowship which they have in the word and sacraments with all the members of the Church, they have an intimate union and conjunction with all the Saints on earth as the living members of Christ : nor is this union separated by the death of any, but as Christ in whom they live is the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world, so have they fellowship with all the Saints which from the death of Abel have ever departed in the true faith and fear of God, and now enjoy the presence of the Father, and follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth. And thus I believe THE COMMUNION OF SAINTS.

¹ Κοινωνήσεις ἐν πᾶσι τῷ πλησίον σου· οὐκ ἐρεῖς ὅτι· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἀφθάρτοις κοινωνῶ ἔστε, πῶς μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς φθαρτοῖς; *Barnabas Epist.* c. 19. [p. 52.]

ARTICLE X.

THE FORGIVENESS OF SINS.

THIS Article hath always been expressly contained and acknowledged in the CREED¹, as being a most necessary part of our Christian profession; and for some ages it immediately followed the belief of *the holy Church*², and was therefore added immediately after it, to shew that the remission of sins was to be obtained in the Church of Christ³. For being the CREED at first was made to be used as a confession of such as were to be baptized, declaring their faith in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, in whose⁴ name baptism was administered; they propounded unto them the Holy Church, into

¹ Therefore Carolus Magnus in his *Capitular*, l. iii. c. 6. inveighs against Basilius the bishop of Ancyra, because in his Confession of Faith which he delivered in the second Council of Nice, (*Act. i.*) he omitted *the remission of sins*, which the apostles in so short a compendium as the Creed would not omit: 'Hanc Apostoli in collatione fidei, quam ab invicem discessuri quasi quandam credulitatis et prædicationis normam statuerunt, post confessionem Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti posuisse perhibentur; et in tanti verbi brevitate, de quo per prophetam dictum est, *Verbum abbreviatum faciet Dominus super terram*, hanc ponere minime distulerunt, quia sine hac fidei sinceritatem integram esse minime perspexerunt. Nec cohibuit eos ab ejus professione illius Symboli brevitatis, quam exposcebat sacre fidei integritas, tantique doni veneranda sublimitas.'

² 'Concordant autem nobiscum angeli etiam tunc, cum remittuntur nostra peccata. Ideo post commemorationem sanctæ ecclesiæ in ordine confessionis ponitur remissio peccatorum. Per hanc enim stat ecclesiæ quæ in terris est, per hanc non perit, quod perierat et inventum est.' *S. August. Enchir.* c. 64. [§ 17. Tom. vi. p. 161 c.] (p. 220.) And for this purpose it is in his book *De Agone Christiano*, passing from one article to another with this general transition: after that of the Church, he proceedeth with these words: 'Neo

eos audiamus, qui negant ecclesiam Dei omnia peccata posse dimittere.' c. 31. [§ 33. Tom. vi. p. 190 D.] (p. 260.) So it followeth also in Venantius Fortunatus, (*Expos. Symb.* p. 382 F.) and in such other Creeds as want that part of the former Article of *the Communion of Saints*.

³ Orig. *Hom. ii. in Genesis*. 'Sanctam ecclesiam teneat—in qua et remissio peccatorum et carnis resurrectio prædicabatur.' *Ruffin. in Symb.* § 38. 'Sed neque de ipsis criminibus quamlibet magnis remittendis in sancta ecclesia Dei misericordia desperanda est.' *S. August. Enchir.* c. 65. [§ 17. Tom. vi. p. 161 F.] (p. 220.) '*In remissionem peccatorum*. Hæc in ecclesia si non esset, nulla spes esset. Remissio peccatorum si in ecclesia non esset, nulla futuræ vitæ et liberationis æternæ spes esset. Gratias agimus Deo, qui ecclesiæ suæ dedit hoc donum.' *Auctor. Homil.* 119. *de Tempore*, § 8. [Augustin. Tom. v. p. 656 A.] (p. 942. Ep. 213.) 'Quia singuli quique cætus hæreticorum se potissimum Christianos, et suam esse catholicam ecclesiam putant; sciendum est, illam esse veram, in qua est confessio, et poenitentia, quæ peccata et vulnera quibus subjecta est imbecillitas carnis, salubriter curat.' *Lactant. de ver. Sap.* l. iv. c. 30. [Tom. i. p. 450.]

⁴ [In the 3rd edition, several words are here omitted.]

which by baptism they were to be admitted, and *the forgiveness of sins*, which by the same baptism was to be obtained; and therefore in some Creeds it was particularly expressed, *I believe one baptism for the forgiveness of sins*¹.

Looking thus upon this Article, with this relation, we find the sense of it must be this, that we believe *forgiveness of sins* is to be obtained in the Church of Christ. For the explication whereof it will be necessary, first, to declare what is the nature of remission of sins, in what that action doth consist; secondly, to shew how so great a privilege is propounded in the Church, and how it may be procured by the members of the Church. That we may understand the notion of *forgiveness of sins*, three considerations are required; first, What is the nature of sin which is to be forgiven; secondly, What is the guilt or obligation of sin which wanteth forgiveness; thirdly, What is the remission itself, or the loosing of that obligation.

As the power of sin is revealed only in the Scriptures, so the nature of it is best understood from thence. And though the writings of the apostles give us few definitions, yet we
 1 John iii. 4. may find even in them a proper definition of sin. *Whosoever committeth sin, transgresseth also the law*, saith St John; and then rendereth this reason of that universal assertion, *for sin is the transgression of the law*. Which is an argument drawn from the definition of sin; for he saith not, 'every sin is the transgression of the law,' which had been necessary, if he had spoken by way of proposition only, to have proved the universality of his assertion, but produceth it indefinitely, *sin is the transgression of the law*, which is sufficient, speak- 361
 ing it by way of definition². And it is elsewhere most evident that every sin is something prohibited by some law, and de-

¹ These are the words of the Constantinopolitan Creed: 'Ὁμολογῶ ἐν βάπτισμα ἐς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν. Before which Epiphanius in his lesser Creed: 'Ὁμολογοῦμεν ἐν βάπτισμα ἐς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν' § 120. [Tom. II. p. 123 A.] in the larger: Πιστεύομεν ἐς μίαν καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ ἐς ἐν βάπτισμα μετανοίας. In *Ancorato*, § 121. [p. 124 c.] St Cyril both these together: *Εἰς ἐν βάπτισμα μετανοίας ἐς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν. Catech. xviii.* 'Credo unum baptismum in remissio-

nem omnium peccatorum.' *Petrinus Laureac. Episc.* 'Credimus unum baptismum in remissionem omnium peccatorum in secula seculorum.' *Symbolum Æthiopicum.*

² The manner of the apostle's speech is also to be observed, having an article prefixed both to the subject and the predicate; as if thereby he would make the proposition convertible, as all definitions ought to be. 'Ἡ ἁμαρτία ἐστὶν ἡ ἀνομία.

viating from the same. For the apostle affirming, that *the law worketh wrath*, that is, a punishment from God, giveth this as a reason or proof of his affirmation; *for where no law is, there is no transgression*. The Law of God is the rule of the actions of men, and any aberration from that rule is sin¹: the Law of God is pure, and whatsoever is contrary to that Law is impure. Whatsoever therefore is done by man, or is in man, having any contrariety or opposition to the Law of God, is sin. Every action, every word, every thought, against the Law, is a sin of commission, as it is terminated to an object dissonant from, and contrary unto, the prohibition of the Law, as a negative precept. Every omission of a duty required of us is a sin, as being contrary to the commanding part of the Law, or an affirmative precept. Every evil habit contracted in the soul of man by the actions committed against the Law of God, is a sin constituting a man truly a sinner, even then when he actually sinneth not. Any corruption and inclination in the soul, to do that which God forbiddeth, and to omit that which God commandeth, howsoever such corruption and evil inclination came into that soul, whether by an act of his own will, or by an act of the will of another, is a sin, as being something dissonant and repugnant to the Law of God. And this I conceive sufficient to declare the nature of sin.

The second particular to be considered is the obligation of sin, which must be presupposed to the solution or remission of it. Now every sin doth cause a guilt, and every sinner, by being so, becomes a guilty person; which guilt consisteth in a debt or obligation to suffer a punishment proportionable to the iniquity of the sin. It is the nature of laws in general to be attended with these two, punishments and rewards; the one propounded for the observation of them, the other threatened

¹ 'Quid est peccatum nisi prævaricatio legis divinæ, et celestium inobedientia præceptorum?' *S. Ambros. de Paradiso*, c. 8. 'Peccatum est factum vel dictum vel concupitum aliquid contra æternam legem.' *S. August. contra Faustum*, l. xxii. c. 27. [Tom. VIII. p. 269 A.] (p. 378.). 'Quid verum est, nisi et Dominum dare præcepta, et animas liberæ esse voluntatis, et malum natu-

ram non esse, sed esse aversionem a Dei præceptis?' *Idem, de Fide contra Manich.* c. 10*. 'Neque negandum est hoc Deum jubere, ita nos in facienda justitia esse debere perfectos, ut nullum habeamus omnino peccatum. Nam nec peccatum erit, si quid erit, si non divinitus jubetur ut non sit.' *Idem, de Pec. Meritis, et Rem.* lib. ii. c. 16. [§ 23. Tom. X. p. 35 E.] (p. 52.)

* [This treatise is not genuine. Augustin, Op. Tom. VIII. Appendix, p. 26, c.]

upon the deviation from them. And although there were no threats or penal denunciations accompanying the laws of God, yet the transgression of them would nevertheless make the person transgressing worthy of, and liable unto, whatsoever punishment can in justice be inflicted for that sin committed. Sins of commission pass away in the acting or performing of them; so that he which acteth against a negative precept, after the act is passed, cannot properly be said to sin. Sins of omission, when the time is passed in which the affirmative precept did oblige unto performance, pass away, so that he which did then omit his duty when it was required, and in omitting sinned, after that time cannot be truly said to sin. But though the sin itself do pass away together with the time in which it was committed, yet the guilt thereof doth never pass which by committing was contracted. He which but once committeth adultery, at that one time sinneth, and at no time after can be said to commit that sin; but the guilt of that sin remaineth on him still, and he may be for ever said to be guilty of adultery, because he is for ever subject to the wrath of God, and obliged to suffer the punishment due unto adultery¹.

This debt or obligation to punishment is not only necessa- 361

¹ This obligation unto punishment, remaining after the act of sin, is that *peccati reatus* of which the schools, and before them the fathers, spake. The nature of this *reatus* is excellently declared by St Augustin, delivering the distinction between actual and original sin: 'In eis qui regenerantur in Christo, cum remissionem accipiunt prorsus omnium peccatorum, utique necesse est, ut reatus etiam hujus licet adhuc manentis concupiscentiæ remittatur, ut in peccatum sicut dixi, non imputetur. Nam sicut eorum peccatorum, quæ manere non possunt, quoniam cum fiunt prætereunt, reatus tamen manet, et nisi remittatur, in æternum manebit; sic illius (concupiscentiæ), quando remittitur, reatus aufertur. Hoc est enim non habere peccatum, reum non esse peccati. Nam si quisquam, verbi gratia, fecerit adulterium, etiamsi nunquam deinceps faciat, reus est adulterii, donec reatus ipsius indulgentia remittatur. Habet ergo peccatum; quamvis illud quod admisit jam

non sit, quia cum tempore quo factum est præterit. Nam si a peccando desistere, hoc esset non habere peccata, sufficeret ut hoc nos moneret Scriptura; *Fili, peccasti! non adjicias iterum: Non autem sufficit, sed addidit, et de pristinis deprecare, ut tibi remittantur. Manent ergo, nisi remittantur. Sed quomodo manent, si præterita sunt, nisi quia præterierunt actu, manent reatu* S. August. de Nupt. et Concup. l. i. c. 26. [§ 29. Tom. X. p. 197 c.] (p. 295.) 'Ego de concupiscentia dixi, quæ est in membris repugnans legi mentis, quamvis reatus ejus in omnium peccatorum remissione transierit; sicut e contrario sacrificium idolis factum, si deinceps non fiat, præterit actu, sed manet reatu, nisi per indulgentiam remittatur. Quiddam enim tale est sacrificare idolis, ut opus ipsum cum fit prætereat, eodemque præterito reatus ejus maneat venia resolvendus.' *Idem, cont. Julian.* l. vi. c. 19. § 60. [Tom. X. p. 459 F.] (p. 696.)

rily resulting from the nature of sin, as it is a breach of the Law, nor only generally delivered in the Scriptures revealing the wrath of God unto all unrighteousness, but is yet more particularly represented in the word, which teacheth us, if we do ill, how *sin lieth at the door*. Our blessed Saviour thus Gen. iv. 7. taught his disciples, *Whosoever is angry with his brother* Matt. v. 22. *without a cause shall be liable* (obnoxious or bound over) *to the judgment; and whosoever shall say to his brother, Raca, shall be liable* (obnoxious or bound over) *to the council; but whosoever shall say, Thou fool, shall be liable* (obnoxious, or bound over) *to hell-fire*¹. So saith our Saviour again, *All sins shall be forgiven unto the sons of men, and blasphemies wherewith soever they shall blaspheme. But* Mark iii. 28, 29.

¹ *Ένοχος* *εσται* is the word used here, which is translated, *shall be in danger*, but is of a fuller and more pressing sense, as one which is a debtor, subject, and obliged to endure it. *Hesych.* *Ένοχος, χρεώστης, υπεύθυνος, αποκείμενος.* *Suid.* *Ένοχος, υπάιτιος.* Where, by the way, is to be observed a great mistake in the Lexicon of Phavorinus, whose words are these: *Ένοχος, υπεύθυνος, χρεώστης. Ένοφος, υπάιτιος, Τίμαιος.* The first taken out of Hesychius, the last out of Suidas, corruptly and absurdly; corruptly, *ενοφος* for *ενοχος*; absurdly, *Τίμαιος* is added either as an interpretation of *ενοχος*, or as an author which used it; whereas *Τίμαιος* in Suidas is only the first word of the sentence, provided by Suidas for the use of *ενοχος* in the signification of *υπάιτιος*. Agreeable unto Hesychius is that in the Lexicon of St Cyril, *ενοχος, obnoxius, reus, obligatus.* And so in this place of St Matthew, the old translation, *reus erit judicio.* As in Virgil, *Æn. v. 237.* *‘Constituam ante aras voti reus.’* Servius: *‘voti reus, debitor.* Unde vota solventes dicimus absolutos. Inde est, *(Ecl. v. 80.) Damna bis tu quoque votis, quasi reos facies.*’ So the Syriac, *ܠܝܬܝ ܕܝ ܡܚܝܬ ܚܝܒ ܐܠܝܓܬܝܡ, debitorem, reum esse.* For indeed the word *ενοχος* among the Greeks, as to this matter, hath a double signification; one in respect of the sin, another

in respect of the punishment due unto sin. In respect of a sin, as that in Antiphon, π. τοῦ Ἡρώδ. φων. p. 139, 36. ed. Steph. *μη ὅττα φονέα, μηδὲ ενοχον τῷ ἔργῳ*: and that in Aristotle, *Æcon. II. c. 21. § 1. de Dionys. Syrac. ενοχον ἐφησεν ἱεροσυλλας ἔσεσθαι*: and that in Suidas taken out of Polybius: [*De Virtut. et Vitiis, Lib. xii. Tom. II. p. 1398.*] *Τίμαιος κατὰ τοῦ Ἐφόρου πεποίηται καταδρομήν, αὐτὸς ὢν ἐπὶ δυσὶν ἁμαρτήμασιν ενοχος τῷ μὲν, ὅτι πικρῶς κατηγορεῖ τῶν πέλας ἐπὶ ταῖς, οἷς αὐτὸς ενοχὸς ἐστὶ.* In respect of the punishment of a sin, he is *ενοχος ἀρῆς*, who is *obnoxious to the curse*, and *ενοχος ἐπιτιμίου, obnoxious to the punishment.* *Ἐμπολιμιος, ἐμπολιμιος, τούτῃ ἐστω, ενοχος ποιῇ, ὡς ἐφ’ οἷς ἡμαρτε δοὺς τιμωρίαν,* saith Suidas. Thus *ενοχος θανάτου ἐστί, Matt. xxvi. 66.* *מָוֶה בְּיָדֵי רַב־חַיִּים* is not in the intention of the Jews, *he is in danger of death*, but *he deserveth death*, and he ought to die; he is *κατάδικος*, by their sentence, as far as in them lay, condemned to die. St Chrysostom: *Τί οὖν ἐκεῖνος; ενοχος ἐστὶ θανάτου. Ὡς ὡς κατάδικον λαβόντες, οὕτω τὸν Πιλάτον λοιπὸν ἀποφῆναισθαι παρασκευάσωσιν ὃ δὴ κέκλειον συνειδότες φασί, Ένοχος θανάτου ἐστίν. αὐτοὶ κατηγοροῦντες, αὐτοὶ καταδικάζοντες, αὐτοὶ ψηφίζοντες, πάντα αὐτοὶ γνώμενοι τότε.* [*Hom. 84. § 3. Tom. VII. p. 801 A.*]

he that shall blaspheme against the Holy Ghost, hath never forgiveness, but is liable (obnoxious, or bound over) to eternal damnation. Whence appeareth clearly the guilt of sin and obligation to eternal punishment, if there be no remission or forgiveness of it; and the taking off that liableness, obnoxiousness, or obligation unto death, if there be any such remission or forgiveness; all which is evident by the opposition, much to be observed in our Saviour's expression, *he hath never forgiveness, but is liable to eternal death.*

God, who hath the sovereign power and absolute dominion over all men, hath made a Law to be a perpetual and universal rule of human actions; which Law whosoever doth violate, or transgress, and thereby sin (for by sin we understand nothing else but the transgression of the Law), is thereby obliged in all equity to suffer the punishment due to that obliquity. And after the act of sin is committed and passed over, this guilt resulting from that act remaineth; that is, the person who committed it continueth still a debtor to the vindictive justice of God, and is obliged to endure the punishment due unto it; which was the second particular to be considered.

The third consideration now followeth. What is *the forgiveness of sin*, or in what *remission* doth consist; which at first appeareth to be an act of God toward a sinner, because the sin was committed against the law of God; and therefore the punishment must be due from him, because the injury was done unto him. But what is the true notion and nature of this act, or how God doth forgive a sinner, is not so¹ easy to^{3d} determine; nor can it be concluded out of the words themselves which do express it, the niceties of whose originations will never be able to yield a just interpretation².

[¹ not easy, in the 3rd edition.]

² The word used in the Creed is *ἀφεσις ἀμαρτιῶν*, and that generally likewise in use in the New Testament. But from thence we cannot be assured of the nature of this act of God, because *ἀφίεναι* and *ἀφεσις* are capable of several interpretations. For sometimes *ἀφίεναι* is *emittere*, and *ἀφεσις* *emissio*. As Gen. xxxv. 18. Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ ἀφίεναι αὐτὴν ψυχὴν, not *cum demitteret eam animam*, as it is translated, but *cum emitteret ea animam*, i.e.

efflare; as ἀθήκε τὸ πνεῦμα, *emisi spiritum*, Matt. xxvii. 50. So Gen. xlv. 2. Καὶ ἀθήκε φωνὴν μετὰ κλαυθμοῦ, not *dimitit*, but *emisi vocem cum fletu*; as, ἀφελς φωνῆς μεγάλῃς, *emissus vocis magna*, Mark xv. 37. In the like manner ἀφέσεις θαλάσσης are *emissiones maris*, 2 Sam. xxii. 16. as, ἀφέντες ὑδάτων, Joel i. 20. to which sense may be referred that of Hesychius: Ἀφένειν, ὑσπληγναι. And this interpretation of *ἀφεσις* can have no relation to the remission of sins. Secondly, *ἀφίεναι* is

and as proper to the remission of sins; therefore I conceive the true¹ nature of *forgiveness of sins*, is rather to be understood by the consideration of all such ways and means which were used by God in the working and performing of it, than in this, or any other, word which is made use of in expressing it.

Now that we may understand what was done toward the remission of sins, that from thence we may conclude what is done in it; it is first to be observed, that *almost all things by the Law were purged with blood, and without shedding of blood there is no remission*². And what was then legally done, was but a type of that which was to be performed by Christ, and therefore the blood of Christ must necessarily be involved in the remission of sins; for he *once in the end of the world hath appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself*³. It must then be acknowledged, and can be denied by none, that Christ did suffer a painful and a shameful death, as we have formerly described it; that the death which he endured he did then suffer for sin; for *this man* (saith the apostle) *offered one sacrifice for sins*; that the sins for which³⁶ he suffered were not his own, for *Christ hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust*; he was *holy, harmless, undefiled, and separate from sinners*, and therefore had no sin to suffer for; that the sins for which he suffered were ours for he *was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities*; he *was delivered for our offences, he gave himself for our sins, he died for our sins according to the scriptures*; that the dying for our sins was suffering death as a punishment taken upon himself, to free us from the punishment due unto our sins; for God *laid on him the iniquity of us all, and made him to be sin for us, who knew no*

Heb. ix. 22.
Heb. ix. 26.
Heb. x. 12.
1 Pet. iii. 18.
Heb. vii. 26.
Isai. liii. 5.
Rom. iv. 25.
Gal. i. 4.
1 Cor. xv. 3.
Isai. liii. 6.
2 Cor. v. 21.

remissa peccatorum. So Tertullian: 'Diximus de remissa peccatorum.' *Adv. Marc.* l. iv. c. 18. [p. 531 A.] St Cyprian: 'Qui blasphemaverit in Spiritum Sanctum non habebit remissam, sed reus est æterni peccati.' l. iii. ep. 14. § 1. al. ep. 10. [16. p. 36.] 'Domini baptizatur a servo, et remissam peccatorum daturus, ipse non dedignatur lavacro regenerationis corpus abluere.' *Idem, de bon. Patient.* § 3. [p. 212.] Of an infant: 'Qui ad remissam peccatorum accipiendam hoc ipso faci-

lius accedit, quod illi remittuntur non propria sed aliena peccata.' *Idem*, l. iii. ep. 8. § 4. al. ep. 59. [64. p. 161.] Add the interpreter of Irenæus concerning Christ: 'Remissam peccatorum existentem his qui credunt in eum.' *Adv. Hæres.* l. iv. c. 45. [p. 347. col. 1. 2.]

[¹ the nature, in the 3rd edition.]

² *Χρὼς ἀμάρτυρας οὐ γίνεσθαι ἀφεσις.*

³ It is not only *ἀφεσις*, but *ἀθέτης ἀμαρτίας*.

sin: . . . he hath borne our griefs and carried our sorrows: the Ism. lli. 4, 5.
chastisement of our peace was upon him, and with his stripes
are we healed; that by the suffering of this punishment to
free us from the punishment due unto our sins, it cometh to
pass that our sins are forgiven, for, This is my blood (saith Matt. xxvi. 28.
our Saviour) of the New Testament (or covenant), which is
shed for many for the remission of sins. In Christ we have Eph. i. 7.
redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins, accord-
ing to the riches of his grace.

In which deduction or series of truths, we may easily perceive that *the forgiveness of sins* which is promised unto us, which we upon that promise do believe, containeth in it a reconciliation of an offended God, and a satisfaction unto a just God: it containeth a reconciliation, as without which God cannot be conceived to remit; it comprehendeth a satisfaction, as without which God was resolved not to be reconciled.

For the first of these, we may be assured of *forgiveness of sins*, because Christ by his death hath reconciled God unto us, who was offended by our sins; and that he hath done so, we are assured, because he, which before was angry with us, upon the consideration of Christ's death, becomes propitious unto us, and did ordain Christ's death to be a propitiation for us. For we are *justified freely by his grace through the redemption* Rom. iii. 24, 25.
that is in Jesus Christ; whom God hath set forth to be a
propitiation, through faith in his blood. We have an advo- 1 John ii. 1, 2.
cate with the Father, and he is the propitiation for our sins.
For God loved us, and sent his Son to be a propitiation for 1 John iv. 10.
our sins. It is evident therefore that Christ did render God
propitious unto us by his blood (that is, his sufferings unto
death), who before was offended with us for our sins. And
this propitiation amounted to a reconciliation, that is, a kind-
ness after wrath. We must conceive that God was angry with
mankind before he determined to give our Saviour; we can-
not imagine that God, who is essentially just, should not abomi-
nate iniquity. The first affection we can conceive in him upon
the lapse of man, is wrath and indignation. God therefore
was most certainly offended before he gave a Redeemer; and
though it be most true, that he so loved the world that he John iii. 16.
gave his only-begotten Son: yet there is no incongruity in
this, that a father should be offended with that son which he

loveth, and at that time offended with him when he loveth him. Notwithstanding therefore that God loved men whom he created, yet he was offended with them when they sinned, and gave his Son to suffer for them, that through that Son's obedience he might be reconciled to them.

This reconciliation is clearly delivered in the Scriptures as wrought by Christ; for *all things are of God, who hath reconciled us to himself by Jesus Christ*: and that by virtue of his death; for *when we were enemies, we were reconciled unto God by the death of his Son, making peace through the blood of his cross, and by him reconciling all things unto himself*. In vain it is objected that the Scripture saith our Saviour reconciled men to God, but no where teacheth that he reconciled God to man; for in the language of the Scripture, to reconcile a man to God, is in our vulgar language to reconcile God to man, that is, to cause him who before was angry and offended with him to be gracious and propitious to him. As the princes of the Philistines spake of David, *Wherewith should he reconcile himself unto his master? should it not be with the heads of these men*¹? Wherewith shall he reconcile Saul who is so highly offended with him, wherewith shall he render him gracious and favourable, but by betraying these men unto him? As our Saviour adviseth, *If thou bring thy gift before the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way, first be reconciled to thy brother*², that is, reconcile thy brother to thyself, whom thou hast injured, render him by thy submission favourable unto thee, who hath something against thee, and is offended with thee. As the apostle adviseth the wife that *departeth from her husband, to remain unmarried, or to be reconciled to her husband*, that is, to appease and get the favour of her husband. In the like manner we are said to be reconciled unto God, when God is reconciled, appeased, and become gracious and favourable unto us; and Christ is said to reconcile us unto God, when he hath moved, and obtained of God to be reconciled unto us, when he hath appeased him and restored us unto his favour. Thus *when we were enemies we were reconciled to*

2 Cor. v. 18.

Rom. v. 10.

Col. i. 20.

1 Sam. xxix.
4.Matt. v. 23,
24.

1 Cor. vii. 11.

¹ Ἐν τίνι διαλλαγήσεται οὗτος τῷ κυρίῳ αὐτοῦ; οὐχὶ ἐν ταῖς κεφαλαῖς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων; ἡγοῦ accipitum se red-

det, iis se geret, ut Saul eum in gratiam recipere velit.

² Πρῶτον διαλλάγηθι τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου.

God, that is, notwithstanding he was offended with us for our sins, we were restored unto his favour *by the death of his Son*.

Rom. v. 10.

Whence appeareth the weakness of the Socinian exception, that in the Scriptures we are said to be reconciled unto God¹; but God is never said to be reconciled unto us. For by that very expression it is understood, that he which is reconciled in the language of the Scriptures, is restored unto the favour of him who was formerly offended with that person which is now said to be reconciled. As when David was to be reconciled unto Saul, it was not that David should lay down his enmity against Saul, but that Saul should become propitious and favourable unto David: and therefore where the language is, that David should be reconciled unto Saul, the sense is, that Saul, who was exasperated and angry, should be appeased and so reconciled unto David.

Nor is it any wonder God should be thus reconciled to sinners by the death of Christ, who, *while we were yet sinners* Rom. v. 8. *died for us*, because the punishment which Christ, who was our surety, endured, was a full satisfaction to the will and justice of God. *The Son of man came not to be ministered* Matt. xx. 28. *unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many*².

¹ 'Ad hæc vero quod nos Deo reconciliari, quid affert? Primum, nusquam Scripturam asserere, Deum nobis a Christo reconciliatum, verum id tantum quod nos per Christum aut mortem ejus simus reconciliati, vel Deo reconciliati; ut ex omnibus locis, quæ de reconciliationibus agunt, videre est.' *Catech. Rac.* c. 8. To this may be added the observation of Socinus: 'Ita communis loquendi consuetudo fert: ut scilicet est reconciliatus fuisse dicatur, per quem stabat, ne amicitia aut denuo existeret, aut conservaretur.' *De Christo Servatore*, p. 1. c. 8. [Tom. II. p. 139, col. 2.] Which observation is most false, as appeareth in the case of Saul and David, and in the person mentioned in the Gospel, who is commanded to be reconciled unto him whom he had offended, and who had something against him.

² Δοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν. What is the true notion of

λύτρον will easily appear, because both the origination and use of the word are sufficiently known. The origination is from λύειν *solvere*, to loose, λύτρον quasi λυτήριον. *Etymol.* Θρέπτρα τὰ θρεπτήρια, ὡς περ λύτρα τὰ λυτήρια. *Eustath.* Δέγει δὲ Θρέπτρα (ita leg.) τὰ τροφήα ἐκ τοῦ θρεπτήρια κατὰ συγκοπήν ὡς λυτήρια λύτρα, σωτήρια σώστρα. *Πλάτ.* Δ. 478. Λύτρον igitur quicquid datur ut quis solvatur. 'Ἐπὶ ἀχμαλώτων ἐξωτέσεως οἰκείων τὸ λύεσθαι' δθεν καὶ λύτρα τὰ δῶρα λέγονται τὰ εἰς τοῦτο διδόμενα. *Eustathius* upon that of *Hom.* II. A. 13. Αὐσόμενός τε θύγατρα. It is properly spoken of such things as are given to redeem a captive, or recover a man into a free condition. *Hezych.* Πάντα τὰ διδόμενα εἰς ἀνάκτησιν ἀνθρώπων (so I read it, not ἀνέκλησιν). So that whatsoever is given for such a purpose, is λύτρον, and whatsoever is not given for such an end, deserveth not that name in Greek. As the city

Now a ransom is a price given to redeem such as are any way in captivity; any thing laid down by way of compensation to take off a bond or obligation, whereby he which before was bound becometh free. All sinners were obliged to undergo such punishments as are proportionate to their sins, and were by that obligation captivated and in bonds, and Christ did give his life a ransom for them, and that a proper ransom, if that his life were of any price, and given as such. For a ransom is properly nothing else but something of price given by way of redemption¹, to buy or purchase that which is detained, or given for the releasing of that which is enthralled. But it is most evident that the life of Christ was laid down as a price: neither is it more certain that he died, than that he bought us: *Ye are bought with a price*, saith the apostle, and it is the *Lord who bought us*, and the price which he paid was his blood; for *we are not redeemed with corruptible things, as silver and gold, but with the precious blood of Christ*². Now as it was the blood of

¹ Cor. vi. 20;
vii. 23.

² Pet. ii. 1.

¹ Pet. i. 18,
19.

Antandrus was so called, because it was given in exchange for a man who was a captive. "Ὅτι Ἀσκάνιος αἰχμάλωτος ἐγένετο ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν πόλιν δέδωκε λύτρα, καὶ ἀπελύθη. *Bym.* So that there can be nothing more proper in the Greek language than the words of our Saviour, Δοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ λύτρον ἀπὸ πολλῶν. Δοῦναι λύτρον, for λύτρον is τὸ δίδόμενον, and ἀπὸ πολλῶν, for it is given ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων, as that city was called, Ἀπτανδρος ἥγουσιν ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς δεδομένη. And therefore, 1 Tim. ii. 6, it is said, Ὁ θεὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀντιλυτρον ὑπὲρ πάντων.

¹ Hesychius: Λύτρον. τιμήμα.

² This is sufficiently expressed by two words, each of them fully significative of a price: the first simple, which is ἀγοράζειν, the second in composition, which is ἐξαγοράζειν. That the word ἀγοράζειν in the New Testament signifieth properly to buy, appeareth generally in the evangelists, and particularly in that place of the Revelations xiii. 17, ἵνα μὴ τις δύνῃται ἀγοράσαι ἢ πωλῆσαι. In the same signification it is attributed undoubtedly unto Christ in respect of us,

whom he is often said to have bought, as 2 Pet. ii. 1. τὸν ἀγοράσαντα αὐτοὺς δεσπότην ἀρνούμενοι· and this buying is expressed to be by a price, 1 Cor. vi. 19, 20. οὐκ ἐστὶ ἐαυτῶν, ἠγοράσθητε γὰρ τιμῆς, Vulg. non estis vestri, empti enim estis pretio magno: and 1 Cor. vii. 23. τιμῆς ἠγοράσθητε, μὴ γίνεσθε δοῦλοι ἀνθρώπων. What this price was is also evident, for the τιμή was the τίμημα αἷμα the precious blood of Christ, or the blood given by way of price, Rev. v. 9. ὅτι ἐσφάγης, καὶ ἠγόρασας τῷ θεῷ ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ αἵματι σου. Which will appear more fully by the compound word ἐξαγοράζω, Gal. iii. 13. Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξηγόρασεν ἐκ τῆς καταράς τοῦ νόμου, γὰρ μένος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καταρά· and Gal. iv. 4, 5. γενόμενος ὑπὸ νόμον, ἵνα τοὺς ὑπὸ νόμον ἐξαγοράσῃ. Now this ἐξαγοράσας is proper redemption, or λύτρωσις, upon a proper price, though not silver or gold, yet as proper as silver and gold, and far beyond them both: Οὐ φθαρτοῖς, ἀργυρίῳ ἢ χρυσίῳ, ἐλυτρώθητε ἐκ τῆς ματαίας ὑμῶν ἀνατροφῆς πατροπαραδότου, ἀλλὰ τιμῇ αἵματι ὡς ἀμοιβῇ ἀμώμου καὶ ἀσπίδου, Χριστοῦ. 1 Pet. i. 18, 19.

Christ, so was it a price given by way of compensation : and as that blood was precious, so was it a full and perfect satisfaction. For as the gravity of the offence and iniquity of the sin is augmented, and increaseth, according to the dignity¹ of the person offended and injured by it ; so the value, price, and dignity of that which is given by way of compensation, is raised according to the dignity of the person making the satisfaction. God is of infinite majesty, against whom we have sinned ; and Christ is of the same Divinity, who gave his life a ransom for sinners : for God *hath purchased* his Church Acts xx. 28. *with his own blood*. Although therefore God be said to remit our sins by which we were captivated, yet he is never said to remit the price, without which we had never been redeemed² : neither can he be said to have remitted it, because he did require it and receive it.

If then we consider together, on our side the nature and obligation of sin, in Christ the satisfaction made and reconciliation wrought, we shall easily perceive how God forgiveth sins, and in what remission of them consisteth. Man being in all conditions under some law of God, who hath sovereign power and dominion over him, and therefore owing absolute obedience to that law, whensoever any way he transgresseth that law, or deviateth from that rule, he becomes thereby a sinner, and contracteth a guilt which is an obligation to endure a punishment proportionable to his offence ; and God who is the Lawgiver and Sovereign, becoming now the party wronged and offended, hath a most just right to punish man as an offender. But Christ taking upon him the nature of man, and offering himself a sacrifice for sin, giveth that unto God for and instead of the eternal death of man, which is more valuable and acceptable to God than that death could be, and so maketh a sufficient compensation and full satisfaction for the sins of man : which God accepting, becometh

[¹ In the 3rd edition, some words are here transposed.]

² As λύτρον is a certain price given or promised for liberty, so ἀφιέναι λύτρον is to remit the price set upon the head of any man, or promised for him ; as we read in the Testament of Lycon the philosopher : Δημητρίῳ μὲν ἐλευθέρῳ πάλαι ὄντι ἀφίημι τὰ λύτρα. De-

metrius had been his servant, and he had set him free upon a certain price which he had engaged himself to pay for that liberty ; the sum which Demetrius was thus bound to pay, Lycon at his death remits, as also to Criton : Κρίτωνι δὲ Καρχηδονίῳ, καὶ τοῦτῳ τὰ λύτρα ἀφίημι. *Diog. Laert. in Vit.* [Lib. v. § 72, p. 305.]

reconciled unto us, and, for the punishment which Christ endured, taketh off our obligation to eternal punishment.

Thus man who violated, by sinning, the law of God, and by that violation offended God, and was thereby obliged to undergo the punishment due unto the sin, and to be inflicted by the wrath of God, is, by the price of the most precious ³⁶ blood of Christ, given and accepted in full compensation and satisfaction for the punishment which was due, restored unto the favour of God, who being thus satisfied, and upon such satisfaction reconciled, is faithful and just to take off all obligation unto punishment from the sinner; and in this act of God consisteth *the forgiveness of sins*, which is sufficient for the first part of the explication of this Article, as being designed for nothing else but to declare what is the true notion of *remission of sins*, in what that action doth consist.

The second part of the explication, taking notice not only of the substance, but also of the order of the Article, observing the immediate connexion of it with the *holy Church*, and the relation which in the opinion of the ancients it hath unto it, will endeavour to instruct us how this great privilege of *forgiveness of sins* is propounded in the Church, how it may be procured and obtained by the members of the Church.

At the same time when our Saviour sent the apostles to
 Luke xxiv. 47. gather a Church unto him, he foretold that *repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem*; and when the Church was first constituted, they thus exhorted those whom they desired
 Acts iii. 19. to come into it, *Repent, and be converted, that your sins may*
 Acts xiii. 38. *be blotted out*; and, *Be it known unto you that through this man is preached unto you forgiveness of sins*. From whence it appeareth, that the Jews and Gentiles were invited to the Church of Christ, that they might therein receive remission of sins; that the doctrine of remission of all sins propounded and preached to all men, was proper and peculiar to the gospel,
 Acts xiii. 39. which teacheth us that by Christ *all that believe are justified from all things, from which they could not be justified by the*
 Luke i. 76, 77. *law of Moses*. Therefore John the Baptist, who went before the face of the Lord to prepare his ways, gave knowledge of salvation unto his people by the remission of their sins.

This, as it was preached by the apostles at the first

gathering of the Church of Christ, I call proper and peculiar to the Gospel, because the same doctrine was not so propounded by the Law. For if we consider the Law itself strictly and under the bare notion of a law, it promised life only upon perfect, absolute, and uninterrupted obedience; the voice thereof was only this, 'Do this and live.' Some of the greater sins nominated and specified in the Law, had annexed unto them the sentence of death, and that sentence irreversible; nor was there any other way or means left in the Law of Moses, by which that punishment might be taken off. As for other less and more ordinary sins, there were sacrifices appointed for them; and when those sacrifices were offered and accepted, God was appeased, and the offences were released. Whatsoever else we read of sins forgiven under the Law, was of some special divine indulgence, more than was promised by Moses, though not more than was promulgated unto the people, in the name and of the nature of God, so far as something of the Gospel was mingled with the Law.

Now as to the atonement made by the sacrifices, it clearly had relation to the death of the Messias; and whatsoever virtue was in them did operate through his death alone. As he was the *Lamb slain from the foundation of the world*, Rev. xiii. 8. so all atonements which were ever made, were only effectual by his blood. But though no sin was ever forgiven, but by virtue of that satisfaction; though God was never reconciled unto any sinner but by intuition of that propitiation; yet the general doctrine of remission of sins was never clearly revealed¹, and publicly preached to all nations, till the coming of the Saviour of the world, whose name was therefore called *Jesus*, because he was to *save his people from their sins*. Math. i. 21.

368 Being therefore we are assured that the preaching remission of sins belongeth not only certainly, but in some sense peculiarly, to the Church of Christ, it will be next considerable how this remission is conferred upon any person in the Church.

For a full satisfaction in this particular, two things are very observable; one relating to the initiation, the other concerning the continuation, of a Christian. For the first of

¹ 'Lex peccatorum nescit remissionem; lex mysterium non habet quo occulta mundantur: et ideo quod in

lege minus est, consummatur in Evangelio.' *S. Ambros. in Lucam*, l. vi. c. 7. [Tom. III. p. 102 A.]

these, it is the most general and irrefragable assertion of all, to whom we have reason to give credit, that all sins whatsoever any person is guilty of, are remitted in the baptism of the same person. For the second, it is as certain that all sins committed by any person after baptism are remissible; and the person committing those sins shall receive forgiveness upon true repentance, at any time, according to the Gospel.

First, It is certain that *forgiveness of sins* was promised to all who were baptized in the name of Christ; and it cannot be doubted but all persons who did perform all things necessary to the receiving the ordinance of baptism, did also receive the benefit of that ordinance, which is *remission of sins*. *John did baptize in the wilderness, and preach the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins*. And St Mark I. 4. *And St Peter made this the exhortation of his first sermon, Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins*. In vain doth doubting and fluctuating Socinus endeavour to evacuate the evidence of this Scripture¹: attributing the remission either to repentance without consideration of baptism, or else to the public profession of faith made in baptism; or if any thing must be attributed to baptism itself, it must be nothing but a declaration of such remission. For how will these shifts agree with that which Ananias said unto Saul, without any mention either Acts II. 38. *of repentance or confession, Arise, and be baptized, and wash away thy sins?* and that which St Paul, who was so baptized, Eph. v. 26. *hath taught us concerning the Church, that Christ doth sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water?* It is therefore sufficiently certain that baptism as it was instituted by Christ after the preadministration of St John, wheresoever it was received with all qualifications necessary in the person accepting, and conferred with all things necessary to be performed by the person administering, was most infal-

¹ 'Vel Baptismo illi, hoc est, solemniter peractæ ablutioni, peccatorum remissionem nequaquam tribuit Petrus, sed totam penitentiam;—vel si Baptismi quoque ea in re rationem habuit, aut quatenus publicam nominis Jesu Christi nominis professionem continet, eam tantummodo considera-

vit: aut si ipsius etiam externæ ablutionis omnino rationem habere voluit, quod ad ipsam attinet, remissionis peccatorum nomine, non ipsam remissionem vere, sed remissionis declarationem, et obsignationem quandam intellexit.' Socin. *de Baptismo*. c. 7. [Tom. I. p. 724. col. 2.]

libly efficacious, as to this particular, that is, to the remission of all sins committed before the administration of this sacrament.

As those which are received into the Church by the sacrament of baptism, receive the remission of their sins of which they were guilty before they were baptized; so after they are thus made members of the Church, they receive remission of their future sins by their repentance¹. Christ who hath left us a pattern of prayer, hath thereby taught us for ever to implore and beg the forgiveness of our sins; that as we through the frailty of our nature are always subject unto sin, so we
 369 should always exercise the acts of repentance, and for ever seek the favour of God. This then is the comfort of the Gospel, that as it discovereth sin within us, so it propoundeth a remedy unto us. While we are in this life encompassed with flesh, while the allurements of the world, while the stratagems of Satan, while the infirmities and corruptions of our nature, betray us to the transgressions of the Law of God, we are always subject to offend (from whence whosoever saith that he hath no sin is a liar, contradicting himself, and contracting iniquity by pretending innocence); and so long
 1 John 1. 8. as we can offend, so long we may apply ourselves unto God

¹ St Chrysostom speaking of the power of the priests: Οὐ γὰρ θύαν ἡμᾶς ἀναγεννῶσι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα συγχωρεῖν ἔχουσιν ἔξουσίαν ἁμαρτημάτων. *De Sacerd.* l. iii. [§ 6. Tom. I. p. 384 E.] 'Excepto baptismatis munere, quod contra originale peccatum donatum est, ut quod generatione attractum est, regeneratione detrahat; et tamen activa quoque peccata, quaecunque corde, ore, opere commissa invenerit, tollit: hac ergo excepta magna indulgentia unde incipit hominis renovatio in qua solvitur omnis reatus et ingeneratus et additus; ipse etiam vita cetera jam ratione utentis ætatis, quantalibet præpolleat fecunditate justitiæ, sine remissione peccatorum non agitur. Quoniam filii Dei, quamdiu mortaliter vivunt, cum morte configunt: et quamvis de illis sit veraciter dictum, *Quoquoque Spiritu Dei aguntur, hi filii sunt Dei*: sic tamen Spiritu Dei excitantur et tanquam filii

Dei proficiunt ad Deum, ut etiam Spiritu suo (maxime aggravante corruptibili corpore) tanquam filii hominum quibusdam humanis motibus deficiant ad seipsos et ideo peccent.' *S. August. Enchir.* c. 64. [Tom. VI. p. 161 D.] Οὕτω καὶ μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα ἐκκαθαίρεται ἁμαρτήματα μετὰ πόνου πολλοῦ καὶ καμάτου. Πᾶσαν τοίνυν ἐπιδεικνύμεθα σπουδὴν, ὥστε αὐτὰ ἐξελίψαι ἐντεῦθεν, καὶ ἀλογήτης καὶ τῆς κολάσεως ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς ἐκεῖ καὶ γὰρ μυρία ὄμειν ἡμαρτηκότες, ὡς ἐθέλωμεν, δύνησόμεθα ἅπαντα ταῦτα ἀποθέσθαι τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων τὰ φορτία. *S. Chrysost. Hom. in Pentecost.* i. [§ 6. Tom. II. p. 467 E.] 'Quod autem scriptum est, Et sanguis Jesu filii ejus mundat nos ab omni peccato, tam in confessione Baptismatis, quam in clementia pœnitudinis accipiendum est.' *S. Hieron. adv. Pelag.* l. ii. col. 515. [Tom. II. p. 736 c.]

by repentance, and be renewed by his grace, and pardoned by his mercy.

And therefore the Church of God, in which *remission of sins* is preached, doth not only promise it at first by the laver of regeneration, but afterwards also upon the virtue of repentance; and to deny the Church this power of absolution is the heresy of Novatian¹.

The necessity of the belief in this Article appeareth, first, Because there can be no Christian consolation without this persuasion. For we have all sinned and come short of the glory of God, nay, God himself hath concluded all under sin; we must also acknowledge that every sinner is a guilty person, and that guilt consisteth in an obligation to endure eternal punishment from the wrath of God provoked by our sins; from whence nothing else can arise but a fearful expectation of everlasting misery. So long as guilt remaineth on the soul of man, so long is he in the condition of the devils, *delivered into chains and reserved unto judgment*. For we all fell as well as they, but with this difference; remission of sins is promised unto us, but to them it is not.

2 Pet. ii. 4.

Secondly, It is necessary to believe *the forgiveness of sins*, that thereby we may sufficiently esteem God's goodness and our happiness. When man was fallen into sin there was no possibility left to him to work out his recovery; that soul which had sinned must of necessity die, the wrath of God abiding upon him for ever. There can be nothing imaginable in that man which should move God not to shew a demonstration of his justice upon him; there can be nothing without

¹ I call this the heresy of Novatian rather than of Novatus, because though they both joined in it, yet it rather sprang from Novatianus the Roman presbyter, than from Novatus the African bishop. And he is thus expressed by Epiphanius, *Hær. lix. § 1.* [Tom. i. p. 493 c.] *Ἀέγων μὴ εἶναι σωτηρίαν, ἀλλὰ μίαν μετάνοιαν· μετὰ δὲ τὸ λουτρόν, μηκέτι δύνασθαι ἐλεείσθαι παραπεπτωκότα·* that is, he acknowledged but one repentance which was available in baptism; after which if any man sinned, there was no mercy remaining for him. To which Epiphanius gives this reply:

Ἡ μὲν τέλεα μετάνοια ἐν τῷ λουτρῷ τυγχάνει· εἰ δέ τις παρέτεσεν οὐκ ἀπόλλει τοῦτον ἡ ἀγία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησία· διδῶσι γὰρ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, καὶ μετὰ τὴν μετάνοιαν τὴν μεταμέλειαν. Ibid. (p. 493 d); and again: Ἀέχεται οὖν ὁ ἄγιος λόγος καὶ ἡ ἀγία Θεοῦ ἐκκλησία πάντοτε τὴν μετάνοιαν Ibid. § 2. (p. 494 d); and yet more generally: Τὰ πάντα σαφῶς τετελειώται μετὰ τὴν ἐντεῦθεν ἐκδημίαν, ἐπὶ δὲ ὅτων ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι πάντων, καὶ μετὰ πᾶσι ἐπὶ ἀνόστασις, ἐπὶ ἐλπίς, ἐπὶ θεραπεία, ἐπὶ ὁμολογία κἄν εἰ μὴ τελειώτατα, ἀλλ' οὖν γε τῶν ἄλλων οὐκ ἀπηγόρευται ἡ σωτηρία. Ibid. § 10. (p. 502 c.)

him which could pretend to rescue him from the sentence of an offended and almighty God. Glorious therefore must the goodness of our God appear, who dispenseth with his Law, who taketh off the guilt, who looseth the obligation, who imputeth not the sin. This is God's goodness, this is man's happiness. *For blessed is he whose transgression is forgiven, whose sin is covered; blessed is the man unto whom the Lord imputeth no iniquity.* The year of release, the year of jubilee, was a time of public joy; and there is no voice like that, *thy sins are forgiven thee.* By this a man is rescued from infernal pains, secured from the everlasting flames; by this he is made capable of heaven, by this he is assured of eternal happiness.

Thirdly, It is necessary to believe *the forgiveness of sins*, that by the sense thereof we may be inflamed with the love of God: for, that love doth naturally follow from such a sense, appeareth by the parable in the Gospel, *There was a certain creditor which had two debtors, the one owed him five hundred pence, the other fifty. And when they had* Psalm xxxii. 1, 2
 370 *nothing to pay, he frankly forgave them both.* Upon which case our Saviour made this question, 'Which of them will love him most?' He supposed both the debtors will love him, because the creditor forgave them both; and he collecteth the degrees of love will answer proportionably to the quantity of the debt forgiven. We are the debtors, and our debts are sins, and the creditor is God: the remission of our sins is the frank forgiving of our debts, and for that we are obliged to return our love.

Fourthly, The true notion of *forgiveness of sins* is necessary to teach us what we owe to Christ, to whom, and how far we are indebted for this forgiveness. *Through this man is preached unto us the forgiveness of sins,* and without a surety we had no release. He rendered God propitious unto our persons, because he gave himself as a satisfaction for our sins. While thus he took off our obligation to punishment, he laid upon us a new obligation of obedience. *We are not our own who are bought with a price: we must glorify God in our bodies, and in our spirits, which are God's.* We must be no longer *the servants of men; we are the servants of Christ, who are bought with a price.* Acts xiii. 38. 1 Cor. vi. 19, 20. 1 Cor. vii. 22, 23.

Fifthly, It is necessary to believe *remission of sins* as

wrought by the blood of Christ, by which the covenant was ratified and confirmed, which mindeth us of a condition required. It is the nature of a covenant to expect performances on both parts; and therefore if we look for forgiveness promised, we must perform repentance commanded. These two were always preached together, and those which God hath joined ought no man to put asunder. Christ did truly appear *a Prince and a Saviour*, and it was to give repentance to Israel, and forgiveness of sins; he joined these two in the apostles' commission, saying, that *repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name throughout all nations*.

Acts v. 31.

Luke xxiv.
47.

From hence every one may learn what he is explicitly to believe and confess in this Article of *forgiveness of sins*; for thereby he is conceived to intend thus much:

I do freely and fully acknowledge, and with unspeakable comfort embrace, this as a most necessary and infallible truth, that whereas every sin is a transgression of the Law of God, and upon every transgression there remaineth a guilt upon the person of the transgressor, and that guilt is an obligation to endure eternal punishment; so that all men being concluded under sin, they were all obliged to suffer the miseries of eternal death; it pleased God to give his Son, and his Son to give himself to be a surety for this debt, and to release us from these bonds; and because without shedding of blood there is no remission, he gave his life a sacrifice for sin, he laid it down as a ransom, even his precious blood as a price by way of compensation and satisfaction to the will and justice of God; by which propitiation, God, who was by our sins offended, became reconciled, and being so, took off our obligation to eternal punishment, which is the guilt of our sins, and appointed in the Church of Christ the sacrament of baptism for the first remission, and repentance for the constant forgiveness of all following trespasses. And thus I believe THE FORGIVENESS OF SINS.

ARTICLE XI.

THE RESURRECTION OF THE BODY.

THIS Article was anciently delivered and acknowledged by all Churches¹, only with this difference, that whereas in other places it was expressed in general terms, *the resurrection of the flesh*, they of the Church of Aquileia, by the addition of a pronoun propounded it to every single believer in a more particular way of expression, *the resurrection of this flesh*. And though we have translated it in our English CREED, *the resurrection of the body*; yet neither the Greek nor Latin ever delivered this article in those terms, but in these, *the resurrection of the flesh*²; because there may be ambiguity in the one, in relation to the celestial and spiritual bodies, but there can be no collusion in the other. Only it will be necessary, for shewing our agreement with the ancient Creeds, to declare that as by *flesh* they understood the body of man, and not any other flesh; so we, when we translate it *body*, understand no other body but such a body of flesh, of the same nature which it had before it was by death separated from the soul. And this we may very well and properly do,

¹ 'Cum omnes ecclesiæ ita sacramentum Symboli tradant, ut postquam dixerint *peccatorum remissionem*, addant *carnis resurrectionem*; sancta Aquileiensis ecclesia,—ubi tradit *carnis resurrectionem*, addit unius pronomini syllabam; et pro eo quod cæteri dicunt, *carnis resurrectionem*, non dicimus *hujus carnis resurrectionem*.' *Ruffin. Apol. l. i. adv. Hier. inter Op. Hieron. t. iv. par. c. col. 354.* 'Satis cauta et provida adjectione fidem Symboli ecclesia nostra docet, quæ in eo quod a cæteris traditur, *carnis resurrectionem*, uno addito pronomine tradit, *hujus carnis resurrectionem*.' *Id. in Symb. § 42.* 'Sive ergo corpus resurrecturum dicimus, secundum Apostolum dicimus (hoc enim nomine usus est ille) sive carnem dicimus, secundum traditionem Symboli confitemur.' *Idem, Prol. in Apolog. Pamphili.*

² The Greeks always (use) *σάρκός ἀνδραγωγ*, the Latins *carnis resurrectionem*. And this was to be observed,

because, being we read of spiritual bodies some would acknowledge the resurrection of the body, who would deny the resurrection of the flesh. Of this St Jerome gives an account, and withal of the words of the Creed: 'Exempli causa pauca subjiciam. *Credimus*, inquit, *resurrectionem futurum corporum*. Hoc si bene dicatur, pura confessio est; sed quia corpora sunt coelestia, et terrestria, et aer iste et aura tenuis juxta naturam suam corpora nominantur, *corpus* ponunt, non *carnem*, ut Orthodoxus corpus audiens carnem putet, Hæreticus spiritum recognoscat. Hæc enim est eorum prima decipula; quæ si deprehensa fuerit, instruunt alios dolos, et innocentiam simulant, et malitiosos nos vocant, et quasi simpliciter credentes aiunt, *Credimus resurrectionem carnis*. Hoc vero cum dixerint, vulgus indocum putat sibi sufficere, maxime quia idipsum et in Symbolo creditur.' *Ep. 65. al. 41. ad Pammach. et Ocean. col. 344. [Ep. 84. § 5. Tom. i. p. 522 D.]*

because our Church hath already taken care therein, and given us a fit occasion so to declare ourselves. For though in the CREED itself, used at Morning and Evening Prayer, the Article be thus delivered, *the resurrection of the body*, yet in the form of public baptism, where it is propounded by way of question to the godfathers in the name of the child to be baptized, it runneth thus, 'Dost thou believe—*the resurrection of the flesh?*' We see by daily experience that all men are mortal; that the body, left by the soul, the salt and life thereof, putrefieth and consumeth, and according to the sentence of old, returneth unto dust: but these bodies, as frail and mortal as they are, consisting of this corruptible flesh, are the subject of this Article, in which we profess to believe *the resurrection of the body*.

When we treated concerning the resurrection of Christ¹, we delivered the proper notion and nature of the resurrection in general, that from thence we might conclude that our Saviour did truly arise from the dead. Being now to explain the resurrection to come, we shall not need to repeat what we then delivered, or make any addition as to that particular; but referring the reader to that which is there explained, it will be necessary for us only to consider what is the resurrection to come, who they are which shall be raised, how we are assured they shall rise, and in what manner all shall be performed. And this resurrection hath some peculiar difficulties different from those which might seem to obstruct the belief of Christ's resurrection. For the body of the Son of God did never see corruption; all the parts thereof continued³⁷ in the same condition in which they were after his most precious soul had left them; they were only deposited in the sepulchre, otherwise the grave had no power over them. But other mortal bodies, after the soul hath deserted them, are left to all the sad effects of their mortality: we may say to corruption, *Thou art my father; to the worm, Thou art my mother and my sister; our corps go down to the bars of the pit, and rest together in the dust*. Our death is not a simple dissolution, nor a bare separation of soul and body, as Christ's was, but our whole tabernacle is fully dissolved, and every part thereof crumbled into dust and ashes, scattered, mingled, and confounded with the dust of the earth. There is a de-

Job xvii. 14,
16.

¹ Page 254.

scription of a kind of resurrection in the prophet Ezekiel, in which there is supposed a *valley full of bones, and there was a noise, and behold a shaking, and the bones came together, bone to his bone, the sinews and the flesh came up upon them, and the skin covered them above, and their breath came into them, and they lived and stood upon their feet.* But in the resurrection to come we cannot suppose the bones in the valley, for they are dissolved into dust as well as the other parts.

Ezek. xxxvii. 1, 7, 8, 10.

We must therefore undertake to shew that the bodies of men, howsoever corrupted, wheresoever in their parts dispersed, how long soever dead, shall hereafter be recollected in themselves, and united to their own souls. And for the more facile and familiar proceeding in this so highly concerning truth, I shall make use of this method: First, To prove that such a resurrection is not in itself impossible: Secondly, To shew that it is upon general considerations highly probable: Thirdly, To demonstrate that it is upon Christian principles infallibly certain. It is not in itself impossible, therefore no man can absolutely deny it; it is upon natural and moral grounds highly probable, therefore all men may rationally expect it; it is upon evangelical principles infallibly certain, therefore all Christians must firmly believe it.

First, I confess philosophers of old did look upon the resurrection of the body as impossible¹; and though some of them thought the souls of the dead did live again, yet they never conceived that they were united to the same bodies, and that their flesh should rise out of the dust that it might be conjoined to the spirit of a man. We read of *certain philosophers of the Epicureans and of the Stoics, who encountered St Paul; and when they heard of the resurrection they mocked him, some saying, that he seemed to be a setter-forth of strange gods, because he preached unto them Jesus*

Acts xvii. 18.

¹ Pliny, reckoning up those things which he thought not to be in the power of God, mentions these two: 'Mortales æternitate donare, aut revocare defunctos.' *Nat. Hist.* l. ii. cap. 7. [Tom. i. p. 85.] And Æschylus, though a Pythagorean, yet absolutely denies it to be in the power of God, for so he makes Apollo speak to the Eumenides:

Πᾶς μὲν ἂν λύσειεν, ἔστι τοῦδ' ἄκος
καὶ κάρτα πολλὰ μηχανὰ λυτῆριος.

Ἄνδρες δ' ἐπειδὴν αὖμ' ἀνασπάζη κόινε
Ἄπαρ θανόντος, οὔτις ἐστ' ἀνάστασις.
Τούτων ἐπαρδὰς οὐκ ἐποίησεν πατὴρ
Οὐμός, τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντ' ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω
Στρέφον τῆθησιν, οὐδὲν ἀσθμαίνων μένει.

Æschyl. Eumenid. 685. [642.]

'Ut anima interire dicatur, ab Epicureis observatur. Et ut carnis restitutio negetur, de una omnium Philosophorum scholasumitur.' *Tertull. de Præscr. adv. Hæret.* c. 7. [p. 232 D.]

and the resurrection. But as the ancient philosophers thought a creation impossible, because they looked only upon the constant works of nature, among which they never find any thing produced out of nothing, and yet we have already proved a creation not only possible, but performed; so did they think a resurrection of corrupted, dissolved, and dissipated bodies to be as impossible, because they could never observe any action or operation in nature, which did or could produce any such effect; and yet we being not tied to the consideration of nature only, but estimating things possible and impossible by the power of God, will easily demonstrate 31 that there is no impossibility that the dead should rise.

For, if the resurrection of the dead be impossible, it must be so in one of these respects; either in reference to the agent, or in relation to the patient; either because it is a work of so much difficulty, that there neither is nor can be any agent of wisdom, power, and activity, sufficient to effect it; or else because the soul of man is so far separated by death from the body, and the parts of the body so much dissolved from themselves, and altered from their¹ former nature, that they are absolutely incapable by any power to be united as they were. Either both or one of these two must be the reason of the impossibility, if the resurrection be impossible; for if the body be capable of being raised, and there be any agent of sufficient ability to raise it, the resurrection of it must be possible.

Now, if the resurrection were impossible in respect of the agent which should effect it, the impossibility must arise either from an insufficiency of knowledge or of power²; for if either the agent know not what is to be done, or if he know it but hath no power to do it, either he will not attempt it, or, if he do, must fail in the attempt; but that, of which he hath perfect knowledge, and full power to effect, cannot be impos-

¹ ["their nature" in the third Edition.]

² Τὸ ἀδύνατόν τινι γινώσκειται κατ' ἀλήθειαν τοιοῦτον, ἢ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ γινώσκειν τὸ γενησόμενον, ἢ ἐκ τοῦ δύναμιν ἀρκοῦσαν μὴ ἔχειν πρὸς τὸ ποιῆσαι καλῶς τὸ ἐγνωσμένον. Ὁ γὰρ ἀγνοῶν τι τῶν γενέσθαι δεόντων οὐκ ἂν οὐτ' ἐγχειρήσῃ, οὐτε ποιῆσαι τὸ παράπαν δυνηθεῖν ὅπερ

ἀγνοεῖ· ὁ τε γινώσκων καλῶς τὸ ποιησόμενον, καὶ πόθεν γένοιτ' ἂν, καὶ πῶς, δύναμιν δὲ ἢ μὴδ' ὅλως ἔχων πρὸς τὸ ποιῆσαι τὸ γινωσκόμενον ἢ μὴ ἀρκοῦσαν ἔχων, οὐκ ἂν ἐγχειρήσειε τὴν ἀρχήν, εἰ σωφρονοῖ καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπισκέψῃται δύναμιν, ἐγχειρήσας δὲ ἀπερισκέπτως οὐκ ἂν ἐπιτελέσειε τὸ δόξαν. *Athenagoras de Resurrectione*, c. ii. p. 42 B.

sible in relation to the agent endued with such knowledge, armed with such power.

Now, when we say the resurrection is possible, we say not it is so to men or angels, or any creature of a limited knowledge or finite power, but we attribute it to God, with whom nothing is impossible; his understanding is infinite, he Luke i. 27. knoweth all the men which ever lived since the foundation, or shall live unto the dissolution of the world, he knoweth whereof all things are made, from what dust we came, into what dust we shall return. *Our substance was not hid from thee,* Psalm cxxxix. 15, 16. *O Lord, when we were made in secret, and curiously wrought in the lowest parts of the earth; thine eyes did see our substance, yet being imperfect, and in thy book were all our members written, which in continuance were fashioned when as yet there was none of them.* Thus every particle of our bodies, every dust and atom which belongeth to us, is known to him that made us. The generation of our flesh is clearly seen by *the Father of spirits*, the augmentation of the same is known Heb. xii. 9. to him *in whom we live, move, and have our being*; the dissolution of our tabernacles is perceived by that God, by whom *the very hairs of our head are all numbered, and without whom one sparrow shall not fall to the ground.* Matt. x. 29, 30. He which numbereth the sands of the sea, knoweth all the scattered bones, seeth into all the graves and tombs, searcheth all the repositories and dormitories in the earth, knoweth what dust belongeth to each body, what body to each soul. Again, as his all-seeing eye observeth every particle of dissolved and corrupted man, so doth he also see and know all ways and means by which these scattered parts should be united, by which this ruined fabric should be recomposed; he knoweth how every bone should be brought to its old neighbour-bone, how every sinew may be re-embroidered on it; he understandeth what are the proper parts to be conjoined, what is the proper *gluten* by which they may become united. The resurrection therefore cannot be impossible in relation to the agent upon any deficiency of knowledge how to effect it.

And as the wisdom is infinite, so the power of this agent 174 is illimited; for God is as much omnipotent as omniscient. There can be no opposition made against him, because all power is his; nor can he receive a check, against whom there is no resistance: all creatures must not only suffer, but do

what he will have them; they are not only passively, but actively obediential. There is no atom of the dust or ashes but must be where it pleaseth God, and be applied and make up what and how it seemeth good to him. The resurrection therefore cannot be impossible in relation unto God upon any disability to effect it; and consequently there is no impossibility in reference to the agent, or him who is to raise us.

Secondly, The resurrection is not impossible in relation to the patient: because where we look upon the power of God, nothing can be impossible but that which involveth a contradiction, as we before have proved; and there can be no contradiction in this, that he which was, and now is not, should hereafter be what before he was. It is so far from a repugnancy, that it rather containeth a rational and apparent possibility, that man who was once dust, becoming dust, should become man again. Whatsoever we lose in death, is not lost to God; as no creature could be made out of nothing but by him, so can it not be reduced into nothing, but by the same: though therefore the parts of the body of man be dissolved, yet they perish not; they lose not their own entity when they part with their relation to humanity¹; they are laid up in the secret places, and lodged in the chambers of nature; and it is no more a contradiction that they should become the parts of the same body of man to which they did belong, than that after his death they should become the parts of any other body, as we see they do. Howsoever they are scattered, or wheresoever lodged, they are within the knowledge and power of God², and can have no repugnancy by

¹ 'Non sola anima seponitur: habet et caro secessus suos interim, in aquis, in ignibus, in alitibus, in bestiis; cum in hæc dissolvi videtur, velut in vasa transfunditur.' *Tertull. de Resurrec. Carnis.* c. 63. (p. 429 B.) 'Tu perire et Deo credis, si quid oculis nostris hebetibus subtrahitur? Corpus omne, sive arescit in pulverem, sive in humorem solvitur, vel in cinerem comprimitur, vel in nidorem tenuatur, subducitur nobis, sed Deo elementorum custodi reservatur.' *Minucius Felix in Octavio*, c. 34. 'Omnia quæ discerpuntur, et in favillas quasdam putrescunt, integra Deo sunt. In illa enim elementa mundi eunt,

unde primo venerunt.' *S. August. Enarratio in Psal. 62.* § 6. [Tom. iv. p. 455 E.] (p. 610.)

² 'Absit autem ut ad resuscitanda corpora viteque reddenda non possit omnipotentia Creatoris omnia revocare quæ vel bestia vel ignis absumpeit, vel in pulverem cineremve collapsum, vel in humorem solutum, vel in auras est exhalatum. Absit ut sinus ullus, secretumque naturæ ita recipiat aliquid subtractum sensibus nostris, ut omnium Creatoris aut lateat cognitionem, aut effugiat potestatem.' *S. August. de Civitate Dei*, l. xxii. c. 20. [Tom. vii. p. 515 C.] (p. 682.)

their separation to be reunited when and how he pleaseth. The first dust of which man was made was as far from being flesh as any ashes now or dust can be; it was only an omnipotent power which could mould that into an human body, and breathe into the nostrils of it the breath of life. The same power, therefore, which must always be, can still make of the dust returning from the bodies of men unto the earth, human bones and flesh, as well as of the dust which first came from the earth: for if it be not easier, it is most certainly as easy, to make that to be again which once hath been, as to make that to be which before was not¹. When there was no man, God made him of the earth: and therefore when he returns to earth, the same God can make him man again. The resurrection therefore cannot be impossible, which is our first conclusion.

375 Secondly, The resurrection is not only in itself possible, so that no man with any reason can absolutely deny it; but it is also upon many general considerations highly probable, so that all men may very rationally expect it. If we consider the principles of humanity, the parts of which we all consist, we cannot conceive this present life to be proportionable to our composition. The souls of men, as they are immaterial, so they are immortal; and being once created by the Father of spirits, they receive a subsistence for eternity; the body is framed by the same God to be a companion for his spirit, and a man born into the world consisteth of these two. Now the life of the most aged person is but short, and

¹ 'Recogita quid fueris, antequam esses; utique nihil. Meminisses enim, si quid fuisses. Qui ergo nihil fueras priusquam esses, idem nihil factus cum esse desieris, cum non possis rursus esse de nihilo, ejusdem ipsius Auctoris voluntate, qui te voluit esse de nihilo? Quid novi tibi eveniet? Qui non eras, factus es; cum iterum non eris, fies. Redde, si potes, rationem qua factus es, et tunc require qua fies. Et tamen facilius utique fies, quod fuisti aliquando, quia æque non difficile factus es, quod nunquam fuisti aliquando.' *Tertull. Apol.* c. 48. [p. 42 D.] 'Utique idoneus est reficere, qui fecit. Quanto plus est fecisse quam refecisse, initium dedisse quam reddidisse; ita restitutionem carnis faciliorem

credas institutione.' *Idem, de Resur. Carn.* c. 11. [p. 386 D.] 'Difficilius est id quod non sitincipere, quam id quod fuerit iterare.' *Minucius Felix in Octavio*, c. 34. 'Utique plus est facere quod nunquam fuit, quam reparare quod fuerit. Quomodo ergo impossibile esse dicis, ut Deus, qui hominem formavit ex nihilo, reformet? Quomodo nos suscitare non potest conversos in pulverem, qui si etiam in nihilum rediremus, facere poterat ut essemus; sicut et fecit nos esse, cum antea nunquam fuissimus!' *S. August. de verbis Apost. Serm.* 34. al. 109. [This Sermon is not genuine.] *Augustin. Opera.* Tom. v. Appendix, p. 139 D.] To the same purpose the Jews, : ולא רחוק דרחוק לא כל שכן

many far ignobler creatures of a longer duration. Some of the fowls of the air, several of the fishes of the sea, many of the beasts of the field, divers of the plants of the earth, are of a more durable constitution, and outlive the sons of men. And can we think that such material and mortal, that such inunderstanding souls should by God and nature be furnished with bodies of so long permansion, and that our spirits should be joined unto flesh so subject to corruption, so suddenly dissolvable, were it not that they lived but once, and so enjoyed that life for a longer season, and then went soul and body to the same destruction, never to be restored to the same subsistence? but when the soul of man, which is immortal, is forced from its body in a shorter time, nor can by any means continue with it half the years which many other creatures live, it is because this is not the only life belonging to the sons of men, and so the soul may at a shorter warning leave the body which it shall resume again.

Again, if we look upon ourselves as men, we are free agents, and therefore capable of doing good or evil, and consequently ordainable unto reward or punishment. The angels who are above us, and did sin, received their punishment without a death, because being only spirits they were subject to no other dissolution than annihilation, which cannot consist with longer suffering punishment; those who continued in their station were rewarded and confirmed for all eternity: and thus all the angels are incapable of a resurrection. The creatures which are below us, and for want of freedom cannot sin, or act any thing morally either good or evil, they cannot deserve after this life either to be punished or rewarded, and therefore when they die they continue in the state of death for ever. Thus those who are above us shall not rise from the dead, because they are punished or rewarded without dying; and where no death is, there can be no resurrection from the dead. Those which are below us, are neither capable of reward or punishment for any thing acted in this life, and therefore though they die yet shall they never rise, because there is no reason for their resurrection. But man by the nobleness of his better part being free to do what is good or evil while he liveth, and by the frailty of his body being subject to death, and yet after that, being capable in another world to receive a reward for what he hath done well, and a

punishment for what he hath done ill in the flesh, it is necessary that he should rise from the dead to enjoy the one, or suffer the other. For there is not only no just retribution rendered in this life to man, but considering the ordinary condition of things, it cannot be. For it is possible, and often cometh to pass, that one man may commit such sins as all the punishments in this life can no way equalize them¹. It is just, that he who sheddeth man's blood, by man his blood should be shed; but what death can sufficiently retaliate the many murders committed by one notorious pirate, who may cast many thousands over board; or the rapines and assassinations of one rebel or tyrant, who may destroy whole nations? It is fit that he which blasphemeth God should die; but what equivalent punishment can he receive in this life, who shall constantly blaspheme the name of God, destroy his priests and temples, abolish his worship, and extirpate his servants? What is then more proper, considering the providence of a most just God, than to believe that man shall suffer in another life such torments as will be proportionable to his demerits? Nor can we with reason think, that the soul alone shall undergo those sufferings, because the laws which were given to us are not made in respect of that alone, but have most frequent reflection on the body, without which in this life the soul can neither do nor suffer any thing². It is therefore highly probable, from the general consideration of human actions and divine retributions, that there shall be a resurrection of the flesh, that every one may receive the things 2 Cor. v. 10. done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad.

Furthermore, Beside the principles of which we consist, and the actions which flow from us, the consideration of the

¹ Παρίημι γὰρ λέγειν ὅτι σωζομένης τῆς φύσεως, ἐν ᾗ νῦν ἔσμεν, οὐδ' ἡ θνητὴ φύσις ἐνεγκεῖν οὐδ' αὖτε τὴν σύμμετρον δίκην πλειόνων ἢ βαρυτέρων φερομένων πλημμελημάτων. *Athenagoras, de Resurrect. Mort.* p. 62 C.

² 'Quod congruet judicari, hoc competit etiam resuscitari.' *Tertull. de Resurrectione Carnis*, c. 14. [p. 388 C.] 'Negent operarum societatem, ut merito possint etiam mercedem negare. Non sit particeps in sententia caro, si non fuerit et in causa. Sola anima

revocetur, si sola decedit. At enim non magis sola decedit, quam sola decurrit illud unde decedit; vitam hanc dico.' *Ibid.* c. 15. [p. 388 D.] 'Cum omnis vitæ nostræ usus in corporis animæque consortio sit, resurrectio autem aut boni actus præmium habeat aut poenam improbi, necesse sit corpus resurgere cujus actus expenditur. Quomodo enim in iudicium vocabitur anima sine corpore, et cum de suo et corporis contubernio ratio præstanda sit?' *S. Ambros. de fide Resur.* [p. 328 L.]

things without us, and the natural course of variations in the creature, will render the resurrection yet more highly probable. Every space of twenty-four hours teacheth thus much, in which there is always a revolution amounting to a resurrection. The day dies into a night, and is buried in silence and in darkness¹; in the next morning it appeareth again and reviveth, opening the grave of darkness, rising from the dead of night: this is a diurnal resurrection. As the day dies into night, so doth the summer into winter; the sap is said to descend into the root, and there it lies buried in the ground; the earth is covered with snow, or crusted with frost, and becomes a general sepulchre: when the spring appeareth, all begin to rise; the plants and flowers peep out of their graves, revive, and grow, and flourish: this is the annual resurrection². The corn by which we live, and for want of which we

¹ Καταβήσων τὴν τῶν καιρῶν καὶ ἡμερῶν καὶ νυκτῶν τελευτήν, πῶς καὶ αὐτὰ τελευτᾷ καὶ ἀνίσταται. *S. Theophil. Antioch. ad Autol.* l. i. p. 77 D. 'Dies moritur in noctem et tenebris usquequaque sepelitur. Funestatur mundi honor; omnis substantia denigratur. Sordent, silent, stupent cuncta; ubique justitium est, (quies rerum:) ita lux amissa lugetur, et tamen rursus cum suo cultu, cum dote, cum sole, eadem et integra et tota universo orbi reviviscit, interficiens mortem suam, noctem, rescindens sepulturam suam, tenebras, hæres sibi met existens, donec et nox reviviscat, cum suo et illa suggestu. Redaccenduntur enim et stellarum radii, quos matutina succensio exstinxerat. Reducuntur et siderum absentiae, quas temporalis distinctio exemerat. Redornantur et specula lunæ, quæ menstruus numerus attriverat.' *Tertull. de Resur. Carn.* c. 12. [p. 386 D.] 'Lux quotidie interfecta resplendet, et tenebræ pari vices decedendo succedunt; sidera defuncta revivescunt; tempora ubi finiuntur incipiunt; fructus consumuntur et redeunt.' *Idem, Apol.* c. 48. [p. 43 B.] Δύει ἡ ἡμέρα, καὶ νεκρῶν ἀνιπτόμεθα τὸν τρόπον, κοιμισμὸν ἀνιπτόμενης: ἀνατέλλει ἡ ἡμέρα ἡμῶς δι' ὑπνίζουσα καὶ ἀναστάσεως ὑποδεικνύουσα τὸ σημεῖον. *S. Epiphani. in Ancorato*, § 84. [Tom. II. p. 88 D.]

² 'Omnia pereundo servantur, omnia de interitu reformantur. Tu homo, tantum nomen, si intelligas te, vel de titulo Pythiæ discens, dominus omnium morientium et resurgentium, ad hoc morieris ut pereas?' *Tertull. Apol.* c. 48. [p. 43 B.] 'Revolvuntur hyemes et sæstates, verna et autumnæ, cum suis viribus, moribus, fructibus. Quippe etiam terræ de celo disciplina est arbores vestire post spolia, flores denuo colorare, herbas rursus imponere, exhibere eadem quæ absumptæ sunt semina; nec prius exhibere quam absumptæ. Mira ratio: de fraudatrice servatrix; ut reddat, intercipit; ut custodiat, perdit; ut integret, vitiat; ut etiam ampliet, prius decoquit. Siquidem uberiora et cultiora restituit, quam exterminavit: revera fœnore interitu, et injuria usura, et lucro damno. Semel dixerim, universa conditio recidiva est. Quodcunque conveneris, fuit; quodcunque amiseris, nihil non iterum est. Omnia in statum redeunt, cum abacerint; omnia incipiunt, cum desierint: ideo finiuntur, ut fiant nihil deperit nisi in salutem. Totus igitur hic ordo revolubilis rerum testatio est resurrectionis mortuorum. Operibus eam præscripsit Deus antequam literis: viribus prædicavit antequam vocibus. Præmisit tibi naturam magistræ, submissurus et prophetiam, quo facilius credas

perish with famine, is notwithstanding cast upon the earth, and buried in the ground, with a design that it may corrupt, and being corrupted may revive and multiply; our bodies are fed with this constant experiment, and we continue this present life by a succession of resurrections. Thus all things are repaired by corrupting, are preserved by perishing, and revive by dying; and can we think that man, the lord of all these things which thus die and revive for him, should be detained in death as never to live again? Is it imaginable that God should thus restore all things to man, and not restore man to himself? If there were no other consideration, but of the principles of human nature, of the liberty and remunerability of human actions, and of the natural revolutions and resurrections of other creatures, it were abundantly sufficient to render the resurrection of our bodies highly probable.

377 We must not rest in this school of nature, nor settle our persuasions upon likelihoods; but as we passed from an apparent possibility, unto a high presumption and probability, so must we pass from thence unto a full assurance of an infallible certainty. And of this indeed we cannot be assured but by the revelation of the will of God; upon his power we must conclude that we may, from his will that we shall, rise from the dead. Now the power of God is known unto all men, and therefore all men may infer from thence a possibility; but the will of God is not revealed unto all men, and therefore all have not an infallible certainty of the resurrection. For the grounding of which assurance, I shall shew that God hath revealed the determination of his will to raise the dead, and that he hath not only delivered that intention in his word, but hath also several ways confirmed the same.

Many of the places produced out of the Old Testament to this purpose will scarce amount to a revelation of this truth. The Jews insist upon such weak inferences out of the Law, as shew that the resurrection was not clearly delivered by Moses¹;

prophetiæ, discipulus naturæ; quo statim admittas, cum audieris, quod ubique jam videris: nec dubites Deum carnis etiam resuscitatore, quem omnium noris restitutorem. Et utique si omnia homini resurgunt, cui procurata sunt: porro non homini, nisi et carni, quale est ut ipsa depercat in totum, propter

quam et cui nihil deperit? *Idem, de Resurrect. Carn. c. 12. [p. 387 B, c.]*

¹ They produce several places out of Moses, which when the resurrection is believed, may in some kind serve to illustrate it, but can in no degree be thought to reveal so great a mystery. As because in the formation of man

and in the book of Job, where it is most evidently expressed, they acknowledge it not, because they will not understand the true notion of a Redeemer properly belonging to Christ. The

Job xix. 25,
26.

words of Job are very express, *I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth; and though after my skin worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God.* Against the evidence of this truth there are two interpretations: one very new of some late opinionists, who understand this of a sudden restitution to his former temporal condition; the other more ancient of the Jews, who make him speak of the happiness of another life, without any reference to a resurrection. But that Job spake not concerning any sudden restitution, or any alteration of his temporal condition, is apparent out of the remarkable

Job xix. 23,
24.

preface uttered in this expression, *O that my words were now written! O that they were printed in a book! That they were graven with an iron pen and lead in the rock for ever!* He desires that his words may continue as long as his expectation¹, that they may remain in the rock, together with his hope, so long as the rock shall endure, even to the day of his resurrection. The same appeareth from the objection of his friends, who urged against him that he was a sinner, and concluded from thence that he should never rise again; for his sins he pleadeth a Redeemer, and for his resurrection he sheweth expectation and assurance through the same Redeemer². It is further confirmed by the expressions themselves, which are no way proper for his temporal restitution:

Moses useth the word יָרָא with two *jods*, and in the formation of beasts יָרָא with but one; therefore the beasts are made but once, but man twice; once in his generation, and again in his resurrection. They strangely apprehend a promise of the resurrection, even in the malediction, *Dust thou art, and to dust thou shalt return*; Gen. iii. 19. חָלָךְ יָרָא it is not, *thou shalt go to the dust, but, thou shalt return*. As if he had said, thou art now dust while thou livest, and after death thou shalt return unto this dust, that is, thou shalt live again as now thou doest. So from those words, Exod. xv. 1. יָרָא אֶת מֵתָיו they conclude the resurrection upon this ground, שָׁר לֹא נִמְכַּר אֱלֹהֵי שָׁר

it is not said, *he sang*, but, *he shall sing*, viz. after the resurrection in the life to come. With these and the like arguments did the Rabbins satisfy themselves; which was the reason that they gave so small satisfaction to the Sadducees, while they omitted that pregnant place in Job.

¹ ["continue as his expectation," in the 3rd edition.]

² This place is urged by St Clements Romanus, the immediate successor of the apostles, in his epistle to the Corinthians, where instead of these words of the LXX. ἀναστήσαι τὸ δέμα μου τὸ ἀναστῆσαι ταῦτα, he reads, Καὶ ἀναστήσεις τὴν σάρκα μου ταύτην τὴν ἀναστήσαντα πάντα. § 26. [p. 164.]

the first words, *I also know*¹ denote a certainty and community, whereas the blessings of this life are under no such certainty, nor did Job pretend to it, and the particular condition of Job admitted no community, there being none partaker with him of the same calamity; *I know* certainly and infallibly, whatsoever shall become of my body at this time, which I know not, but this I know, that I shall rise; this is the hope of all which believe in God, and therefore this *I also know*. The title which he gives to him on whom he depends, the
 378 Redeemer², sheweth that he understands it of *Christ*; the time expressed denotes the futurity at *the latter day*³; the description of that Redeemer, *standing on the earth*, representeth the Judge of the quick and the dead; and seeing God with his eyes, declares his belief in the incarnation. The Jewish exposition of future happiness to be conferred by God, fails only in this, that they will not see in this place the promised *Messias*; from whence this future happy condition which they allow, would clearly involve a resurrection. Howsoever, they acknowledge the words of Daniel to declare as much, *And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth* Dan. xii. 2 *shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting confusion*⁴ [contempt].

If these and other places of the Old Testament shew that God had then revealed his will to raise the dead, we are sure those of the New fully declare the same. *Christ* who called

¹ ואני ידעתי

² נאלי ³ אחרון

⁴ The Jews collect from hence the resurrection, as Rabina in *Sanhedrin*, and in the *Midrash Tillim*. Psal. xciii.

3. אר "רחמון ישי עפר הם המתים שנ" Rabbi Rachmon said, that the sleepers in the dust are the dead, as it is written, Dan. xii. 2. *Many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake*, &c. And this is only denied by the Gentiles; for Porphyrius referreth it only and wholly to the times of Antiochus, whose words are thus left unto us translated by St Jerome: 'Tunc, ait, hi qui quasi in terræ pulvere dormiebant, et operti erant malorum pondere, et quasi in sepulcris miseriarum reconditi, ad in-speratam victoriam de terræ pulvere

resurrexerunt, et de humo elevaverunt caput, custodes legis resurgentes in vitam æternam, et prævaricatores in opprobrium sempiternum: ' *ad locum*. (Tom. v. p. 725 D.) Where it is to be observed, that he gives a probable gloss of the former part of the verse, but none at all of the latter, because it is no way consistent with his exposition of the former: for they which did rise from the burden of the pressures under Antiochus, did neither rise from thence to an eternal life, nor to an everlasting contempt. Thus, I say, only the Gentiles did interpret it, but now the Socinians are joined to them. So Volkeli- us urges: 'Quod in præcedentibus de Antiochi tempore agatur, et resurrectio illa ad tempora quæ jam præcesserunt spectat.' *De ver. Relig.* l. iii. c. 11.

John xi. 25. himself *the resurrection and the life*, refuted the Sadducees, and confirmed the doctrine of the Pharisees as to that opinion. He produced a place out of the Law of Moses, and made it

Matt. xxii. 31, 32. an argument to prove as much, *As touching the resurrection of the dead, have ye not read that which was spoken unto you by God, saying, I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob? God is not the God of the dead, but of the living.* With the force of which argument the multitude was astonished, and the Sadducees silenced. For under the name of God was understood a great benefactor, a God of promise, and to be their God, was to bless them and to reward them; as in them to be his servants and his people was to believe in him, and to obey him. Now Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob had not received the promises which they expected, and therefore God after their death desiring still to be called their God, he thereby acknowledgeth that he had a blessing and a reward for them still, and consequently that he will raise them to another life, in which they may receive it. So that the argument of our Saviour is the same which the

Exod. vi. 3, 4. Jews have drawn from another place of Moses, *I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, by the name of God Almighty, but by my name JEHOVAH was I not known unto them. Nevertheless I have established my covenant with them, to give them the land of Canaan, the land of their pilgrimage wherein they were strangers*¹. It is not said, *to give their sons*, but, *to give them the land of Canaan*; and therefore, because while they lived here, they enjoyed it not, they must live again, that they may receive the promise.

And as our blessed Saviour did refute the Sadducees out of the Law of Moses, so did St Paul join himself unto the Pharisees in this particular, for being called before the council, Acts xxiii. 6. and *perceiving that the one part were Sadducees, and the other Pharisees*, one denying, the other asserting the resurrection, he cried out in the council, *Men and brethren, I am a Pharisee, the son of a Pharisee: of the hope and resurrection of the dead I am called in question*; and answering before

¹ Exod. vi. 4. לָרֹאשׁ לָכֵן לֹא נִאֶמַר אֵלֶּיךָ : לָרֹאשׁ מִכָּאן לְחַיֵּית הַמֵּתִים מִן הַתּוֹרָה : *It is not said to give you, but to give them, whereby the resurrection of the dead appeareth out of the law.* R. Simai, in

Perek. Helek. And therefore the Jews hold the resurrection for one of the foundations of the law of Moses, מִנְּחִינֵי תּוֹרַת מֹשֶׁה הַמֵּתִים קֹמְדִים מִן קִרְיַת שְׂרִיעַת מֹשֶׁה Maimon. *Expl. c. 10. Tract. Sanhedrin.*

179 Felix, that they had found no evil-doing in him, while he stood before the council, he mentioned this particularly, except it be for this one voice, that I cried standing among them, Touching the resurrection of the dead I am called in question by you this day. Acts xxiv. 20, 21.

It is evident therefore that the resurrection of the dead was revealed under the Law, that the Pharisees who sat in Moses' chair did collect it thence, and believed it before our Saviour came into the world; that the Sadducees who denied it erred, not knowing the scriptures, nor the power of God; that our blessed Saviour clearly delivered the same truth, proved it out of the Law of Moses, refuted the Sadducees, confirmed the Pharisees, taught it the apostles, who followed him, confirming it to the Jews, preaching it to the Gentiles. Thus the will of God concerning the raising of the dead was made known unto the sons of men; and because God can do whatsoever he will, and will certainly effect whatsoever he hath foretold, therefore we are assured of a resurrection by virtue of a clear revelation. Matt. xxii. 29.

Beside, God hath not only foretold, or barely promised, but hath also given such testimonies as are most proper to confirm our faith in this particular prediction and promise. For God heard the voice of Elijah for the dead child of the widow of Sarepta, and the soul of the child came into him again, and he revived. Him did Elisha succeed, not only in the same spirit, but also in the like power, for he raised the child of the Shunammite from death: nor did that power die together with him; for when they were burying a dead man, they cast the man into the sepulchre of Elisha, and when the man was let down and touched the bones of Elisha, he revived and stood upon his feet. These three examples were so many confirmations, under the Law, of a resurrection to life after death; and we have three to equal them under the Gospel. When the daughter of Jairus was dead, Christ said unto her, Talitha cumi, Damsel, arise: and her spirit came again, and straightway the damsel arose. When he came nigh to the gate of the city called Naim, there was a dead man carried out, and he came nigh and touched the bier, and said, Young man, I say unto thee, Arise; and he that was dead sat up and began to speak. Thus Christ raised the dead in the chamber and in the street, from the 1 Kings xvii. 22.
2 Kings iv.
2 Kings xiii. 21.
Mark v. 41, 42.
Luke viii. 56.
Luke vii. 12, 14, 15.

John xi. 39,
43, 44.

bed and from the bier; and not content with these smaller demonstrations, proceedeth also from the grave. When Lazarus had been *dead four days*, and so buried that his sister said of him, *By this time he stinketh*; Jesus cried *with a loud voice, Lazarus, come forth: and he that was dead came forth*. These three evangelical resuscitations are so many preambulatory proofs of the last and general resurrection; but the three former and these also come far short of the resurrection of him who raised these.

1 Cor. xv. 12.

Christ did of himself actually rise, others who had slept in their graves did come from thence, and thus he gave an actual testimony of the resurrection. For if *Christ be preached that he rose from the dead* (saith St Paul to the Corinthians), *how say some amongst you that there is no resurrection from the dead?* If it be most infallibly certain that one man did rise from the dead, as we have before proved that Christ did, then it must be as certainly false to assert that there is no resurrection. And therefore when the Gentiles did themselves confess that some particular persons did return to life after death¹, they could not rationally deny the resurrection wholly. Now the resurrection of Christ doth not only prove by way of example, as the rest who rose, but hath a force in it to command belief of a future general resurrection. For God hath *appointed a day in which he will judge the world in righteousness by that man whom he hath ordained, whereof he hath given an assurance unto all men, in that he hath raised him from the dead*. All men then are assured that they shall rise, because *Christ is risen*. And *since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead*. For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive.

Acts xvii. 31.

1 Cor. xv.
20—22.

This consequence of a future resurrection of the dead from that of Christ already past, either hath a general or

¹ There were not only certain persons under the law and among the Jews, who were raised to life; but there were also histories among the Gentiles of several who rose to life after death. We mentioned before, one out of Plutarch, p. 261, who rose the third day, and Plato mentioneth another who revived the twelfth day after death: 'Αλλ' οὐ μέντοι σοί, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, Ἀλλήνου

γε ἀπόλογον ἐρῶ, ἀλλ' ἀλείμου μὲν ἀνδρός, Ἡρὸς τοῦ Ἀρμενίου, τὸ γένος Παμφύλου· ὅς ποτε ἐν πολέμῳ τελευτήσας, ἀναιρεθέντων δεκαταίων τῶν νεκρῶν ἤδη διεφθαρμένων, ὄγιγς μὲν ἀνγρέθη, κομισθεὶς δὲ οἰκάδε, μέλλων θάπτεσθαι, δωδεκαταίος ἐπὶ τῇ πυρᾷ κείμενος ἀνεβίω. Plat. de Rep. l. x. [Tom. vii.] p. 322. ed. Bip. Vide Plin. Nat. Hist. l. vii. cap. 52. De his qui elati revixerunt.

particular consideration. In a general reference it concerneth all: in a more peculiar way it belongeth to the elect alone. First, It belongeth generally unto all men in respect of that dominion of which Christ at his resurrection did obtain the full possession and execution. *For to this end Christ both died, and rose, and revived, that he might be Lord both of the dead and living.* Now as God is not the God of the dead, but of the living, so Christ is not the Lord of the dead, as dead, but as by his power he can revive them and rule them, when and in what they live. By virtue of this dominion entered upon at his resurrection *he must reign till he hath put all his enemies under his feet; and the last enemy that shall be destroyed is death;* and there is no destruction of death but by a general resurrection. By virtue of this did he declare himself after this manner to St John, *I am he that liveth and was dead; and behold I am alive for evermore, Amen; and have the keys of hell and of death.* Thus are we assured of a general resurrection, in that Christ is risen to become the Lord of the dead, and to destroy death.

Rom. xiv. 9.

Matt. xxii. 32.

1 Cor. xv. 26.

Rev. i. 18.

Secondly, Christ rising from the dead assureth us of a general resurrection in respect of the judgment which is to follow. For as it is appointed for all men once to die, so after death cometh judgment, and as Christ was raised that he might be Judge, so shall the dead be raised that they may be judged. As therefore God gave an assurance to all men, that he would judge the world by that man in that he raised him from the dead; so by the same act did he also give an assurance of the resurrection of the world to judgment.

Heb. ix. 27.

Acts xvii. 31.

Now as the general resurrection is evidenced by the rising of Christ, so in a more especial and peculiar manner the resurrection of the chosen saints and servants of God is demonstrated thereby. For he is risen not only as their Lord and Judge, but as their Head, to which they are united as members of his body (for he is the head of the body, the Church, who is the beginning, the first-born from the dead;) as the First-fruits, by which all the lump is sanctified and accepted; for now is Christ risen from the dead, and become the first-fruits of them that slept. The saints of God are endued with the Spirit of Christ, and thereby their bodies become the temples of the Holy Ghost: now as the promise of the Spirit was upon the resurrection of Christ, so the gift

Col. i. 18.

1 Cor. xv. 20.

and possession of the Spirit is an assurance of the resurrection of
 Rom. viii. 11. a Christian. For *if the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in us, he that raised Christ from the dead shall also quicken our mortal bodies by his Spirit that dwelleth in us.*

Thus God hath determined, and revealed that determination, to raise the dead, and confirmed that revelation by the actual raising of several persons as examples, and of Christ as the highest assurance which could be given unto man, that the doctrine of the resurrection might be established beyond all possibility of contradiction. Wherefore I conclude that *the resurrection of the body* is, in itself considered, possible, upon general considerations highly probable, upon Christian principles infallibly certain.

But as it is necessary to a resurrection that the flesh should rise, neither will the life of the soul alone continuing amount to the reviviscence of the whole man, so it is also necessary that the same flesh should be raised again; for if either the same body should be joined to another soul, or the same soul united to another body, it would not be the resurrection of the same man. Now the soul is so eminent a part of man, and by our Saviour's testimony not subject to mortality, that it never entered into the thoughts of any man to conceive that men should rise again with other souls. If the spirits of men departed live, as certainly they do, and when the resurrection should be performed, the bodies should be informed with other souls; neither they who lived before then should revive, and those who live after the resurrection should have never been before. Wherefore being at the latter day we expect not a new creation but a restitution, not a propagation, but a renovation, not a production of new souls, but a reunion of such as before were separated, there is no question but the same souls should live the second life which have lived the first. Nor is this only true of our souls, but must be also made good of our bodies, those houses of clay, those habitations of flesh: as our bodies while we live are really distinguished from all other creatures, as the body of every particular man is different from the bodies of all other men, as no other substance whatsoever is vitally united to the soul of that man whose body it is while he liveth; so no substance of any other creature, no body of any other man, shall be vitally reunited unto the soul at the resurrection.

That the same body, not any other, shall be raised to life, which died; that the same flesh which was separated from the soul at the day of death, shall be united to the soul at the last day; that the same tabernacle which was dissolved shall be reared up again; that the same temple which was destroyed shall be rebuilt, is most apparent out of the same word, most evident upon the same grounds, upon which we believe there shall be any resurrection. *Though after my skin worms* ^{Job xix. 28.} *destroy this body* (saith Job), *yet in my flesh* (in flesh, shewing the reality, in my flesh, shewing the propriety and identity,) *shall I see God, whom I shall see for myself, and mine eyes shall behold, and not another, or a stranger, eye*¹. *He* ^{Rom. viii. 11.} *that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken our mortal bodies*; after the resurrection our glorified bodies shall become spiritual and incorruptible, but in the resurrection of our mortal bodies, those bodies, by reason of whose mortality we died, shall be revived. *For this corruptible must put on* ^{1 Cor. xv. 53.} *incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality*². But

¹ 'Quid hac prophetia manifestius? Nullus tam aperte post Christum, quam iste ante Christum de resurrectione loquitur.' *S. Hier.* ep. 61. al. 38. col. 324. [Liber contra Joannem Hieroso. lym. § 30. Tom. II. p. 438 A.]

² Ἰνα μὴ ἀκούσας τις, ὅτι σὰρξ καὶ αἷμα βασιλείαν Θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομήσει, νομίση τὰ σώματα μὴ ἀνίστασθαι, ἐπὶ γὰρ, ὅτι δεῖ τὸ φθαρὲν τοῦτο ἐνδύσασθαι ἀφθαρτὴν, καὶ τὸ θνητὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσασθαι ἀθανάτην φθαρὲν δὲ τὸ σῶμα, καὶ θνητὸν τὸ σῶμα· ὥστε τὸ σῶμα μένει· αὐτὸ γὰρ ἔστι τὸ ἐνδύμενον· ἡ δὲ θνητότης καὶ ἡ φθορὰ ἀφανίζεται, ἀθανάτη καὶ ἀφθαρτὴ ἐπιούσης αὐτῇ. *S. Chrysost.* ad loc. *Hom.* 42. [§ 2. Tom. x. p. 396 B.] 'Ὅπως τὴν ἀκρίβειαν, τὸ θνητὸν τοῦτο εἰδείξει δεικτικῶς, ἵνα μὴ ἄλλης νομίσης σαρκὸς ἀνδραστῶν. *Theodoret.* ad loc. [Σαφῶς εἰδίδασκεν ὡς οὐχ ἕτερον ἀνίσταται, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τὸ φθειρόμενον· οἷον γὰρ τινι δακτύλῳ τῷ λόγῳ τοῦτῳ αὐτὸ ἐπέδειξε λέγων τὸ φθαρὲν τοῦτο, καὶ τὸ θνητὸν τοῦτο. *Theodoret.* in locum. Tom. III. p. 207 A.] 'Oportet enim corruptivum istud induere incorruptionem, et mortale istud induere immortalitatem. Quid mortale, nisi caro? quid corruptivum,

nisi sanguis? Ac ne putes aliud sentire apostolum providentem tibi, et, ut de carne dictum intelligas, laborantem; cum dicit, *istud corruptivum et istud mortale*, cutem ipsam tenens dicit. Certe *istud* nisi de subiecto, nisi de comparanti pronunciasse non potuit: demonstrationis corporalis est verbum.' *Tertull.* de Resur. Carn. c. 51. [p. 420 A.] 'Sed et apostolus cum dicit, *Oportet enim corruptibile hoc induere incorruptionem, et mortale hoc induere immortalitatem*, numquid non corpus suum quodammodo contingens et digito palpatum est vox? Hoc ergo quod nunc corruptibile corpus est, resurrectionis gratia incorruptibile erit, et hoc quod nunc mortale est, immortalitatis virtutibus induetur.' *Ruff.* in Symb. § 43. [p. 29.] 'Quod dicit apostolus, *corruptibile hoc et mortale*; hoc ipsum corpus, id est, carnem, quæ tunc videbatur, ostendit. Quod autem copulat, *inducere incorruptionem et immortalitatem*, illud indumentum, id est, vestimentum, non dicit corpus abolere quod ornat in gloria; sed quod ante inglorium fuit, effluere gloriosum.' *S. Hier. Epist.* 61. al. 38. ad Pammach. col.

this corruptible and *this mortal* is the same body which dieth, because *mortal*; and is corrupted, because *corruptible*; the soul then, at the resurrection of that man which is made immortal, must put on that body which putteth on incorruption and immortality.

The identity of the body raised from death is so necessary, that the very name of the resurrection doth include or suppose it; so that when I say there shall be a resurrection of the dead, I must intend thus much, that the bodies of men which lived and are dead shall revive and rise again. For at the death of man nothing falleth but his body¹; *the spirit* goeth upward, and no other body falleth but his own; and therefore the body, and no other but that body, must rise again, to make a resurrection. If we look upon it under the notion of reviviscency, which is more ordinary in the Hebrew language², it proves as much; for nothing properly dieth but

323. [*Lib. contra Joan. Hieros.* § 29. Tom. II. p. 436 B.]

¹ Περὶ δὲ σαρκὸς ἀναστάσεως, πῶς οὐχὶ σὰρκὸς ἔσται ἀνάστασις, ὧ ἐθέλω σοφὴ Ἱεράκα; Αὐτὴ γὰρ ἡ ὁρμασία τῆς φράσεως δεικνύει τὴν δύναμιν. Ἀνάστασις γὰρ οὐ καλεῖται τοῦ μὴ πεπτωκότες· ποῖον δέ ἐστι τὸ πεσόν; ποῖον τὸ ταφέν; ποῖον τὸ λυθόν, ἀλλ' ἡ τὸ σῶμα; καὶ οὐχ ἡ ψυχὴ· ψυχὴ τούτων οὐ πίπτει, οὐτε θάπτεται. *S. Epirham. Hæc.* lxvii. §. 6. [Tom. I. p. 714 A.] 'Nam et ipsum quod mortuorum resurrectio dicitur, exigit defendi proprietates vocabulorum. Mortuorum itaque vocabulo non est, nisi quod amisit animam, de cujus facultate vivebat. Corpus est quod amittit animam, et amittendo fit mortuum; ita mortui vocabulum corpori competit. Porro, si resurrectio mortui est, mortuum autem non aliud est quam corpus, corporis erit resurrectio. Sic et resurrectionis vocabulum non aliam rem vindicat quam quæ cecidit. Surgere enim potest dici et quod omnino non cecidit, quod semper retro jacuit. Resurgere autem non est nisi ejus quod cecidit. Iterum enim surgendo quia cecidit resurgere dicitur. Re enim syllaba iterationi semper adhibetur.' *Tertull. adv. Marc.* l. v. c. 9. [p. 592 B.] 'Sed et ipsum resurrectio-

nis vocabulum significat non aliud ruere, aliud suscitari, et quod adjicitur mortuorum carnem propriam demonstrat; quod enim in homine moritur, hoc et vivificatur.' *S. Hier. ep.* 61. ad 38. ad *Pammach.* col. 327. [*Lib. contra Joan. Hierosol.* § 33. Tom. II. p. 442 c.] 'Si id resurgere dicitur quod cadit, caro ergo nostra in veritate resurgit, sicut in veritate cadit.' *Gennad. de Eccl. Dogm.* c. 6. Πῶς γὰρ ἀναστήσεται ἡ μὴ πεπτωκυῖα ψυχὴ; ἀνάστασις δὲ πῶς αὐτῆς κληθήσεται, τῆς μὴ πεσοῦσης ψυχῆς; πᾶν γὰρ τὸ πίπτει ἀναστάσεως δεῖται· πίπτει δὲ οὐχ ἡ ψυχὴ ἀλλὰ σῶμα. ὅθεν καὶ δικαίως πτώμα αὐτὸ ἡ συνθήθεια εἰσθε καλεῖν. *S. Epirham. Hæc.* xlii. § 5. [Tom. II. p. 305 c.] 'Ἀνάστασιν δὲ σωμάτων περιέμενον τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἡ προσηγορία δηλοῖ· ἀνάστασις γὰρ ἡ ἀνοθεν στάσις· τὸ σῶμα δέ ἐστι τὸ φθειρόμενον καὶ διαλυόμενον — τοῦτου τούτων ἡ ἀνοθεν σύστασις εἰκότως καλεῖται ἀνάστασις· τῆς γὰρ δὴ ἀθανάτου ψυχῆς οὐκ ἀνάστασις, ἀλλ' ἐκπνοὴς γίγνεται πρὸς τὸ σῶμα. *Theodoret. Hæc. Fab.* l. v. c. 19. [Tom. IV. 293 A.] Vide *Iren.* l. v. c. 7. [p. 408. 15.]

² The Rabbins use sometimes *נשמת* which is properly *resurrection*, *ἀνάστασις*, according to that of our Saviour,

the body: the soul cannot be killed; and nothing can revive but that which dieth. Or to speak more punctually, the man falleth not in respect of his spirit, but of his flesh; and therefore he cannot be said to rise again but in respect of his flesh which fell: man dieth not in reference to his soul, which is immortal, but his body; and therefore he cannot be said to revive, but in reference to his body before deprived of life: and because no other flesh fell at his death, no other body died but his own; therefore he cannot rise again but in his own flesh, he cannot revive again but in his own body.

Again, the description of the place from whence the resurrection shall begin, is a sufficient assurance that the same bodies which were dead shall revive and rise again. They which *sleep in the dust of the earth*, they which *are in the graves*, shall hear the voice and rise: *the sea shall give up the dead which are in it, and death and the grave deliver up the dead which are in them*¹. But if the same bodies did not rise, they which are in the dust should not revive: if God should give us any other bodies than our own, neither the sea nor the grave should give up their dead. That shall rise again which the grave gives up; the grave hath nothing else to give up but that body which was laid into it; therefore the same body which was buried, at the last day shall be revived.

Dan. xii. 2.
John v. 28.
Rev. xx. 13.

The immediate consequent of the resurrection proveth the identity of the dying and rising body; *We must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, that every one may receive*

2 Cor. v. 10.

Talitha cumi; but more often they make use of *חַיִּים*, which is *reviviscencia*, *draßlwais*. And though they make a distinction sometimes between them, attributing the first to the wicked, the second to the just; yet it must not be so understood as if there could be a reviviscency without a resurrection, a *חַיִּים* without a *חַיִּים*, but that there is to the wicked *חַיִּים*, which cannot so properly be called *חַיִּים*, because they rise not to the happiness of eternal life.

¹ This argument is so cogent, that the Socinians are forced to deny that Christ spake of the resurrection, affirming that the graves of ignorance and impiety are only there intended, and rising is nothing else but coming to the

knowledge of Christ by the preaching of the Gospel. Whereas Christ expressly speaks of bringing men to judgment, John v. 27, and divides those which are to come out of their graves into two ranks, neither of which can so be understood. The first are those which have done good, before they come out of the graves; these therefore could not be the graves of ignorance or impiety, from which no good can come. The second are such who have done evil, and so remain as evil-doers, and therefore cannot be said to have come forth out of the graves of ignorance or impiety, or to rise by the preaching of the Gospel to newness of life, because they are expressly said to come forth *unto the resurrection of damnation*.

the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad. That which shall be then received is either a reward or punishment; a reward for the good, a punishment for the evil, done in the body: that which shall receive the reward, and be liable to the punishment, is not only the soul but the body; it stands not therefore with the nature of a just retribution¹, that he which sinned in one body should be punished in another, he which pleased God in his own flesh should see God with other eyes. As for the wicked, God shall *destroy both their soul and body in hell*; but they which *glorify God in their body and their spirit which are God's*, shall be glorified by God in their body and their spirit; for they are both *bought with the same price*, even the blood of Christ. The bodies of the Saints *are the members of Christ*, and no members of his shall remain in death: they are the *temples of the Holy Ghost*, and therefore if they be destroyed, they shall be raised again. For *if the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in us*, as he doth, and by so dwelling maketh our bodies temples, *he which raised up Christ from the dead, shall also quicken our mortal bodies, by his Spirit that dwelleth in us.*

Matt. x. 28.
1 Cor. vi. 20.
1 Cor. vi. 20.
1 Cor. vi. 16.
1 Cor. vi. 19.
Rom. viii. 11

Furthermore, The identity of the dying and rising body will appear by those bodies which shall never rise, because they shall never die. This may be considered not only in the translations of Enoch and Elias², but also in those whom Christ shall find alive at his coming, whom he shall not kill, but change; *the dead in Christ shall rise first; then they*

1 Thess. iv. 16, 17.

¹ 'Quam absurdum, quam vero et iniquum; utrumque autem quam Deo indignum, aliam substantiam operari, aliam mercede dispungi: ut hæc quidem caro per martyria lanietur, alia vero coronetur: item e contrario hæc quidem caro in spurcitiis volutetur, alia vero damnetur. Nonne præstat omnem semel fidem a spe resurrectionis abducere, quam de gravitate atque justitia Dei ludere? Marcionem pro Valentino resuscitari?' *Tertull. de Resur. Carnis*, c. 56. [p. 425 c.] And speaking to the soul of man: 'Affirmamus te manere post vitæ disunctionem, et expectare diem judicii, proque meritis aut cruciatui destinari aut refrigerio, utroque

sempiterno. Quibus sustinendis necessario tibi substantiam pristinam ejusdemque hominis materiam et memoriam reversurum, quod et nihil mali ac boni sentire possis sine carnis passionalis facultate, et nulla ratio sit judicii sine ipsius exhibitione, qui meruit judicii passionem.' *Id de Testim. Animæ*, c. 4. [p. 82 B.]

² 'Enoch translatus est in carne: Elias carneus raptus est in cælum; necdum mortui et paradisi jam coloni, habent membra cum quibus rapti sunt atque translati.' *S. Hier. Epist. 61. al. 38. ad Pammach.* col. 324. [*Lib. contra Joan. Hieros.* Tom. II. p. 437 c.]

which are alive, and remain, shall be caught up together with them in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air: and so shall ever be with the Lord. If those which are alive shall be caught up as they are alive with the same bodies, only changed into glorified and spiritual bodies, that is, with the same bodies spiritualized and glorified; certainly those which were dead shall rise out of their graves to life in the same bodies in which they lived, that they may both appear alike before the Judge of the quick and the dead. Otherwise the saints which shall be with God and with the Lamb for evermore would be chequered with a strange disparity, one part of them appearing and continuing with the same bodies in which they lived, another part with others. Acts 2. 12.

Lastly, Those examples which God hath been pleased to give us to confirm our faith in the resurrection, do at the same time persuade us that the same body which died shall rise again. For whether we look upon the three examples of the Old Testament, or those of the New¹, they all rose in the same body before it was dissolved: if we look upon those which rose upon our Saviour's death, it is written that *the graves were opened, and many bodies of saints which slept arose, and came out of their graves*, certainly the same bodies which were laid in. If then they were to us examples of the resurrection to come², as certainly they were, then must they resemble in their substance after they lived again the substance in which all the rest shall rise. And being Christ himself did raise his own body, according to his prediction, *Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up*, and Matt. xxvii. 52, 53. John ii. 19.

¹ Iren. adv. Hæres. l. v. c. 13. d. 418.

² 'Post dicta Domini, facta etiam ejus quid sapere credamus, de capulis, de sepulchris, mortuos resuscitantis? cui rei istud? Si ad simplicem ostentationem potestatis, aut ad præsentem gratiam redanimationis, non adeo magnum illi denuo morituros suscitare. Enimvero, si ad fidem potius sequestrandam futuræ resurrectionis, ergo et illa corporalis præscribitur, de documenti sui forma.' Tertull. de Resur. Carn. c. 38. [p. 407 A.] 'Atego Deum malo decipere non posse, de fallacia solummodo infirmum; ne aliter documen-

ta præmisisse, quam rem disposuisse videatur: imo, ne si exemplum resurrectionis sine carne non valuit inducere, multo magis plenitudinem exempli in eadem substantia exhibere non possit. Nullum vero exemplum majus est eo, cujus exemplum est. Majus est autem, si animæ cum corpore resuscitantur in documentum sine corpore resurgendi: ut tota hominis salus dimidiis patrocinaretur: quando exemplorum conditio illud potius expeteret, quod minus haberetur; animæ dico solius resurrectionem, velut gustum carnis etiam resurrectionis suo in tempore.' Ibid. [p. 407 B.]

Luke xxiv.
29.
Phil. iii. 21.

declared it to be his own body, saying, *Behold my hands and my feet that it is I myself*; being *he shall change our vile bodies that they may be fashioned like unto his glorious body*¹; it followeth that we shall rise in the same bodies as our Saviour did, that every particular person at the resurrection may speak the words which Christ then spake, *Behold it is I myself*.

Luke xxiv.
50.

We can therefore no otherwise expound this article, teaching *the resurrection of the body*, than by asserting that the bodies which have lived and died shall live again after death, and that the same flesh which is corrupted shall be restored; whatsoever alteration shall be made², shall not be of their nature, but of their condition; not of their substance, but of their qualities. Which explication is most agreeable to the language of the Scriptures, to the principles of religion, to the constant profession of the Church, against the Origenists of old, and the Socinians of late.

Exod. iii. 6.
Matt. xxii. 32.

Having hitherto proved the certainty of this article, That there shall be a *resurrection*, and declared the verity and propriety of it, that it shall be the *resurrection* of the same *body* which was dead; we may now proceed farther to inquire into the latitude of the same, to whom the resurrection doth belong. And here we find a great difference between the revelation of this truth under the law and under the gospel; Christ proved out of the law that there should be a resurrection, but by such an argument as reacheth no farther than unto the people of God, because it is grounded upon those words, *I am the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob*. Job speaketh most expressly of the resurrection, but mentioneth no other than his Redeemer and himself. The place

¹ 'Expectamus in hujus morte et sanguine emundatos remissionem peccatorum consecuturos: resuscitandos nos ab eo in his corporibus, et in eadem carne qua nunc sumus, sicut et ipse in eadem, qua natus et passus et mortuus est, resurrexit.' So we read in the Creed which by some is attributed to Athanasius, by others to Gregory Nazianzen: 'Si ad exemplum Christi resurgamus qui resurrexit in carne, jam non ad exemplum Christi resurgemus, si non in carne et ipsi resurgemus.'

² 'Hæc est vera resurrectionis confessio, quæ sic gloriam carni tribuit, ut

non auferat veritatem,' *S. Hieron. ep. 61, al. 38. ad Pammach. col. 323. [Lib. in Joan. Hierosol. § 29, Tom. II. p. 436 E.]* 'Cum ergo ita evidens, et (ut ita dicam) palpabile, et manu attrahendum nobis Christus dederit suæ resurrectionis exemplum; ita aliquis insanit, ut aliter se resurrecturum putet, quam resurrexit ille qui primus resurrectionis aditum patefecit?' *Ruff. Invect. in S. Hieron. l. i. col. 354.* 'Nostri autem illud quoque recogitent, corpora eadem recepturas in resurrectione animas, in quibus decesserunt.' *Tertull. de Anima, c. 56. [p. 354 C.]*

of Daniel, which was always accounted the most evident and uncontradicted testimony, though it deliver two different sorts of persons rising, yet it seems to be with some limitation, *Many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake.* Dan. xii. 2. From whence the Jews most generally have believed that some men should live again, and some should not; because it is written, *many shall awake*, but it is not written, *all shall awake*. Nay, some of them have gone so far by way of restriction, that they have maintained a resurrection of the just alone, according to that ancient saying accepted amongst them, that the 'sending of the rain is of the just and unjust, but the resurrection of the dead is of the just alone¹.' Against which two restrictions, by the light delivered in the Gospel, we shall deliver the latitude of this Article in these two propositions. First, The resurrection of the dead belongeth not unto the just alone, but to the unjust also. Secondly, The resurrection of the dead belongeth not only to some of the just, but to all the just; not to some of the unjust only, but to all the unjust, even unto all the dead.

For the first, It is most evident not only out of the New, but also out of the Old Testament: the words of Daniel prove it sufficiently; for of those *many which shall awake, some shall rise to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt*. But it is most certain that the just shall never rise to *shame and everlasting contempt*; therefore it is most evident that some shall awake and rise beside the just. The
385 Jews themselves did understand and believe thus much, as appeareth by St Paul's apology to Felix: *But this I confess* Acts xxiv. 14, 16. *unto thee, that I have hope towards God, which they themselves also allow, that there shall be a resurrection of the dead, both of the just and unjust.* The just shall rise to receive their reward, the unjust to receive their punishment; the first unto a resurrection called, in reference unto them, *the resurrection of life*; the second unto a resurrection named, in relation unto them, *the resurrection of damnation*². For as there is a resur- John v. 29. *rection of the just*, so there must also be a *resurrection of the unjust*: that as Christ said unto the charitable person, *Thou* Luke xiv. 14.

¹ This is recorded in the *Bereshit Rabba*. Vide *Maimonidis Expl.* c. 10. *Tract. Sanhed.*

² *'Ardotais* *ἄρδοταις* and *'Ardotais*

ἄρδοταις. The first is called *ἀρδοταίς δίκαιων*, and therefore the second may as well be called *ἀρδοταίς ἀδίκων*.

Matt. xxv.
34.Matt. xxv.
41.

shalt be blessed, for thou shalt be recompensed at the resurrection of the just: so it may be said to the wicked and uncharitable, 'Thou shalt be accursed, for thou shalt be recompensed at the resurrection of the unjust.' For there shall be a *resurrection* that there may be a judgment, and at the judgment there shall appear sheep on the right hand of the Son of man, and goats on the left: therefore they both shall rise; those, that they may receive that blessing, *Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world;* these that they may receive that sentence, *Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels.* At that resurrection then, which we believe, there shall rise both just and unjust.

1 Cor. xv. 22.

1 Cor. xv. 31.

John v. 28,
29.Matt. xxv.
31, 32.

Rom. xiv. 10.

2 Cor. v. 10.

Secondly, As no kind of men, so no person, shall be excluded: whosoever dieth is numbered with the just or unjust. Adam the first of men shall rise, and all which come from him. *For as in Adam all died, so in Christ shall all be made alive.* Christ is the Lord of the dead, and so hath a right by that dominion to raise them all to life: it is called *the resurrection of the dead* indefinitely, and comprehendeth them universally. *By man came death, by man came the resurrection of the dead,* and so the resurrection adequately answereth unto death. Christ shall destroy death, but if any one should be left still dead, death were not destroyed. The words of our Saviour are express and full, *The hour is coming, in the which all that are in the graves shall hear his voice, and shall come forth; they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of damnation.* In the description of the judgment which followeth upon the resurrection, *when the Son of man shall sit upon the throne of his glory,* it is said that *before him shall be gathered all nations.... We shall all stand before the judgment-seat of Christ,* and if so, the dead must all rise, for they are all fallen. *We must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or evil;* and before we all appear, the dead must rise that they may appear. This is the latitude of the *resurrection*; the resurrection of the dead is the resurrection of all the dead, or of all mankind¹.

¹ Irenæus in his Rule of Faith: 'Ἐν ἀναστῆσαι πᾶσαν σάρκα παρὸς ἀνθρώπων τὸ ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι τὰ πάντα, καὶ πότῃτος. Adv. Hæres. l. i. [c. 2. p. 45]

386 Now this *resurrection*, as an object of our faith, is yet to come; and we are obliged to believe the futuration of it. There were heretics in the apostles' days who acknowledged a resurrection, but yet destroyed this Article, by denying the relation of it to the time to come¹, as *Hymeneus and Philetus*, ^{2 Tim. ii. 17, 18.} *who erred concerning the truth, saying that the resurrection is past already, and so overthrow the faith of some*². To believe it already past, is to deny it; because it cannot be believed past, but by such an interpretation as must destroy it. As they which interpret this resurrection of the likeness of Christ's resurrection: that as he died and rose again, so we should die unto sin and live again unto righteousness, attributing all to the renovation of the mind, must deny *the resurrection of the body*.

Now, as we know the doctrine of the resurrection was first delivered to be believed as to come; so we are assured that it is not yet come since the doctrine of it was first delivered, and is to be believed as to come to the end of the world; because, as *Martha called it*, it is the *resurrection at* ^{John xi. 24.} *the last day*. Job who knew that his Redeemer lived, did not expect that he should stand upon the earth till *the latter day*; Christ hath no otherwise declared *his Father's will*, than

14.] And Theophilus calls it: τὴν καθολικὴν ἀνάστασιν πάντων ἀνθρώπων. *Ad Autol.* l. i. p. 78 B.

¹ [The words "to come" are not in the third edition.]

² 'Nonnulli enim attendentes verba quæ assidue dicit apostolus, *Quia et mortui sumus cum Christo et resurreximus cum eo*; nec intelligentes quatenus dicantur, arbitrati sunt jam factam esse resurrectionem, nec ullam ulterius in fine temporum esse sperandam. *Ex quibus est*, inquit, *Hymeneus et Philetus, qui circa veritatem aberraverunt, dicentes resurrectionem jam factam esse, et fidem quorundam subverterunt*. Idem apostolus eos arguens detestatur, qui tamen dicit nos resurrexisse cum Christo.' *S. August. Epist.* 119. al. 55. *ad Januarium*, § 4. [Tom. II. p. 97 E.] (p. 129.) This was the heresy of the *Seleuciani* or *Hermiani*, as the same St Augustin testifies: 'Resurrectionem non putant futuram, sed quotidie

fieri in generatione filiorum.' *Hæres.* 59. [Tom. VIII. p. 15 E.] Thus Tertullian relates of some heretics in his time, who made the resurrection wholly allegorical, and yet pretended to believe a resurrection in the flesh, but understood it in this life at the baptismal renovation, and so past when they professed to believe: 'Exinde ergo, resurrectionem fide consequutos cum Domino esse, cum eum in baptismate induerint. Hoc denique ingenio etiam in colloquiis sæpe nostros decipere consueverunt; quasi et ipsi resurrectionem carnis admittant. Væ, inquit, qui non in hac carne resurrexerit; ne statim illos percutiant, si resurrectionem statim abnuerint. Tacite autem secundum conscientiam suam hoc sentiunt, Væ, qui non, dum in hac carne est, cognoverit arcana hæretica; hoc est enim apud illos resurrectio.' *Tertull. de Resurrect. Carnis*, c. 19. [p. 392 C.]

John vi. 39. *that of all which he hath given him, he should lose nothing, but should raise it up at the last day.* The corn is sown and
 Matt. xiii. 39. *laid in the ground, and the harvest is the end of the world.*
 1 Cor. xv. 52. *We must not expect to rise from the dead till the last trump...*
 1 Thess. iv. 16. *The Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of an archangel, and with the trump of God, before all that are in the graves shall hear his voice. God shall judge the world, and therefore shall raise the world; but he will not raise them to that judgment till the end of the world.*
 John v. 28.
 Acts xvii. 31.

Thus having demonstrated that the will of God hath been revealed that there should be a resurrection; that the resurrection which was revealed is the resurrection of the body; that the bodies which are to be raised are the same which are already dead or shall hereafter die; that this resurrection is not past, but that we which live shall hereafter attain unto it: I conceive I have declared all which is necessary by way of explication and confirmation of the truth of this Article.

The value of this truth, the necessity of this doctrine, will appear; first, in the illustration of the glory of God, by the most lively demonstration of his wisdom, power, justice, and mercy. God first created all things for himself, and the resurrection is as it were a new creation. The wisdom and power of God are manifested in this acknowledgment, inasmuch as without infinite knowledge he could not have an exact and distinct comprehension of all the particles and individual dust of all the bodies of all men; and without an infinite power he could not conjoin, cement, conglutinate, and incorporate them again into the same flesh. The mercy and justice of God are declared by the same profession; the mercy, in promising life after that death which we had so justly deserved; the justice, in performing that promise unto all true believers, and in punishing the disobedient with everlasting flames. *When ye see this (saith the prophet), your heart shall rejoice, and your bones shall flourish like an herb; and the hand of the Lord shall be known towards his servants, and his indignation towards his enemies.*

Isa. lxxvi. 14.

Secondly, It is necessary to profess the belief of *the resurrection of the body*, that we may thereby acknowledge the great and powerful work of our redemption, confessing that death could not be conquered but by death, and that we could never have obtained another life, had not the Saviour

of the world *abolished death, and brought life and immortality to light through the Gospel.* If Christ were not the life, the dead could never live; if he were not the resurrection, they could never rise. Were it not for him that *liveth and was dead, and is alive for evermore,* had not he *the keys of hell and of death,* we could never break through the bars of death, or pass the gates of hell. But he hath undertaken to vanquish our enemies, and our *last enemy to be destroyed is death.* that the prophecy may be fulfilled, *Death is swallowed up in victory,* and we may cry out with the apostle, *Thanks be to God, which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ.*

2 Tim. i. 10.

Rev. i. 18.

1 Cor. xv. 26.

Hos. xiii. 14.

1 Cor. xv. 26, 54, 57.

Thirdly, The belief of this article is necessary to strengthen us against the fear of our own death, and immoderate sorrow for the death of others. The sentence of death, passed upon us for our sins, cannot but affright and amaze us, except we look upon the suspension, relaxation, or revocation of it in the resurrection; but when we are assured of a life after death, and such a life as no death shall follow it, we may lay down our fears arising from corrupted nature, upon the comforts proceeding from our faith. The departure of our friends might overwhelm us with grief, if they were lost for ever; but the apostle will *not have us ignorant concerning those which are asleep, that we sorrow not even as others which have no hope.*

1 Thess. iv. 13.

Fourthly, The belief of the resurrection hath a necessary reflection upon this life by way of preparation for the next, as deterring from sin, as encouraging to holiness, as comforting in afflictions. How can any man commit a deliberate sin while he thinks that he must rise and stand before the judgment-seat, and give an account, and suffer for ever the punishment due unto it? What pleasure can entice him, what inclination can betray him, for a momentary satisfaction, to incur an eternal rejection? How can we defile that body which shall never be raised to glory hereafter, except it here become the temple of the Holy Ghost? St. Paul, who hath delivered the doctrine, hath taught us by his own example what work is expected to be wrought upon our souls by it. *I have hope (saith he) towards God, that there shall be a resurrection of the dead, both of the just and unjust. And herein do I exercise myself to have always a conscience void of offence toward God and toward man.* This is the proper

Acts xxiv. 15, 16.

work of a true belief, and a full persuasion of a resurrection; and he which is really possessed with this hope, cannot
 1 Cor. xv. 58. choose but purify himself; *always abounding in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as he knoweth that his labour is not in vain in the Lord.* This encourageth all drooping spirits; this sustaineth all fainting hearts; this sweeteneth all present miseries; this lighteneth all heavy burdens; this encourageth in all dangers; this supporteth in all calamities.

Having thus discovered the truth of this article, we may easily perceive what every man is obliged to believe, and understood to profess, when he confesseth a belief of *the resurrection of the body*; for thereby he is conceived to declare thus much;

I am fully persuaded of this as of a most necessary and infallible truth, that as it is appointed for all men once to die, so it is also determined that all men shall rise from death, that the souls separated from our bodies are in the hand of God and live, that the bodies dissolved into dust, or scattered into ashes, shall be recollected in themselves, and reunited to their souls, that the same flesh which lived before shall be revived, that the same numerical bodies which did fall shall rise, that this resuscitation shall be universal, no man excepted, no flesh left in the grave, that all the just shall be raised to a resurrection of life, and all the unjust to a resurrection of damnation; that this shall be performed at the last day when the trump shall sound: and thus I believe THE RESURRECTION OF THE BODY.

ARTICLE XII.

AND THE LIFE EVERLASTING.

THIS last Article, though not to be found in all¹, yet was expressed in many ancient Creeds²: in some by way of

¹ Not in all; for divers ended with that of the resurrection, as appeareth by Rufinus, who not only expounded the Aquileian Creed, but collated it with the Greek and Roman, and yet makes no mention of this Article, but concludes with that of the resurrection. 'Sed et ultimus iste sermo qui resurrectionem carnis pronunciat, summam totius perfectionis succincta brevitate concludit.' *Expos. in Symb.* § 40. [p. 27.] And whereas he shews the custom of the Aquileian Church to make a cross upon their forehead at the naming of *hujus carnis*, he tells us elsewhere in his Apology against St Jerome, that it was to conclude the Creed: 'Quo scilicet frontem, ut mos est, in fine Symboli signaculo contingentes; et ore carnis hujus, videlicet quam contingimus, resurrectionem fatentes, omnem venenatæ adversum nos lingue calumniandi aditum perstruamus.' l. i. col. 354. [*Hieronymi Opera*, Tom. II. p. 587 A.] In the same manner St Jerome his contemporary: 'In Symboli fidei et spei nostræ, quod ab apostolis traditum non scribitur in charta et atramento, sed in tabulis cordis carnalibus, post confessionem Trinitatis et unitatem Ecclesiæ, omne Christiani dogmatis sacramentum carnis resurrectione concluditur.' *Epist.* 61. al. 38. ad *Pamach.* col. 323. [*Lib. contra Joan. Hierosol.* § 28. Tom. II. p. 435 B.] So St Chrysostom: Μετὰ γὰρ τὴν ἀναγγελίαν τῶν μυστικῶν ῥημάτων ἐκείνων καὶ φοβερῶν, καὶ τοὺς φρικτοὺς κανόνας τῶν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατενεχθέντων δογμάτων, καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς τῷ τέλει προστίθεμεν, ὅταν μέλλωμεν βαπτίζειν, κελεύοντες λέγειν ὅτι πιστεύω εἰς νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ πίστει ταύτῃ βαπτίζεσθαι: μετὰ γὰρ τὸ ὁμολογήσαι τοῦτο μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων, τότε καθιέμεθα εἰς τὴν πηγὴν τῶν ἱερῶν ραμμάτων ἐκείνων. *Hom.* 40. in 1 *Cor.* [§ 1. Tom. x.

p. 379 B.] So Maximus Taurinensis, after those words *carnis resurrectionem*, adds: 'hic religionis nostræ finis, hæc summa credendi est.' [*In Expos. Symb.* p. 40 F.] And Venantius Fortunatus after the same words: 'summa perfectionis concluditur.' [*Exp. Symb. Lib.* XI. art. 1. p. 382 F.] And in the MS. set forth by the bishop of Armagh, *σπικὸς ἀνδρασιῶν*, and *carnis resurrectionem*, are the last words.

² As Petrus Chrysologus expressly: 'Credimus vitam æternam: quia post resurrectionem nec bonorum finis est nec malorum. Signate vos.' *Serm.* 60. [p. 706 A.] And again: 'Bene addidit, vitam æternam, ut se resurrecturum crederet, qui resurget per ipsum, qui cum Deo Patre et Spiritu S. vivit et regnat.' *Serm.* 62. [p. 708 B.] So Etherius Uxamensis, and Eusebius Gallicanus. So we find *Serm. de Temp.* 131. et *De Symb. ad Catech.* l. i. cap. 9. 'Quomodo carnis resurrectionem? Ne forte putet aliquis quomodo Lazari, ut scias non sic esse, additum est in vitam æternam.' And l. 2. cap. 12. 'Hoc sequitur etiam in sancto Symbolo, quod post resurrectionem carnis, credamus et in vitam æternam.' l. 3. cap. 12. et l. 4. cap. 12. 'Hoc sequitur in sancto Symbolo, quod omnia quæ credimus et speramus, in vita æterna percipiamus.' And Carolus Magnus in his reprehension of Basilii bishop of Ancyra: 'Non eo modo præjudicat prætermisio imaginum adorationis sacræ fidei puritati, quæ interdicta potius quam instituta est; sicut præjudicant remissio peccatorum, carnis resurrectio, et vita futuri sæculi, si in confessione prætermittantur; quæ utique et in omni scripturarum serie prædicantur, et ab apostolis in Symbolo laudabili brevitate connexæ tenentur.' *Capit.* l. 3. c. 6. *Anonymus* in *Homilia sacra* set forth by Elmen-

addition, *and the life everlasting*; in others by way of conjunction with the former, *the resurrection of the body unto everlasting life*. Upon this connexion with the former will follow the true interpretation of this concluding Article; for thereby we are persuaded to look upon it as containing the state of man after the resurrection in the world to come.

As therefore St Paul hath taught us to express our belief
 Acts xiv. 15. of a *resurrection both of the just and the unjust*, so after the resurrection we are to consider the condition of them both; of the one as risen to everlasting life, of the other as risen to everlasting punishment and contempt; and so those who first acknowledged this Article did interpret it¹. Although therefore *life everlasting*, as it is used in the scriptures, belongeth to the just alone, and is never mentioned otherwise than as a reward promised and given to them who fear and serve the Lord; yet the same words may be used to express the duration of any persons which live never to die again, whatsoever their state and condition in itself shall be. For as the *resurrection of the dead* is taken in the Scriptures for the happy and eternal condition which followeth after it, as
 Phil. III. 11. when the apostle saith, *If by any means I might attain unto the resurrection of the dead*²; which he must needs be most

horstius with Gennadius: [p. 47.] 'Post istam abrenunciationem nos interrogati a sacerdote, Credis in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem, creatorem cœli et terræ? unusquisque respondit, Credo. Credis et in Dominum Christum, Filium ejus unicum, Dominum natum ex Maria Virgine, passum et sepultum? et respondit, Credo. Tertia interrogatio, Credis et in Spiritum Sanctum, sanctam ecclesiam catholicam, sanctorum communionem, remissionem peccatorum, carnis resurrectionem, et vitam æternam? et respondit unusquisque nostrum, Credo.'

¹ As appeareth by those words of Chrysologus: 'Credimus vitam æternam, quia post resurrectionem nec bonorum finis est nec malorum.' *Serm.* 60. [p. 706 A.]

² Though in this place it is not barely *ἀνάστασις* but *ἐξανάστασις*, *Εἰς τὴν ἐξανάστασιν τῶν νεκρῶν* and in the Alexandrian MSS. *Εἰς τὴν ἐξανάστα-*

σιν τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν, which is the most ancient reading, as appeareth by the vulgar translation, *Si quo modo occurram ad resurrectionem quæ est ex mortuis*: and the reading of Tertullian: [De Resurrectione Carnis, 23, p. 395 D.] 'Si qua concurram in resurrectionem quæ est a mortuis': and the Syriac translation ܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܬܐ yet the *ἐξανάστασις* of itself was taken for no more than *ἀνάστασις* by any of the translators. And St Chrysostom did so understand it, as appeareth by these words upon the place: *Εἰ πως καταστήσω, φησὶν, εἰς τὴν ἐξανάστασιν τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν*, (which is the reading of the Alexandrian MS.) *τί λέγει; καὶ μὴ πάντες αὐτῆς τυγχάνουσι, πάντες μὲν γὰρ οὐ κοιμησόμεθα, φησὶ, πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγσόμεθα, καὶ οὐκ ἀναστάντες μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀφθαρσίας πάντες, οἱ μὲν εἰς τιμὴν, οἱ δὲ εἰς ἐπόδιον κολάσεως. Εἰ τοῦτω πάντες τῆς ἀναστάσεως τυγχάνουσι, καὶ οὐ τῆς ἀναστάσεως μόνον,*

DO certain to attain unto, who believed the resurrection of the just and unjust, and therefore if he had spoken of the resurrection in general, as it belongeth unto all, he needed not that expression, *If by any means*, nor that which went before, *the fellowship of Christ's sufferings*, for without them he should certainly rise from the dead; but he meant that resurrection which followeth upon the being *made conformable unto his death*, which is a resurrection in conformity to the resurrection of Christ. As, I say, *the resurrection of the dead* is taken in the Scripture for everlasting happiness, and yet the same language is and may be used for the general resurrection of all men, even of such as shall be everlastingly unhappy; so *the life everlasting*¹, though used for a reward given only unto the elect, may yet be taken as comprehending the condition of the reprobate also, understood barely for the duration of persons living.

All those then who shall rise from the dead shall rise to life, and after the resurrection live by a true vital union of their souls unto their bodies: and because that union shall never cease, because the parts united shall never be dissolved, because *it is appointed for men once to die*, and after their reviviscency never to die again, it followeth that the life which they shall live must be an *everlasting life*. Heb. ix. 27.

To begin then with the resurrection to condemnation; the truth included in this article, in reference unto that, is to this effect, that those who die in their sins, and shall be raised to life, that they may appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, and shall there receive the sentence of condemnation, shall be continued in that life for ever to undergo the punishment due unto their sins; in which two particulars are contained, the duration of their persons, and of their pains. For two ways this eternity may be denied: one, by a destruction or

ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀφθαρσίας, πῶς ὡς μέλλων
ἐξαίρετον τῶνδ' ἐντυχάνειν ἔλεγες, Εἰ πως
καταντήσω; *ad loc. Hom. xi. [§ 4. Tom. xi. p. 287 A.]* By which it ap-
peareth that St Chrysostom took no
notice of the word *ἐξάνστασις*, or of
the phrase *ἡ ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν*, but as the
interpretation of the apostle's intention
addeth: Πολλὰ ἐνταῦθα ἀνδραγαθία φησι;
τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀγούσαν τὸν Χριστόν.
So also Theodoret's paraphrase: Ἰνα

μετάρχω καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως. [Tom.
iii. p. 336 D.] It is therefore, I con-
ceive, a notion peculiar to Theophylact
among the Greeks: Ἰδύστε μὲν ἀνίσ-
τανται, οὐ πάντες δὲ καὶ ἐξανίστανται.
ad loc. [p. 608.]

¹ 'Sed sciendum est quia omnes
boni et mali resurgere habent ad vi-
tam, sed non omnes resurgent ad
gloriam.' *Ruffin. ad Psal. i.*

annihilation of their persons, with which the torments must likewise cease; the other, by a suspension or relaxation of the punishment, and a preservation of the persons, never to suffer the same pains again. Both of which are repugnant to the clear revelations of the justice of God against the disobedience of man.

Our first assertion therefore is, that the wicked after the day of judgment shall not be consumed or annihilated, but shall remain alive in soul and body to endure the torments to be inflicted upon them by the justice of God, for all the sins committed by them while they were in the body. They who of late oppose the eternal subsistence and misery of the wicked, strangely maintain their opinion, not as a position to be proved by reason, as some of the heathens did¹, but as a truth delivered in the Scriptures; as if the word itself taught nothing but an annihilation of the enemies of God, and no lasting torment; as if all the threats and menaces of the justice and wrath of God were nothing else but what the scoffing atheist expects, that is, after death never to be again; or if they be, as it were in a moment to lose that being for ever. Because the Scripture speaks of them as of such as shall be destroyed, and perish, and die: therefore they will give that comfort to them here, that though their life in which they sin be short, yet the time in which they are to be tormented for their sins shall be shorter far. They tell us where the Scripture mentioneth destruction in hell, it speaks of perdition, but no torment there. In this sense will they understand those words of Christ (so full of terror in the true, so full of comfort to the wicked in their exposition), *Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul; but rather fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell*². If this place speak, as those men would have it, of perdition only, not of cruciation, then will it follow that God is not able to cruciate and torment a man in hell; for there can be no other reason why it must be spoken of perdition only,

Matt. x. 28.

¹ Μάχεται γὰρ θάνατος φύσις ἀληθέσι καὶ βασάνοις, ἐπειπερ πᾶν τὸ ἀλγοῦν θνητὸν ἐστίν. *Sextin. Empiricus adv. Mathem.* p. 321.

² 'Locus Matthæi x. 28. perditionem tantum animæ in gehenna, non cruciatum denunciat.' *Smalcus contra*

Meisnerum. 'Igni æterno illi Christi hostes,—qui quidem sunt diabolus et angeli ipsius vel saltem quorum nomine isti quoque continentur, cruciuntur, et ita debentur.' *Orell. Com. in 1 Cor. c. xv.* [24. Tom. i. p. 335. col. 2.]

excluding cruciation, but because he is able to annihilate, not to cruciate. No, certainly a man may be said to be destroyed, and perish, to be lost and dead, who is rejected, separated, and disjoined from God, the better and the nobler life of man; and that person so denominated may still subsist, and be what in his own nature he was before, and live the life which doth consist in the vital union of his soul and body, and so subsisting undergo the wrath of God for ever. Nor shall any language, phrases, or expressions, give any comfort to the wicked, or strength to this opinion, if the same Scriptures, which say the wicked shall be destroyed, and perish, and die, say also that they shall be tormented with never-dying pains, as they plainly and frequently do.

Depart from me, ye cursed, shall the Judge eternal say to all the reprobate, *into everlasting fire*; and lest any should imagine that the fire shall be eternal, but the torments not, it followeth, *and these shall go away into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal*¹. Now, if the fire be everlasting by which God punisheth the reprobates, if the punishment inflicted be also everlasting; then must the reprobates everlastingly subsist to endure that punishment, otherwise there would be a punishment inflicted and none endured, which is a contradiction. Nay the *life eternal* may as well be affirmed to have an end, as the *everlasting punishment*, because they are both delivered in the same expression².

¹ 'Quibuscunque enim dixerit Dominus, *Discedite a me, maledicti, in ignem perpetuum*, isti erunt semper damnati: et quibuscunque dixerit, *Venite, benedicti Patris mei, [percipite hereditatem Regni, quod preparatum est vobis in sempiternum]*, hi semper percipiunt regnum, et in eo proficiunt semper.' *Iren. adv. Hæres.* l. iv. c. 47. [p. 349. 30.]

² Καὶ ἀπελεύσονται οὗτοι εἰς κόλασιν αἰώνιον, οἱ δὲ δίκαιοι εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον. *Matt.* xxv. 46. 'Antiquus iste persuasor in membris suis, id est, in mentibus iniquorum, futuras penas quasi certo fine determinat, ut eorum culpas sine termino correctionis extendat, et eo magis hic peccata non finiant, quo istis æstimant peccatorum supplicia finienda. Sunt enim nunc etiam,

qui idcirco peccatis suis ponere finem negligunt, quia habere quandoque finem futura super se judicia suspicantur. Quibus breviter respondemus, si quandoque finienda sunt supplicia reprobatorum, quandoque finienda sunt ergo et gaudia beatorum: per semetipsam namque veritas dicit, *Ibunt hi in supplicium æternum, justi autem in vitam æternam*. Si igitur hoc verum non est quod minatus est, neque verum est illud quod promisit.' *S. Gregor. Moral.* l. xxxiv. c. [16. Tom. i. p. 894 c.] 'Affirmamus te (anima) manere post vitæ disputationem, et expectare diem iudicii, proque meritis, aut cruciatui destinari, aut refrigerio, utroque sempiterno.' *Tertull. de Testim. Animæ*, c. 4. [p. 82 B.] 'Deus itaque judicabit

Matt. xxv.
41, 46.

Indeed the eternity of that fire prepared for the devil and his angels is a sufficient demonstration of the eternity of such as suffer in it; and the question only can be what that eternity doth signify. For, because some things are called in the Scriptures eternal which have but a limited or determined duration; therefore some may imagine the fire of hell to be in that sense eternal, as lasting to the time appointed by God for the duration of it. But as the fire is termed eternal, so that eternity is described as absolute, excluding all limits, prescinding from all determinations. The end of the burning of fire is by extinguishing, and that which cannot be extinguished can never end: but such is the fire which shall torment the reprobate; for he, *whose fan is in his hand, shall burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire*; and hath taught us before, that *it is better to enter into life halt or maimed, rather than having two hands or two feet to be cast into everlasting fire, to go into hell, into the fire that never shall be quenched*; and hath farther yet explained himself by that unquestionable addition, and undeniable description of the place of torments, *where the worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched*¹. And that we may yet be farther assured that this fire shall be never extinguished, we read that *the smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever*², and that those which are cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, *shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever*; which expression of *day and night* is the same with that which declareth the eternal happiness in the heavens, where *they rest not day and night, saying, Holy, holy, holy: where they are before the throne of God, and serve him day and night in his temple*. If then the fire, in

Matt. iii. 12.
Luke iii. 17.

Matt. xviii. 8.
Mark ix. 43,
46.

Mark ix. 44,
46.

Rev. xiv. 11.

Rev. xx. 10.

Rev. iv. 8;
vii. 15.

plenius, quia extremius, per sententiam eternam tam supplicii quam refrigerii.' *Tertull. de Anima*, c. 33. [p. 337 B.] 'Qui producto ævo isto iudicaturus sit suos cultores in vitæ æternæ retributionem; profanos in ignem æque perpetuam et jugem; suscitatis omnibus ab initio defunctis [et reformatis, et recensitis,] ad utriusque meriti disputationem.' *Idem, Apol.* c. 18. [p. 18 D.]

¹ 'Quid illum thesaurum ignis æterni æstimamus, quum fumariola quædam ejus tales flammarum ictus susci-

tent, ut proxime urbes aut jam nullæ exstent, aut idem sibi de die sperent! Dissiliunt superbissimi montes igni intrinsecus fœtu; et, quod nobis iudicii perpetuitatem probat, cum dissiliunt, cum devorentur, nunquam tamen finiuntur.' *Tertull. de Penitent.* c. 12. [p. 148 B.]

² Εἰς αἰῶνα δὲ αἰῶνων αὐτῶν ἐν βαλυνε λέγεται, ἵνα μὴ θώμεν ἀτελεῖν τὸν εἶναι τὴν κόλασιν τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὴν τῶν δικαίων τρυφήν αἰῶνων. *Andreas Cæsariensis. ad locum.*

which the reprobates are to be tormented, be everlasting; if so absolutely everlasting, that it shall never be quenched; if so certainly never to be quenched, that the smoke thereof shall ascend for ever and ever; if those which are cast into it shall be tormented for ever and ever (all which the Scriptures expressly teach); then shall the wicked never be so consumed as to be annihilated, but shall subsist for ever, and be co-eternal to the tormenting flames. And so this language of the Scriptures proves not only an effect eternal, as annihilation may be conceived, but an eternal efficient never ceasing to produce the same effect, which cannot be annihilation, but cruciation only. And therefore the fire, which consumed Sodom and Gomorrha, bears no proportion with the flames of hell; because all men know that fire is extinguished, nor doth the smoke thereof ascend for ever and ever.

Neither doth this only prove the eternity of infernal pains but clearly refute the only material argument brought against it, which is laid upon this ground, that the wicked after the resurrection shall be punished with death, and that a second death; and so they shall be no more, nor can in any sense be said to live or subsist. For, the enduring of this fire is that very death, and they are therefore said to die the second death, because they endure eternal torments. *He that over-* Rev. ii. 11.
cometh shall not be hurt by the second death. It seems that they which shall die that death shall be hurt by it; whereas if it were annihilation, and so a conclusion of their torments, it would be no way hurtful or injurious, but highly beneficial to them. But the living torments are the second death. For *death and hell were cast into the lake of fire: this is the* Rev. ix. 14, 15.
second death. Whosoever was not found written in the book of life was cast into the lake of fire: this is the second death. The Jews before our Saviour's time believed there was a second death; and though it were not expressed in the oracles themselves which were committed to them, yet in the received exposition of them it was often mentioned¹, and that as the

¹ The Chaldee paraphrase maketh often mention of it, as Deut. xxxiii. 6. *Let Reuben live, and not die; he expounded thus, בוחי עולמא ומיתא, רבינא לא ימות: Let Reuben live in the life of the world, and not die the second death.* So the Targum of Onkelos.

The Jerusalem Targum more expressly, *יחי רעובן בעלמא חדין ולא ימות במיתא חנינא: רבה מיתא רשעיא לעלמא דאתי: Let Reuben live in this world, and let him not die the second death, which the wicked die in the world to come.* So Isai. xxii. 14. *Surely this iniquity*

punishment of the wicked in the life to come; and what this punishment shall be, was in these words revealed to St John: *Rev. xxi. 8. But the fearful, and unbelieving, and the abominable, and murderers, and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars, shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone: which is the second death.* Now, if the part in the lake be the second death, if that part be a perpetual permansion in torment, as before is proved; then to say that the wicked shall die the second death is not a confutation of their eternal being in misery, but an assertion of it, because it is the same thing with everlasting torments, but delivered in other terms.

And, if the pretence of death will not prove an annihilation, or infer a conclusion of torment, much less will the bare phrases of *perdition* and *destruction*; for we may as well conclude that whosoever says he is *undone*¹, intends thereby that he shall be no more. Beside, the eternity of destruction in the language of the Scripture signifies a perpetual perpeccion, and duration in misery. For when Christ shall come to take vengeance on them that know not God, and obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, they shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power. Wherefore I conclude, that the wicked shall rise to everlasting punishment, continuing both in soul and body under the wrath of God and the torments proceeding from it, never to be quitted of them by annihilation; which is our first assertion, against the covert doctrine of the Socinian².

shall not be purged from you till ye die, אם ישתבק חובה הדין לכן עד די תמותן : *and I will not keep silence, but will recompense, even recompense into their bosom.* לא אהן לרחן ארכא בחיית אלהן אשלים להן פורענות חוביהון ואמסוד למותא תניא ית נתייהון : *I will not give them an end in this life, but will recompense them with vengeance for their sins, and deliver their bodies to the second death.* From these and the like places it appeareth, that the Jews believed that the wicked after death should be delivered to a second death; that this death should be in the world to come; that they should

by this death be punished for their sins. And St John revealed that this punishment shall be by everlasting burnings: *Kal θάνατοι δὲ ὡσαύτως ἔν· ὁ μὲν τῆς σαρκὸς πρόσκαιρος· ὁ δὲ τῆς ἁμαρτημάτων ἔκτισιν ἐπαγόμενος ἐν τῇ μέλλοντι αἰώνῳ, ὅπου ἔστιν ἡ τοῦ πρὸς γέεννα.* Andreas Caesar. in *Apocal. ad loc.* [c. 61.]

¹ Ὀλλυμαι, Perii.

² I call it *covert*, because it was at first closely delivered by Socinus, and some of his brethren did profess themselves to be scandalized at it, though he thought he had so delivered it that it should sooner be believed by his

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The second assertion teacheth us, that as the reprobates shall never fail to endure the torments due unto their sins; so the justice of God will never fail to inflict those torments for their sins. They shall never live to pay the uttermost farthing, they shall never come to the days of refreshment who are cast into perpetual burnings. One part of their misery is the horror of despair; and it were not perfect hell if any hope could lodge in it. The favour of God is not to be obtained where there is no means left to obtain it; but in the world to come there is no place for faith, nor virtue in repentance. If there be now such a vast distance between the tormenting flames and Abraham's bosom, that none could pass from one to the other, what impossibility must there be when the final sentence is passed upon all! As certainly as no person once received into the heavenly mansions shall ever be cast into outer darkness; so certainly none which is once cast into the fire prepared for the devil and his angels shall ever enter into their Master's joy. As the tree falleth, so it lieth: there is no change to be wrought in man within those flames, no purgation of his sin, no sanctification of his nature, no justification of his person, and therefore no salvation of him. Without the mediation of Christ no man shall ever enter into heaven, and when he hath *delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father*, then shall the office of the Mediator cease. 1 Cor. xv. 24.

So groundless was the opinion of Origen, who conceived

writings than perceived in them, as appeareth out of his sixth Epistle to Volkelius, [Tom. i. p. 455. col. 1.] who was offended at this doctrine, and seems never to have assented to it: 'Quod ais ea ibi, (in disputatione mea cum Puccio), tum de Christianorum resurrectione, tum de morte impiorum passim contineri, quæ a multis sine magna offensione, tum nostris tum alienis, legi non possint: scio equidem ista ibi contineri, sed, meo judicio, nec passim nec ita aperte (cavi enim istud quantum potui) ut quisquam vir plus facile offendi possit; adeo ut, quod nominatim attinet ad impiorum mortem, in quo dogmate majus est multo offensionis periculum, ea potius ex iis colligi possit, quæ ibi disputantur,

quam expresse literis consignata extet; adeo ut lector, qui aliqui sententiam meam adversus Puccium de mortalitate primi hominis, quæ toto libro agitur, quæque ob non paucos quos habet fautores, parum aut nihil offensionis parere potest, probandum censeat, prius censeat doctrinam istam sibi jam persuasam esse quam suaderi animadvertat.' Against this, Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople, in his defence of Gregory Nyssen, shewed from the words of Christ, the apostles, prophets, and the fathers, *ὡς περ αἰώνιον τὴν τῶν δικαίων ἀρεκλήθηον ἀπολαύσειν, οὕτω καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν ἀτελείτητόν τε καὶ ἀνυπόστατον κόλασιν*. Photius, in *Biblioth. Cod.* 233. [col. 905, 23.]

Rom. vi. 9.

that after some number of years the damned should be released from their torments, and made partakers of the joys of heaven, or at least try their fortunes in such regions of the world as he conceived should be reserved for their habitation. For he may as well imagine that Christ shall be born and die again (who being risen, *dieth not*;) as that any person being condemned to the flames for contemning of his death, should ever come to live again, and by believing in the death of Christ to be after saved. For certainly their condition is unalterable, their condemnation is irreversible, their torments inevitable, their miseries eternal. As they shall not be taken from their punishment by annihilation of themselves, which is our first; so the punishment shall not be taken off them by any compassion upon them, which is our second assertion.

To conclude this branch of the article, I conceive these certain and infallible doctrines in Christianity: That the wicked after this life shall be punished for their sins, so that in their punishment there shall be a demonstration of the justice of God revealed against all unrighteousness of men. That to this end they shall be raised again to life, and shall be judged and condemned by Christ, and delivered up under the curse, to be tormented with the devil and his angels. That the punishment which shall be inflicted on them shall be proportionate to their sins, as a recompense of their demerits, so that no man shall suffer more than he hath deserved. That they shall be tormented with a pain of loss, the loss from God, from whose presence they are cast out, the pain from themselves, in a despair of enjoying him, and regret for losing him. That they farther shall be tormented with the pain of sense inflicted on them by the wrath of God which abideth upon them, represented unto us by a lake of fire. That their persons shall continue for ever in this remediless condition, under an everlasting pain of loss, because there is no hope of heaven, under an eternal pain of sense, because there is no means to appease the wrath of God which abideth on them. Thus the Athanasian Creed, 'They that have done good shall go into life everlasting, and they that have done evil into everlasting fire.'

The next relation of this article to the former, is in reference to the resurrection of the just; and then the *life ever-*

lasting is not to be taken in a vulgar and ordinary sense¹, but raised to the constant language of the Scriptures, in which it signifieth all which God hath promised, which Christ hath purchased, and with which man shall be rewarded in the world to come.

Now this life eternal may be looked upon under three considerations; as initial, as partial, and as perfectional. I
 95 call that eternal life *initial*, which is obtained in this life, and is as it were an earnest of that which is to follow: of which our Saviour spake, *He that heareth my word, and believeth on him that sent me, hath everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation; but is passed from death unto life.* I call that *partial*, which belongeth, though to the nobler, yet but a part of man, that is, the soul of the just separated from the body. I dispute not whether the joys be partial as to the soul, I am sure they are but partial as to the man. For that life consisteth in the happiness which is conferred on the soul departed in the fear, and admitted to the presence, of God. St Paul had a *desire to depart, and to be with Christ*; he was *willing rather to travel and be absent from the body, and to be present and at home with the Lord.* And certainly where St Paul desired to be when he departed, there he then was, and there now is, and that not alone, but with all them which ever departed in the same faith with him, and that is with Christ who sitteth at the right hand of God. This happiness which the Saints enjoy between the hour of their death and the last day, is the *partial* life eternal. Thirdly, I call that *perfectional*, which shall be conferred upon the elect immediately after the blessing pronounced by Christ, *Come, ye blessed children of my Father, receive the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.*

John v. 24.

Phil. i. 23.

2 Cor. v. 8.

Matt. xxv. 34.

¹ 'Eam quippe vitam æternam dicimus, ubi est sine fine felicitas. Nam si anima in pœnis vivit æternis, quibus et ipsi spiritus cruciabuntur immundi, mors illa potius æterna dicenda est, quam vita. Nulla quippe major et pejor est mors, quam ubi non moritur mors.' *S. August. de Civit. Dei*, l. vi. c. 12. [Tom. VII. p. 125 E.] 'Quia vita æterna ab his, qui familiaritatem non habent cum Scripturis sanctis, potest accipi etiam malorum vita; vel

secundum quosdam etiam philosophos, propter animæ immortalitatem; vel etiam secundum fidem nostram, propter pœnas interminabiles impiorum, qui utique in æternum cruciari non poterunt, nisi etiam vixerint in æternum; profecto finis Civitatis hujus, in quo summum habebit bonum, vel pax in vita æterna, vel vita æterna in pace dicendus est, ut facilius ab omnibus possit intelligi.' *Idem*, l. xix. c. 11. [p. 419 C.]

This *eternal life* is to be considered in the possession, and in the duration: in the first, as it is *life*; in the second, as it is *eternal*. Now this life is not only natural, that is, the union of the soul to the body, which is the life of the reprobate; but spiritual, which consisteth in the union of the soul to God¹, as our Saviour speaks, *He that hath the Son hath life, and he that hath not the Son hath not life*. And it is called after an especial manner *life*, because of the happiness which attendeth it²: and therefore to understand that life is to know, so far as it is revealed, in what that happiness doth consist.

1 John v. 12.

To begin with that which is most intelligible; the bodies of the Saints, after the resurrection, shall be transformed into spiritual and incorruptible bodies. The flesh is *sown in corruption, raised in incorruption; sown in dishonour, raised in glory; sown in weakness, raised in power; sown a natural*

1 Cor. xv.
42—44.

¹ 'Duae vitæ sunt, una corporis, altera animæ; sicut vita corporis anima, sic vita animæ Deus. Quo modo si anima deserat, moritur corpus: sic anima moritur, si deserat Deus.' *S. August. in Psal. 70. Serm. ii. § 3. [Tom. iv. p. 550 c.] (p. 736.)*

² For *life* is taken for happiness, and to *live* for being happy. Among the Greeks and Latins, ζῆν and vivere were taken for living a cheerful and merry life, as 'Vivamus, mea Lesbia,' in Catullus, *Carm. v. i.* and in Martial. l. i. epigr. 16. ver. 12.

'Sera nimis vita est crastina, vive hodie.' And as it is an old inscription, ΑΜΙΤΙ ΔΥΜ ΒΙΒΙΜΟΥΣ ΒΙΒΑΜΟΥΣ, and in the convivial wish, Ζήσεις, mentioned by Dio in the life of Commodus, l. lxxii., so in the language of the Scriptures, and a religious notion, they signify a happy and a blessed life: as 1 Sam. x. 24. רִי הַמֶּלֶךְ *Let the king live*, is translated by the Chaldee paraphrast, רִי הַמֶּלֶךְ *Let the king prosper*. And when David sent unto Nabal, he said, *Thus shall ye say to him that liveth in prosperity*, which is in the original (1 Sam. xxv. 6.) nothing but רִי. So the Psalmist is to be understood, Psal. lxxix. 32. *The humble shall see this and be glad, and your heart shall live that seek God*. And St Paul, 1 Thess. iii. 8. Ὅτι οὖν

ζῶμεν, ἐὰν ὁυκ ὀφείλομεν ἐν Κεχαί.

Thus *life* of itself is often taken in the Scriptures for a happy and glorious life, even that which is eternal, as St Austin observeth upon these words of the Psalmist: 'Veniant mihi miserationes tuae et vivam: Tunc enim vere vivam, quando nihil potero timere ne moriar. Ipsa enim et sine ullo additamento dicitur *vita*, nec intelligitur nisi *aeterna* et *beata*, tanquam sola dicenda sit *vita*, in cujus comparatione ista quam ducimus, mors potius sit appellanda quam *vita*; quale illud est in evangelio, *Si vis venire ad vitam, serva mandata*. Nunquid addidit, *aeternam* vel *beatam*? Item de resurrectione carnis cum loqueretur, *Qui bene fecerunt*, inquit, *is resurrectionem vitae*; neque hic ait, *aeternae* seu *beatæ*. Sic et hic, *Veniant*, inquit, *mihi miserationes tuae, et vivam*: Neque hic ait, *in aeternum vivam*, vel *beate vivam*; quasi aliud non sit vivere quam sine ullo fine, et sine ulla miseria vivere.' In *Psal. 118. Serm. xix. § 4. [Tom. iv. p. 994 B.]* Thus St Austin. And again: 'Non est vera vita, nisi ubi feliciter vivitur; nec vera incorruptio, nisi ubi salus nullo dolore corrumpitur.' *Enchir. de Fid. ad Laurent. c. 92. [§ 23. Tom. vi. p. 169 D.] (p. 230.)*

body, raised a spiritual body. This perfective alteration shall be made by the Son of God, *who shall change our vile* Phil. iii. 21. *body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body, according to the working whereby he is able even to subdue all things unto himself.* Thus, when we come into that other world, the world of spirits, even our bodies shall be spiritual.

As for the better part of man, the soul, it shall be highly exalted to the utmost perfection in all the parts or faculties thereof. The understanding shall be raised to the utmost capacity, and that capacity completely filled. *Now we see* 1 Cor. xiii. 12. *through a glass, darkly; but then face to face: now we know but in part; but then shall we know even as also we are known.* And this even now we know, *that when God shall* 1 John iii. 2 *appear we shall be like him; for we shall see him as he is.* Our first temptation was, that we should be like unto God in knowledge, and by that we fell; but being raised by Christ, we come to be truly like him, by knowing him as we are known, and by seeing him as he is. Our wills shall be perfected with absolute and indefective holiness, with exact conformity to the will of God, and perfect liberty from all servitude of sin: they shall be troubled with no doubtful choice, but with their radical and fundamental freedom shall fully embrace the greatest good¹. Our affections shall be all set right by an unalterable regulation, and in that regularity shall receive absolute satisfaction; and all this shall be effected, that we may be thereby made capable, and then happy by a full fruition.

To this internal perfection is added a proportionately happy condition, consisting in an absolute freedom from all pain, misery, labour, and want; an impossibility of sinning

¹ 'Sicut prima immortalitas fuit, quam peccando Adam perdidit, posse non mori, novissima erit non posse mori; ita primum liberum arbitrium posse non peccare, novissimum non posse peccare. Sic enim erit inamissibilis voluntas pietatis et sequitatis, quomodo est felicitatis. Nam utique peccando nec pietatem nec felicitatem tenuimus, voluntatem vero felicitatis nec perditam felicitatem perdidimus. Certe Deus ipse numquid quoniam peccare non potest, ideo liberum arbitrium ha-

bere negandus est? Erit ergo illius civitatis et una in omnibus et inseparabilis in singulis voluntas libera, ab omni malo liberata, et impleta omni bono, fruens indeficienter æternorum jucunditate gaudiorum, oblita culparum, oblita poenarum, nec tamen ideo suæ liberationis oblita, ut liberatori suo non sit grata.' *S. August. de Civit. Dei*, l. xxii. c. 30 § 3. [Tom. vii. p. 528 B.] (p. 701.) Vide eundem *Tractatu de Epicuris et Stoicis, prope finem*. [*Serm.* cl. § 10. Tom. v. p. 499 B, B.]

and offending God; an hereditary possession of all good, with an unspeakable complacency and joy flowing from it, and all this redounding from the vision and fruition of God: this is the *life*.

And now the *duration* of this life is as necessary as the life itself, because to make all already mentioned amount unto a true felicity, there must be added an absolute security of the enjoyment, void of all fear of losing it, or being deprived of it. And this is added to complete our happiness, by the adjection of eternity. Now that this life shall be eternal, we are assured who have not yet obtained it, and they much more who do enjoy it. He which hath purchased it for us, and promised it unto us, often calleth it *eternal life*; it is described as a *continuing city*; as *everlasting habitations*, as a *house eternal in the heavens*; it is expressed by *eternal glory*, *eternal salvation*, by an *eternal inheritance*, *incorruptible*, *undefiled*, and *that fadeth not away*; by the *everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*. And lest we should be discouraged by any short or lame interpretation of eternity, it is further explained in such terms as are liable to no mistake. For our Saviour hath said, *If any man keep my saying, he shall never see death. And whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall not die. When God shall wipe away all tears from our eyes, there shall be no more death*; and where there is life and no death, there must be everlasting life: which is expressed by St Paul by way of opposition, calling it *life and immortality*, and that together with the abolition of death, saying that *our Saviour Jesus Christ hath abolished death, and hath brought life and immortality to light through the Gospel*.

The belief of this article is necessary (as to the eternity of torment) to deter us from committing sin, and to quicken us to holiness of life, and a speedy repentance for sin committed. *For the wages of sin is death*; nothing can bring us to those everlasting flames but sin, no sin but that which is unrepented of; nothing can save that man from the never-dying worm, who dieth in his sins; and no other reason can bring him thither, but because he sinned and repented not. They which³⁶ imagine the pains inflicted for sin to be either small or short¹,

¹ Tertullian recounting the advantages of the Christians towards innocence and holiness of life, which the

heathens had not: 'Recogitate etiam pro brevitare supplicii cujuslibet, non tamen ultra mortem remansuri. Sic et

Heb. xiii. 14.
Luke xvi. 9.
2 Cor. v. 1.
1 Pet. v. 10.
Heb. v. 9.
Heb. ix. 15.
1 Pet. i. 4.
2 Pet. i. 11.

John viii. 51.

John xi. 26.

Rev. xxi. 4.

2 Tim. i. 10.

Rom. vi. 23.

have but a slender motive to innocence or repentance; but such as firmly believe them sharp and endless, have by virtue of that faith within themselves a proper and natural spur and incitement to avoid them: for who can *dwell in everlasting burnings*? Isai. xxxiii. 14.

Secondly, The belief of eternal pains after death is necessary to breed in us a fear and awe of the great God, a jealous God, a consuming fire, a God that will not be mocked; and to teach us to tremble at his word, to consider the infinity of his justice, and the fierceness of his wrath, to meditate on the power of his menaces, the validity of his threats, to follow that direction, to embrace that reduplicated advice of our Saviour, *I will forewarn you whom ye shall fear: fear him, which after he hath killed, hath power to cast into hell; yea, I say unto you, Fear him.* Luke xii. 5. And that exclusively of such fear as concerns the greatest pains of this life, which the martyrs undervalued out of a belief of eternal torments¹.

Thirdly, This belief is necessary to teach us to make a fit estimate of the price of Christ's blood, to value sufficiently the work of our redemption, to acknowledge and admire the love of God to us in Christ. For he which believeth not the eternity of torments to come, can never sufficiently value that ransom by which we were redeemed from them, or be proportionately thankful to his Redeemer, by whose intervention we have escaped them. Whereas he who is sensible of the loss of heaven and the everlasting privation of the presence of God, of the torments of fire, the company of the devil and his angels, the vials of the wrath of an angry and never-to-be-appeased God, and hopeth to escape all these by virtue of the death of his Redeemer, cannot but highly value the price of that blood, and be proportionably thankful for so *plenteous* Psalm cxxx. 7. *a redemption.*

Epicurus omnem cruciatum doloremque depretiat, modicum quidem contemptibilem pronunciando, magnum vero, non diuturnum. Enimvero nos qui sub Deo omnium speculatore dispungimur, quique æternam ab eo poenam providemus, merito soli innocentie occurrimus, et pro scientiæ plenitudine, et pro latebrarum difficultate, et pro magnitudine cruciatus, non diuturni, verum sempiterni, eum timen-

tes, quem timere debuit et ipse qui timentes judicat, Deum, non Proconsulem, timentes.' *Apolg.* c. 45. [p. 390.]

¹ So Polycarpus the Martyr answered the Proconsul threatening to consume him with fire: *Πῦρ ἀπειλῆς τὸ πρὸς ὄραν καὶόμενον καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον σβεννύμενον. Ἀγνοεῖς γὰρ τὸ τῆς μελλούσης κρίσεως καὶ αἰωνίου κολάσεως τοῖς ἀσεβέσι τηρούμενον πῦρ. Epist. ad Smyrn. Eccles. c. 11.*

Again, As this article followeth upon the resurrection of the just, and containeth in it an eternal duration of infinite felicity belonging to them, it is necessary to stir us up to an earnest desire of the kingdom of heaven, and that righteousness to which such life is promised. *I will now turn aside, and see this great sight*, said Moses, when he saw the burning bush. *It is good for us to be here*, said St Peter, when he saw our Saviour transfigured in the mount; how much more ought we to be inflamed with a desire of the joys of heaven, and that length of days which only satisfieth by its eternity¹, to a careful and constant performance of those commands to which such a reward is so graciously promised! For as all our happiness proceedeth from the vision of God, so we are certain that without holiness no man shall see him.

Secondly, This belief is necessary to take off our inclinations and desires from the pleasures and profits of this life; to breed in us a contempt of the world², and to teach us to despise all things on this side heaven; to *set our affections on things above, not on things on the earth, considering we are dead, and our life is hid with Christ in God*. For *where our treasure is, there will our hearts be also*. Therefore we must forget *those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, press towards the mark, for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus*.

Thirdly, An assent unto this truth is necessary to encourage us to take up the cross of Christ, and to support us under it, willingly and cheerfully to undergo the afflictions and tribulations of this life, reckoning with the apostle, *that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared*

¹ So St Austin upon those words, *Longitudine dierum replebo eum*, in the 10th Psalm: 'Quæ est longitudo dierum? Vita æterna. Fratres, nolite putare longitudinem dierum dici, sicut sunt hyeme dies minores, æstate dies majores. Tales dies nobis habet dare? Longitudo illa est quæ non habet finem, æterna vita quæ nobis promittitur in diebus longis. Et vere, quia sufficit, non sine causa dixit, *replebo eum*. Non nobis sufficit quicquid longum est in tempore, si habet finem; et ideo nec longum dicendum est. Et si avari sumus, vitæ æternæ debemus

esse avari: talem vitam desiderate, quæ non habet finem. Ecce ubi extendatur avaritia nostra. Argentum vis sine fine! Vitam æternam desiderate sine fine. Non vis ut habeat finem possessio tua? Vitam æternam quære.' *In Psal. 90. Serm. ii. § 12.* [Tom. iv. p. 736 A.] (p. 979.)

² 'Nemo vitam æternam, incorruptibilem immortalemque desiderat, nisi eum vitæ hujus temporalis, corruptibilis, mortalisque, poniteat.' *S. August. Hom. 50. al. Serm. 351 § 3.* [Tom. v. p. 943 A.] (p. 1352.)

with the glory which shall be revealed in us: and knowing that our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory. And this knowledge is not to be obtained, this comfort is not to be expected, except we look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen; for the things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal. 2 Cor. iv. 17. 18.

And now having thus shewed the propriety, proved the verity, and declared the necessity, of this article, we may fully instruct every Christian how to express his belief in the last object of his faith, which he may most fitly thus pronounce:

I do fully and freely assent unto this, as unto a most necessary and infallible truth, that the unjust after their resurrection and condemnation shall be tormented for their sins, in hell, and shall so be continued in torments for ever, as neither the justice of God shall ever cease to inflict them, nor the persons of the wicked cease to subsist and suffer them: and that the just after their resurrection and absolution shall as the blessed of the Father obtain the inheritance, and as the servants of God enter into their Master's joy, freed from all possibility of death, sin, and sorrow, filled with all conceivable and inconceivable fulness of happiness, confirmed in an absolute security of an eternal enjoyment, and so they shall continue with God and with the Lamb for evermore. And thus I believe THE LIFE EVERLASTING.

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